



**RESTORING SOCIAL COHESION AFTER WIDESPREAD RAPE OF
WOMEN IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO'S LOCAL
COMMUNITY THROUGH CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION: A CASE
STUDY**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
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Abstract

Armed conflicts have caused extreme human suffering in which rape against women has been a major and gruesome factor. This is true in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Although the issue of sexual violence is documented throughout the country, the South Kivu region remains the most affected. The systematic and widespread sexual violence has wreaked havoc and destroyed social cohesion at the individual, relational and community levels in South Kivu. The damage to social cohesion has been seen in threats to the community dimensions of rape survivors, children born from rape, and perpetrators, all of whom are the main components of the inquiry. This damage has led the community to shape and produce as social outcasts a marginalised group of women, unwanted children born from rape, and outlawed perpetrators. Community cohesiveness has also been threatened and complicated by the frivolous culture based on sexual socialization before rape incidents. Hence, the need to address social cohesion after widespread rape in South Kivu is enormous. The aim of this research was to explore the ways in which social cohesion could be restored by means of conflict transformation in local communities in South-Kivu after widespread rape against women that occurred between 1996 and 2016. Although various responses have focused on women as victims of rape and have ignored both children born of rape and the perpetrators, they are also affected. This weakens the rape survivors' social reintegration. Therefore, the children and the perpetrators need to be included in the process of recreating social cohesion. Conflict transformation was used to contribute to restoring social cohesion, with positive results for rape survivors. Interventions were done in three main ways: training, family dialogue mixed with community awareness involving community leaders and custom law-keepers, and the creation of literacy centres. The use of participatory action research methodology led to increased knowledge from training, an improvement in relationships, and the boosting of rape survivors' leadership capabilities and skills. The overall results of the inquiry reveal that mechanisms of social reintegration for rape survivors lies in their acceptance, through which rape survivors' post-traumatic growth and quality of relationships in the community are enhanced. Thus, community cohesiveness and the rape survivors' restoration of intra- and inter-personal relationships remains a shared responsibility, with each main group affected resorting to specific mechanisms for healing, be they self-initiated or supported.

Key words: Rape, rape survivor, children born from rape, rape perpetrator, conflict transformation, social cohesion, social reintegration, participatory action research.

Declaration

This study represents original work by the author. The thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any university. Its prior publication was a conference paper and a journal article.

Prior publication and conference from this study

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Durban, 2023

Signature

Dedication

To all brave and unbeatable rape survivors of Kalonge community, wrestling to come out of your protracted change of intra- and inter-personal relationships that have dismantled your ability to handle issues of integrating your children born from rape, frightened by the presence of perpetrators, and your frustration and desperation to address your social re-integration;

To all children born from rape in the Kalonge community living in Rambo, Fendula, Caminunu, Cibinda, Mule, and Cifunzi villages, terrified by being aware of having a hated identity, being unwanted children, your tears and ambivalent emotions were almost present while encountering your grievous, painful stories;

To all the perpetrators in Cifunzi village, your willingness to transform your relationships with your rape survivors, and your post-traumatic growth benefiting the community in terms of safety will not be taken for granted.

This thesis is dedicated to you in our search to a cohesive, safe, and peaceful community!

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List of Acronyms

ACHPR:	African Commission for Human and People Rights
AEFAD:	Action d'Encadrement de Famille pour le Développement Intégrale (Family Support Action for Integral Development),
APC:	Action pour la Paix et la Concorde (Action for peace and Concord)
AU:	The African Union
CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CDJP:	Comité Diocésain Justice et Paix (Diocesan Justice and Peace Committee)
CDMC:	Comité de médiation et de conciliation (Mediation and Conciliation Committee).
CIDA:	Canadian International Development Agency
CLOC:	Comité locale Communautaire (Local Community Committee)
FDLR :	Forces Démocratiques de Libérations du Rwanda
DFID:	British Department for International Development
DR Congo:	The Democratic Republic of the Congo
DUT:	Durban University of Technology
ECHO:	European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection
EU:	European Union
HIV:	Human immunodeficiency virus
HIV/AIDS:	Human immunodeficiency virus, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ICC:	International Criminal Court
IOs:	International Organizations
IR:	International Relations
MONUC:	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO:	Mission de l'Organisation de Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation du Congo (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo)
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organizations
PMT:	Protection Motivation Theory
PTG:	Posttraumatic Growth
PTSD:	Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome Disorder Displayed
Pr.:	Professor
QDA:	Qualitative Data Analysis
SAD:	Social Anxiety Disorder
SIDA:	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
SPMC:	Solidarité des Personnes Marginalisées dans la Communauté (Solidarity of marginalized people in the community)
TFV:	Trust Fund for Victims
UEA:	Université Envagélique en Afrique (Evangelical University in Africa)
UK:	United Kingdom

UN: United Nations
USA: United States of America
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
WB: World Bank

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 Context of the Research

Issues of widespread rape of women still have complex root causes, persistent effects, and weak management that have altered social cohesion and obstructed its restoration in South-Kivu, the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo). Warfare is the main reason for the disturbance of social relationships. However, such disturbances are not limited to war as there is no unique approach to the root causes of widespread rape against women that has distorted social cohesion in the South-Kivu province, especially within the Kalonge community. This study is a contribution endeavouring to restore social cohesion of rape survivors involving several contributors in the community.

In fact, widespread rape in South-Kivu province stems from the war that erupted in 1996, and which can be attributed to diverse factors such as the political, economic, and social issues under a distorted implementation of liberal peace philosophy. The argument is that the war factor, together with the failure of a liberal peace management of the war, has led to social disturbances. Liberal peace emphasises two relevant aspects: democracy and trade, pillars of peace (Gartzke 2007; Murphy 2020). As Hegre (2004) notes, it is normally restricted to how trade and democracy reduces countries' propensities to become involved in interstate militarized conflicts. However, those theories have demonstrated their limits (Lewis 2022). The context of the DR Congo has proven the limits. This is being experienced in the proxy war in which democratically powerful countries are involved (Rauta 2021; Wilson nd). Democracy, international markets, free markets, and trade have been used as tools of violence focused on looting and exploitation of natural resources, as Gérard (2009: 338) reveals: "There are large U.S. strategic and economic ambitions in the Congo basin".

War in the DR Congo has been characterised as "mineral conflict," akin to the colonial epoch (Matthysen & Gobbers 2022; United Nations: Economic commission for Africa 2015: 67). This is mixed with economic causes such as the corrupt governance of the Congolese government which plays a hinge role between external actors of the economic war and internal ones based on the exploitation of natural resources (Montague 2002).

Although international companies pursuing the exploitation of natural resources are not direct causers of violence, especially sexual aggression, and rape, they have become trajectories of human rights abuse in the DR Congo. The factor fostering human rights abuse against civilians is the alleged funding by

international corporations to armed groups. These groups are financed in order to allow corporations to exploit ores and minerals within the zone and for the sake of their security (Muller-Koné 2015). For Autesserre (2012a) Buss (2018) and report from the United States Government Accountability Office (2022), there is no doubt that the illegal exploitation of Congolese mineral resources is a significant cause of conflict, and that sexual violence is a terrible and widespread form of abuse. However, we wonder how the illegal exploitation of resources came to be the main cause of sexual violence, and abuse as being the worst consequence. From that perspective, sexual violence is a direct consequence of the mineral exploitation by Congolese and foreign armies supported by transnational companies and governments. There are arguments for and against these views. According to the International Alert (2010), sexual violence is not connected directly to the mining economy but, rather, to the lack of security and the reigning anomie in the areas outside the law where the Kalashnikov is king.

If the first dimension of liberal peace is political, the second is economic, the third dimension of effects is the social (Caranti 2016). Focusing on the third dimension, we see armed, military factions using rape as a weapon of war to achieve goals, either collectively or individually. These have direct effects on the disturbance of community cohesiveness. Practices of wartime rape against women and community have served as a tool to tear the bonds of a community apart, disrupting societies, sever community cohesion (Laudati and Mertens 2019; Peltola 2018; Karuhanga 2018). For instance, to forcing male family members to watch the rape of their female relatives was done intentionally to undermine the men knowing that they will not be able to protect their spouses and female relatives. This type of rape utilizes traditional patriarchal values such as female purity and masculine protection of women to attack a group and destroy its social bonds with humiliation and demoralization, destroying the family unit and the social fabric of these victims' communities (Brown 2012b). This has had a direct effect on rape survivors impacting their intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships in their community.

The effects of wartime rape on survivors have been devastating. Being multidimensional, they have caused physical, emotional, economic, spiritual, and social damage, with trauma as a persistent characteristic of the effects (Abrahams 2020; Mamabolo and Maluleke 2022). The tenacity of the impact affects the entire life of the rape survivors for a long period (Bloom and Sandra 2003; Woldetsadik 2018). The way they think, learn, remember things, feel about themselves and other people, and the way they make sense of the world is profoundly altered by traumatic experience. This is particularly so when they have no support from other members of the family or community. Physical damage includes scars, lesions on the body, chronic incontinence, infertility, and serious trauma, genital mutilation, HIV/AIDS and transmitted infection, tears in the vagina and anus, and rectal and vaginal fistulas, stigma (Cowan and Aishai 2020; Dymond 2008; Brown 2011; Murray *et al.* 2018; Oshodi *et al.* 2020). For the specific damage of fistulae, Brown (2011:13) mentions that, "up to 80% of victims experience it," like other scholars also notice it (Bartels *et al.* 2010a; Kasangy *et al.* 2014).

The connection between physical and emotional effects has easily caused social problems. According to Dymond (2008: 4), “around 50% of victims are young, under 18 years old” and “four out ten victims have been expelled from their homes after being raped” (Steiner *et al.* 2009: 5). Moreover, many young rape survivors drop out of school because of pregnancy, severe injuries, and chronic incontinence of urine (fistulae). Especially for girls, the probability of marriage becomes hypothetical (Kasangy *et al.* 2014). The issue becomes more stigmatising when a perpetrator is an enemy from a foreign military group, for example an interahamwe¹ (Dymond 2008). For those who have children born from rape, those children become a source of multiple problems against their own mothers and the mother’s family.

For direct victims of rape, rape survivors and their children born from rape, as well as perpetrators, the act has been like a spark that has triggered a fire to destroy relationships among community members. Relationships have been altered between different social groups such as rape survivors, their families, and the rest of the community; between rape survivors and perpetrators, between children born from rape and the rest of the community, and between some mother’s rape survivors and their own children born from rape (Ee and Blockland 2019). The most damaging feature is social rejection and exclusion, aggravated by socio-cultural norms (Kelly *et al.* 2017; Reshma JK *et al.* 2022). Being raped, having children from rape or a child out of marriage, implies exclusion, by the family and the community, of both mothers and their children born from rape (Liebling, Slegh and Ruratotoye 2012).

Children born from rape are still considered as outcasts, being a particular social group within the community nicknamed “unwanted children” or “rape-children” (Bosmans 2007: 6). According to Mochmann (2017), “these offspring are recognized under a number of various names in their individual home nations being fathered by foreign and frequently enemy soldiers and local moms. To mention a few, children of hate (Rwanda), Kony's children (Uganda), children of disgrace (Kosovo), etc., are examples of derogatory names (Ee and Kleber 2018). The children are portrayed as things of shame and humiliation, unwanted kids, or rape kids in the DRC (Bosmans 2007). Those labels express the quality of relationships between the children and the rest of the community. These children have been subjected to issues of identity in daily life such as discrimination, not being considered equal to other children within the community, a lack of support, negligence, stigma, humiliation, risk of infanticide, and death. A respondent in South-Kivu province said, “*The local population threatened to kill all ‘rape children’ if they were not sent back to Rwanda where they belong*” (Bosmans 2007: 6). They also lack any protection as they are considered in general as a vulnerable category to protect (European Commission 2016).

¹ Interahamwe is the nickname given to Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda-FDLR (The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda), The Hutu foreign armed group operating in DR Congo since 1994.

Then again, women and girls were confronted by a multitude of perpetrators, including the military, civilians, and those who are supposed to protect them in the society. North-Kivu² and South-Kivu provinces have the largest number of armed groups, at approximately between 70 to 130 (United States Government Accountability Office 2022), with the Rwandan Forces Démocratiques de Libérations du Rwanda (FDLR) are the main group (Stearns and Vogel 2015), followed by the Mai-Mai militia (Human Rights Watch 2009b). It is not only these cited groups that can be categorised as rapists, but civilian groups also took advantage and participated in rape. Another important group which was supposed to bring peace and protect women yet has been involved in violence against women are peacekeepers from the United Nations Mission (Dymond 2008; Arieff 2009; Meger 2010; office of the special representative of the secretary-general on sexual violence in conflict 2017). For those living in the same community with their perpetrators, feeling unsafe has characterised rape survivors, with perpetrators characterised as “horrible men”, “crazy” and so on (Human Rights Watch 2009b: 29). Moreover, the lack of justice and fair trials has raised further concern. “The majority of cases are rarely investigated and when investigations do take place, trials are not held or sentences are not served” (Kitharidis 2015a: 456). Therefore, rape is very likely to recur.

The harmony of rape survivors in their communities, as well as the management of the effects of rape should be approached holistically. Typically, it has included both top-down and bottom-up strategies to end rape and to provide survivors with a better way of life. At the bottom levels in the community, some structures have been set up to assist rape survivors to recover from their trauma and reintegration but without any further follow up for their complete social reintegration process for the period needed by rape survivors. This has entailed engaging faith-based institutions, medical and psycho-social care, socio-economic support, and traditional mechanisms of justice and aid. For instance, in South-Kivu province, Panzi hospital, under the programme, victims of Sexual Violence, has been providing rape survivors with free medical treatment, and free psychological and spiritual care in addition to socio-economic assistance (Dr. Denis Mukwege Foundation 2019; Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and Oxfam International 2010), some training (Panzi Hospital 2013) as well as forensic and legal support (Peeters *et al.* 2019). Also, since the beginning of the DR Congo crisis, both Protestants and Catholics have shown interest in dealing with victims of rape and their support to the community. Hence, faith-based institutions provide victims with assistance such as shelter, food, and drug and alcohol counselling, among others to address their frustrations (Maier and Keller 2010).

Extrajudicial mediation services have been established by activists to respond to the issue as a reaction to the failure of judicial institutions or when victims are not believed by the police (McQueen *et al.* 2021) and transitional justice has failed to bring about successful achievement of justice, reconciliation,

² See Appendix 3

and truth for female rape survivors (Abi-Falah 2020). Extrajudicial mediation services produce significant results in some instances. However, this system, embedded and squeezed into patriarchal beliefs, has its own way of solving the issue. During this process, the victim is put aside since the culture is privileging the honour and respect of the victim's family. As Hersh (2014: 20) points out, "a victim of sexual violence is often encouraged to utilize traditional justice mechanisms where community leaders order the perpetrator to pay money or in-kind donations (such as livestock) to the survivor's family, or force the survivor to marry the perpetrator." Unfortunately, this does not completely cover rape survivors' needs or wishes.

1.2 Research Problem

1.2.1 Problem statement

Against this background, the need to address social cohesion after widespread rape in South Kivu is enormous. Various responses have focused on the question of women as victims of rape while ignoring children born of rape, and the perpetrators. Yet, the latter are also affected and need to be included in the process of recreating social cohesion. The literature shows that the most common response has been a primarily medical approach which addresses the physical and traumatic wounds suffered by women victims, as noted by Lewis (2008) but also holistic approach (medical, psychological, legal, livelihood support, and financial help) with an emphasis on survivors, including somehow children born of rape. The issue of restoring social cohesion in local communities to assist female victims of rape and children born out of rape, as well as perpetrators of rape, to socially reintegrate into local communities resorting to conflict transformation practices has received little attention. The continued disturbance of social cohesion within those communities seems to be proof that previous interventions were ineffective in solving the problem.

The question was how this research could contribute to rebuilding positive social cohesion in the South-Kivu community destroyed by a large-scale rape of women. The study was intended to help fill the gap between the theory of peace in a post-conflict period and its practice based on social cohesion elements. This was intended to contribute to the transformation of relationships in the process of rebuilding a cohesive community. Finally, it was hoped to create a new pattern for scholars and practitioners to mitigate the persistent destruction of social cohesion in a broken community damaged by rape that would contribute towards building peace.

1.2.2 Rationale for the study and contribution to literature

This study utilizes action research in its design, with there being no evidence of a previous study using action research in which women and girls rape survivors, children born out of rape, and offenders are participants in efforts to rebuild social cohesion in local communities after widespread rape in the DR

Congo. Thus, methodologically, this offered a new approach to studying this issue. Furthermore, by using action research, this study deepened the analysis of the possible ways to restore social cohesion in local communities in South Kivu after widespread rape. Beyond the academic aim of the study, it examined the plight of the many children born as a result of rape, explored and suggested opportunities for female rape survivors, children born from rape, and offenders to socially reintegrate into their respective communities. It also emphasised the role of, and the commitment required by perpetrators to, the process of healing and the reintegration of their victims into society.

The rejection of victims of rape – be they rape survivors or their innocent children – has become a social and psychological burden for many. The impunity that perpetrators enjoy, and the lack of judicial services to support rape survivors all have contributed to undermine and weaken both the women's position in society and the broken relationships among all affected community members. Therefore, without involving the perpetrators in the process, any attempts to facilitate rape survivors' healing and social reintegration, and to integrate their children born from rape into a just society were doomed to fail.

Finally, at a structural level, and since the judicial system has failed, the traditional leaders' role in dealing with perpetrators was considered positively to change the situation. Therefore, this study is unique in that it uncovered new findings which added to the sparse literature in this field and, ultimately, contribute to the increased body of knowledge methodologically, theoretically, and practically.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this research was to explore the ways in which social cohesion could be restored by means of conflict transformation in local communities in South-Kivu after widespread rape against women that occurred between 1996 and 2016.

1.3.2 Objectives of the study

1. To explore the issue of rape by analysing its nature, root causes, and extent, together with the consequences on social cohesion in local communities in South-Kivu
2. To devise and apply a conflict transformation mechanism to rebuild social cohesion by means of action research in local communities in South-Kivu
3. To draw possible lessons on the restoration of social cohesion after large-scale rape against women
4. To devise a mechanism of social cohesion and reintegration for rape survivors and perpetrators, and social integration for children born from rape based on action research outcomes in local communities, and
5. To evaluate conflict transformation mechanisms intended to rebuild social cohesion that were devised and implemented through this study.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The phenomenon of widespread rape in the eastern part of the DR Congo has been approached from the international level down to the local. As noted above, liberal peace efforts, resorting to political and economic strategies, have failed to stop both the violence against women as well as to restore their social cohesion in their community. Hence, I used conflict transformation in its social dimension to solve the protracted issue of the destruction of rape survivors' social cohesiveness. This main theory was reinforced by the second one which is social cohesion theory applied under socioecological model. Minor theories include protective motivational theory, feminist theories, and so on.

Although liberal peace is a theory that aims to contribute to rebuild and maintain peace, its implementation throughout the Congolese crisis is a cynical distortion of this theory. Selby (2013) argues that the use of liberal peace, especially liberal peacebuilding to end the war to reduce the scale of rape against women, and healing victims is an abstract word-theory and empty of sense in practice. Instead, it is used to drive power for the country's intention to achieve political and economic needs rather than dealing with a country's crisis and needs.

By contrast, conflict transformation is a relevant peacebuilding theory for the current study as it deals with individuals directly in their conflicted relationships within their communities. It is a theory which includes three lenses: one lens sees an immediate situation, another lens sees beyond the immediate problems to view the deeper relationship patterns that form the context of the conflict, and a third lens helps to envision a framework to find creative and sustainable solutions to social change (Lederach and Maiese 2009). This is to say that the interests and narrative should be carefully handled to shift from a destructive situation to a constructive one, as theorized by Miall (2004).

Referring to conflict transformation practice, transforming social conflict related to disproportional abusive power should include the restoration of relationships and social cohesion destroyed by wartime rape. In this research, I focused on relational and individual levels of conflict transformation to influence changes at structural and cultural levels. The study considered five components that conflict transformation uses to bring change. These were used for the categories of rape survivors and their perpetrators living in the same area, and to children born from rape in their abusive relationship with others in the community. Firstly, there were facts that had been addressed to bring change, such as the root cause of relationship disturbance, being aware of the function and perception of rape survivors' identities within the communities. Second, the needs of rape survivors and perpetrators were met so that problems could be solved in a long-term, sustainable strategy. Third was to carefully choose the fact needing emphasis by checking contradictory elements when considering solutions to the dilemma. This led to the fourth tenet of complexity: the relations between rape survivors and perpetrators in terms of communication, dialogue, trust, and so on while, at the same time, avoiding a relapse of rape. The

solution to this complexity was in the capacity of both victims and perpetrators to generate many options for change, and their commitment for constructive change. The last component of conflict transformation relied on identity and relationship: understanding the perception of identity through narrative to enhance social cohesion.

1.5 Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative methodology because it is within a paradigm of action research that relies on qualitative data and is essential in terms of comprehending the issue of rape against social cohesion. In order to find solutions for this longitudinal study, we used qualitative technique grounded on case studies and action research. The adoption of this methodology is also since this research study dealt with human feelings. To get a deeper, more holistic understanding of rape survivors, rape perpetrators and children born from rape's challenges to their social cohesion and get different perspectives of the problems, as well as the approaches to assist them overcome them needed qualitative methodology. As Stringer (2014: 36) said, "Fundamentally, action research is grounded in a qualitative research paradigm whose purpose is to gain greater clarity and understanding of a question, problem, or issue." That was the reason why the exploratory phase focused on the following methods: observation, interview and focus group discussions.

My research has two groups of population: adults and children. Adults are the major actors of the study, while children are the minor participants. The children's presence is justified simply because they are one group of a community affected by rape; they were born because of rape and are frustrated by the community behaviour. Nevertheless, the presence of children in this study changes the configuration of the enquiry in terms of data collection. The procedure of children's data collection automatically differed from that of the adults due to their age, although I used the same qualitative data collection methodology such as interview, observation and focus group. For this, children instruments have been adapted.

1.5.1 Children's research design

The blueprint of children's data collection was based on six elements: the justification of using children in this research, ethical considerations, the instruments, process, time, and period of data collection. Even though adults and parents may reflect the voice of children by giving information based on their relationship within the family, children born out of rape also have the right of expressing themselves, their experiences, and the way they have been treated by adults as well as by their peers. Proxy-reporting is no longer necessary to get children's opinions and feelings. What is important is to collect accurate data directly from children, even though it requires skills, attention, caution, and technique to do so. As Finkelhora *et al.* (2014: 218) state from his study, "empirical evidence to extend understanding of the potential risks to children and young people, the relatively high number of children reporting upset

suggests the need for caution and for careful consideration of methodological choices”. The reason I included children in this study was because they have their own experiences, perspectives, and views on the way their parents, families and communities have been treating them. Also, children can contribute to the cohesion of the family and communities as social actors. As asserts Einarisdóttir (2007:199) *“Children are seen as strong, capable, and knowledgeable experts on their own lives, possessing knowledge, perspective and interest that is best gained from the children themselves”*.

Regarding ethical considerations, the concepts of confidentiality and anonymity are difficult to handle. They are limited when it comes to a focus group. Anonymity is only possible during the writing stage of the thesis. However, because of their importance, the limitations of the concepts were explained to children. Notwithstanding the limitations, children had the right of protection against any harm and inconvenience.

For instance, children were protected from the curiosity of their parents, peers, and others to know what they will be saying. Thus, children were aware of the confidentiality limit, risk of harm or damage as a result of participation in the research (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean 2022). While interviewing young children, this was expressed as the difference between what could be ‘just between you and me’ and what may need to be told to others ‘to stop someone from getting hurt’ (Thompson and Rudolph 2000: 35). Also, the choice of location was a requirement to assure confidentiality for children. We planned to negotiate with their parents to conduct research in a safe and private place outside their homes. This was to avoid any influence of children’s answers and protect them from any harm. To be more effective for the issue of any possible harm, social workers and sociopsychologists were attending each meeting as they have the skills to protect participants from secondary trauma and to deal with children. Therefore, we carefully chose the children as interviewees. Only children born of rape and aware of that status could be considered as interviewees. This was to avoid harming children born out of rape and who are not aware of their status.

The process of data collection from children is challenging and complex despite the fact that their opinions are protected by the law. Since the development of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989, children’s right to express opinions in matters affecting their lives as articulated in Article 12 has been increasingly recognised (Education Research Centre 2014). In this study, it demands, first, the consent of their biological parents, adoptive parents, or other authorities, and the assent of the children (Terre des hommes 2019). This was renewed throughout the course of the data collection process due to some factor such as the age of the child. “[A child of] 16 years of age can give consent, with competence being defined as having enough knowledge to understand what is proposed and enough discretion to be able to make a wise decision in light of one’s own interests” (Fargas Malet *et al.* 2010: 177). Thus, we needed assent from children under 16 years old, and the consent of their parents. The sample size of children is detailed later at the end of this section.

The instruments used were interviews, focus group, and observation (examining their words, meanings, and so on). Both open and closed questions were used, with follow-up questions for clarification. Furthermore, it was advisable to avoid complex and over-simple words, and notions that restrict children into giving only trivial responses (Alderson 2000). Thus, we began with simple, common, and typical questions related to a normal life then progressively asked questions based on their feelings, treatments by their parents and other adults towards them, and their perceptions as children born from rape in order to create resilience and to contribute to a cohesive community.

Generally, the interview technique involved informal conversations that allowed the researcher to carefully listen to children and understand the meaning attached to their experiences. This technique has also helped to bridge the gap of authority between me as an adult researcher and them as child respondents. For focus group discussions, we applied a creative method to collect data such as story game. This method has been used when children's own stories may be deeply traumatic – for instance, children who have suffered the direct consequences of a conflict or genocide (Veale 2005). In this current case, children were born because of rape in wartime. They are still suffering because of the behaviour and culture of the community. They are not easily accepted and are still considered as rebels like their fathers (rapists), notwithstanding their innocence. Children born of rape are often rejected by their families and communities (Pratt and Werchick 2004).

The story game was the method used for the children's focus group. During the focus group sessions, each child could create a part of a story by adding a line to the story and joining it to another part of story. Then all together learnt and shared experiences from the story. According to Summerfield (1999), the story game method dramatically highlighted how children pooled their individual memories, fantasies and meanings to create a cohesive narrative that arose from their collective, shared understanding. During the focus group discussion, children were assured that there is no right and wrong answer so that they could participate freely. Both interview and focus group discussions were conducted with breaks in between each meeting. We offered them foods or snacks at that time for them to relax during the interviews then continue using breaks during focus groups with children, such as group activities and refreshments as advised by some scholars (Morgan *et al.* 2002).

Studies of children born from rape in the Congo is rarely investigated. Statistics of such a population are unknown. The figure given by Panzi hospital is 210 children born of rape in South-Kivu (Panzi Hospital 2013) even though this was less than what has been reported and is just a sample of that hospital. Thus, based on the qualitative sampling method, an average of three to four children per village participated to the interview session. As a result, I was able to establish the target population of youngsters for the five villages at 15 to 20 participants. This is related to the principle of “the size of a sample with sufficient information power depends on the aim of the study, sample specificity, etc.” (Malterud, Siersma and Guassora 2015: 1754). Children born of rape are here considered as specific

population of minors. The size of the sample has finally depended on the saturation of the responses based on the lower figure of the sample given above. Each interview last approximately 45 minutes and the focus group discussion lasted one hour each at the maximum. Children attended enquiry sessions for three months subdivided as follow: one month of interview, one month of focus group and one month of the intervention for their social cohesion. The three months are not consecutive but depending on the availability of children and the rhythm of the activity process. Based on my previous five years' experience as a Sunday school teacher and monitor, involved in the spiritual and social life of children, I was confident of properly handling interviews and focus groups with children of any age, also being supported by professionals where needed.

1.5.2 Adults' research design

The research design for adults focused on four main points such as the criteria of participants to attend the session, ethical considerations, data collection instruments, and the procedure of action research for all categories (children and adults).

The adult group has two major sub-groups being (1) the central actors, that were rape survivors (both rape survivors who gave birth because of rape and rape survivors who did not have children from rape; and can also be classified between single rape survivors and married rape survivors), and the perpetrators and (2) the peripheral actors such as traditional leaders, community-based mediators, and leaders of organisations that work with the issue of rape against women. Because the collection of data did not have to deal with forensic evidence of rape, I worked with perpetrators who have acknowledged their status. For example, those who received a prison sentence and were released from prison but are still living together in the same area with the victims. The second category of perpetrators are those who have not been sued by any jurisdictional institutions but obtained an arrangement between the victims and the victims' family to solve the problem through community-based mediation (or other organisations) and are living in the same environment with the victim. These criteria allowed them to feel free to give their consent and attend the interview sessions.

To start, we needed consent from them to participate in the research. A form of consent was explained to them and signed by them as proof of their agreement. To protect participants from any harm or inconvenience, cautions were considered. The concept of confidentiality and anonymity have been set as well. Also, the room for interviews was a secure place, outside the respondents' homes to ensure confidentiality. Respondents have been cited only if they agreed to be named. Data has been kept in a private and secure place and will be destroyed after five years. Only the researcher and those involved in this research can access the data.

Second, the issue of subordinate trauma was taken seriously for successful data collection. To avoid victims' attrition, and secondary trauma, I first solicited the participation of a psychologist and a social

worker to attend each interview session. The interview begun by acknowledging that the victim's trauma can contribute to immediate and long-term emotional health, and lay a solid foundation for a successful interview (Human Rights Watch 2013). Third, I avoided repeating interviews on the same story or theme. Delaying follow-up interviews was encouraged to refresh the emotions. Therefore, the period of data collection took a significant amount of time to handle the issue safely. This was done in nine months to ensure that all stages have been completed successfully.

Data was collected through in-depth interviews, observation and focus group discussions. The in-depth interview was conducted both privately (one by one, victim and perpetrator separately) and then face to face. These sessions lasted no more than 30 to 45 minutes and were assisted by the psychologist, or social worker to handle the relapse of any bad feeling. Focus group sessions were done separately first and then together under safe conditions. In the situation that the victim was willing to meet her perpetrator and consented to do so, specialists such as psychologist, and social workers were assisting with their experience to handle any inconvenience. But this was done only between victims and perpetrators' families or within the victim's or perpetrator's family. The aim was to involve perpetrators in the healing process of the victims to transform their relationship. The focus group helped participants to have a common understanding of what was entailed, and agreement was reached on what issues are. Some important form of agreements on at least one issue were reached to transform the conflict as is highlighted by Frazer, Zurich and Ghetts (2013) on the process of transforming conflict. Focus group discussions were done in a dialogue style between the victim and her perpetrator family. This allowed me to see the immediate situation and beyond. Also, it helped to envision the framework to find creative scenarios for solutions. Each session of focus group was lasting one to two hours.

1.6 Research approach and data collection process

The blueprint for this research is action research, "a collaborative approach to inquiry that provides people with the means to take systematic action to resolve specific problems" (Stringer 2014: 8). It helped all participants to clearly understand and analyse the way rape has affected relationships, identity, and social capital values within the communities. This generated potential solutions regarding social cohesion through the "Plan, Act, Observe, and Reflect" activities (Lufungulo, Mambwe and Kalinde 2021; McNiff 1999: 22).

The blueprint is divided into two main stages. The first stage is the exploration of rape and lasted three months. At this stage, the nature of rape, the root causes, the motivation of the perpetrator, the consequences, and its effects on the cohesion of people within South-Kivu communities was explored. That stage helped to get an overview of rape, and how deeply relationships have been destroyed. This was considered under the following themes: relationship, social capital, trust, communication and collaboration, solidarity, identity, and social integration. Then, I gathered relevant supplementary

information on the dynamics of conflict caused by rape, the history of rape within the community, its geographical distribution, and the demography of perpetrators, victims, and children.

Activities at this stage included seven sub-stages to truly describe the issue of rape which has destroyed relationships within the community:

- Sub-stage one: Identifying the respondents, getting in touch with participants, knowing each other, getting their consent and assent to participate throughout the process of the inquiry
- Sub-stage two: Gathering information from children born from rape, their friends, and the members of their family
- Sub-stage three: Gathering information from victims of rape, their family members, and husbands for those who are married
- Sub-stage four: Gathering information from perpetrators and organizations that are dealing with traditional justice and community-based of peace and mediation
- Sub-stage five: Gathering information from traditional leaders within the community
- Sub-stage six: Identifying and recruiting participants willing to pursue the inquiry and form the data collection team for the final sample.
- Sub-stage seven: This stage had two moments. The first was the revision of the objective of the study and to fix the outlines of the information gathered related to the objectives of the study. The second stage involved collecting the information from the individual respondents, but then grouping each category of respondents in its group to assess the accuracy of the information and to identify common themes to find ways forward to the second stage of the inquiry.

The second stage relied on the results of the first stage to find creative solutions for the broken community due to the widespread rape against women. This second stage lasted nine months, and includes five sub-stages:

- Sub-stage one: From the results of stage one, we planned how to find solutions to solve the dilemma since the overview of the problem, the central and peripheral actors, and the known contradictory facts;
- Sub-stage two: We assembled the community-based team composed initially of peripheral actors, and central actors separately, then together to devise conflict transformation mechanisms to craft innovations to build cohesion among the central actors and the rest of the community
- Sub-stage three: We carefully crafted a training manual of skills and knowledge to develop team capacity for conflict transformation within the context of broken relationships and social cohesion after widespread rape
- Sub-stage four: We devised an action plan with activities, divided into two sub-activities:

1. Implementing activities

Applying the preceding skills and knowledge of conflict transformation mechanism such as dialogue, mediation, and other mechanisms according to the way problems appeared (stage I) to find solutions for a cohesive community. Those activities were summarized as follows:

- a. Use of conflict transformation mechanisms for central actors to find cohesion
- b. Raising awareness
- c. Hold meetings with aggrieved groups

- d. Community talks about rape
- e. Draw possible lessons on the restoration of social cohesion and devise a mechanism of social reintegration for victims
- f. Apply the mechanisms for social reintegration

2. Review/reflections on what was going on

Sub-stage five: Based on the evaluation, we assessed the quality of the implementation, the approach and methodology to evaluate the quality of relationships, communication, trust, collaboration, social capital, and so on. This has been addressed comparing both periods, that was, before and after implementation with all the components in the community, to see if cohesion has been reached somehow.

1.7 Setting and target population

My research has been conducted within the following selected sites of Kalonge village composed by 6 sub-villages among which 4 have been selected for this study. The selected sub-villages are Fendula, Cifunze, Caminunu, and Cibinda in South-Kivu province, the eastern part of the DRC. It included three main groups of population: victims of rape, perpetrators, and children born from rape. Based on the qualitative methodology, we needed an average of six to nine adults from each group per village, which gave an average of 30 to 45 adults from their groups. We also needed an average of three to four children born from rape per village, giving an average of 15 to 20 children in the 12 to 18 age brackets. In addition, two or three traditional leaders from each village participated throughout in the research activities, meaning an average of 10 to 15 leaders and elders assisted. Thus, those needed were between a minimum of 55 and a maximum of 80 people as a total sample, which represents all five communities. Sample of rape survivors was drawn from an estimated 2500 to 3000 victims (Human Rights Watch 2002) reported around 2002 with the probability of getting those having children born from rape whose children are above 15 years old even though some minority younger ones (from 12 years above) were also considered. Community leaders, perpetrators and other contributor like social worker do not belong to this sample but got from the community.

1.8 Sampling method

I used a non-probability sampling techniques (Ilker Etikan, Sulaiman Abubakar and Sunusi Alkassim 2016), based on a purpose sampling (Teddlie and Yu 2007). It facilitated to select and meet the key respondents and informants (rapists, children born from rape, victims, and traditional leaders). These participants were accessible and available as they were known within their communities. For instance, with the consent of local Committees of Peace and traditional leaders, we have identified victims and perpetrators. Then, the parents of children born from rape assisted to invite their children by means of their consent and the assent of the children.

1.9 Measuring instruments and pretesting

We used unstructured interviews, involving a little standardization, and semi-structured interviews with an interview guide organised by theme. These interviews were completed with follow-up questions when it was necessary. In order to ensure that interviews are of acceptable quality, apart from the quality and relevancy of the questions, we carefully chose the location of the interview, so that it would be convenient, comfortable, and safe for the interviewees. We also used a respectful tone so that questions could be a conversation rather than an inquisition.

Pretesting the questions was an important phase in the research. We conducted a pre-test to prepare the formal data collection. Pretesting involved simulating the formal data collection process on a small scale to identify practical problems with regard to data collection instruments, sessions, and methodology (Hurst and Arulogun 2015: 8-9). Thus, we focused on the preparation issue, which covered several elements as follows:

- *Materials:* After crafting the interview and focus group guide, we tested them on a small group that had similar characteristics to a formal population. This contributed to detect errors: if the language and words were understandable, repeating questions, questions to be readapted, useful versus useless questions, possible flaws, connecting questions, and so on. The discussion guide helped to keep what was needed as useful and understandable questions.
- *Interviewers:* We selected facilitators for the interviews who were familiar with the issue of rape, conflict, and social cohesion, and were willing to acquire skills, knowledge and experience in conflict transformation and social cohesion. Also, we selected a moderator and a note-taker to help to fill gaps while interviewing, and completing each other's notes
- *Site:* We obtained permission and consent from the main and peripheral actors, and permission to use secure and convenient locations for interview and focus group sessions within the selected sites of Kalonge villages, Fendula, Cifunze, Caminunu, and Cibinda in South-Kivu province,
- *Participants:* We selected respondents according to their willingness to participate in data collection activities
- *Motivation:* We anticipated and selected what can motivate participants and relax them such as food, snacks, and drinks to thank them.

1.10 Data analysis

We employed the method of thematic qualitative data analysis as reported by Sutton and Austin (2015: 227-230), as follows:

- Reading the data carefully to see which themes are common, appearing many times in the respondents' answers
- Code: Identifying the key words and developing themes from data
- Results: See what quotations have talked about both factors, the extent of alteration and mechanisms for the consolidation of social cohesion; ordering data and putting them into categories

- Discussion or interpretation: Under an analytical framework that linked theoretical framework and conceptual framework, analyse the respondent's perspective and meaning, then compare the result with the theoretical framework (concept/themes) and discuss them, comparing my result to my literature review.

1.11 Research Activities Ethical Considerations

This section includes general ethical considerations of the study, participatory action research (PAR) ethical considerations, and case study ethical considerations.

1.11.1 General ethical consideration

1.11.1.1 Trustworthiness and dependability

The trustworthiness and dependability of this study depended on the triangulation of information among different sources of data as given above. That was to say, we should receive feedback from participants after the information has been checked by and with them. This process contributed to correct errors of fact and interpretation. On the other hand, we also received feedback from experts on the issue of rape. Their critiques about the revision of all the important aspects of the study was useful.

1.11.1.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Informants were told about the concepts of anonymity and confidentiality which were applied to this study, and if participants would like to be named, then they were named as agreed. This was possible only for the interview sessions, but not for the focus groups as the anonymity could only be respected in the writing stage of my thesis.

1.11.2 Specific ethical considerations

The specific ethical considerations are compounded by those aspects related to the participatory action research approach, and the ethical considerations for a case study. These are outlined below.

1.11.2.1 Participatory action research ethics

There are some principles that research must respect before and while conducting participatory action research. I had to ensure that all relevant respondents (participants, committee, support groups, and authorities) were aware of the research, that I had authorisation to start the research activities, and permission to consult documents for the observation stage. I allowed every participant to influence the work. The development of the work was opened to outside researchers to get more suggestions as there was a shared ownership of the research. I took responsibility for the confidentiality of the information. Before publishing the outcome, I got permission to use and release data. I paid attention to the "unintentional" and "undeliberate" changes by listening to respondents and on the way of revolving conflict between the research and the consultancy. Finally, pictures of respondents have been removed

from this study to protect their identity, privacy. Only pictures of literacy centre's coaches have been put.

1.11.2.2 Case study ethical considerations

The ethical considerations of the case study come from the criteria for judging the quality of research designs based on four elements which are constructive validity, external validity, internal validity, and reliability, all covering the research design, data collection and data analysis. In detail, the constructive validity of this study identified correct operational measures which are expressed in terms of qualitative methods (interview, observation, focus groups) as the source of evidence was limited to collecting data. The internal validity sought to establish a causal relationship by explaining why and how the rape issue and the long-term effects have negatively affected relationships and social cohesion within the community. The internal validity has also addressed rival and convergent explanations and used logic models during the data analysis to obtain solutions. The external validity defined the domain in which findings can be generalized. Finally, the reliability of this study would be demonstrated based on if the outcome could be repeated or not.

1.11.3 Durban University of Technology's Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for participants to attend the research was provided by the Research Ethics Committee at Durban University of Technology under the reference number REC 172/7. The Research committee has set the period of fieldwork between 9 to 12 months required for a sensitive longitudinal study. Besides the IREC's approval, community leaders and CSOs' leaders working in the field of gender, integral development, etc. have provided permission to conduct the study through a consent letter. Consent and assent of participants indicated their voluntary participation. Thus, a form for consent and assent was made available for signature and agreement. Participants had right to withdraw from the study at any time should they wished to do so. They were informed about the purpose of the study and the report of the study will be made available to them at the end of the research, should they wish to have it. All DUT ethical requirements were carefully followed as well as those of the sites where the study was conducted.

1.12 Outline of the study

The current study has 11 chapters divided into two major parts. From Chapter One to Chapter Four, the study presents the overall idea leading to the research, its context and research problem, the literature review, the theoretical framework, and the methodology. The second part is composed of seven chapters which are: data results presentation, analysis and discussion of the results, the intervention of the inquiry, and the conclusive remarks which include recommendations and further areas for study.

Chapter One consists of the context of the study related to the widespread rape of women disturbing social cohesion in the Kalonge community in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the research problem, the aim and objectives, the research design and methodology, the research activities, and ethical considerations.

Chapter Two highlights the theoretical framework of conflict transformation, social cohesion, and the socio-ecological model. The use of conflict transformation has contributed to explain the transformation of relationships of rape survivors and their perpetrators, as well as children born from rape and their abusers. Hence, the chapter provides approaches to handle the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors, including the three dimensions of social cohesion. To address this issue, two levels of conflict transformation have been explored: the personal and relational, with an influence on cultural levels.

Chapter Three is the review of the literature on rape and social cohesion. This chapter provides an overview of the issues of rape in both peacetime and wartime, and of social cohesion. Various theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence have been provided from different epistemological positions to explain soft and extreme acts of rape in peace and wartime. The literature presents theories which explain the motives of isolated, incidental peacetime rape and those of widespread functional wartime rape, including classic theories discussing rape in the DR Congo.

Chapter Four discusses the overall research design and research methodology of the study. Under a qualitative methodology, participatory action research (PAR) is underpinned by a research philosophy whose model is “plan, act, observe and reflect.” This, in turn, is based on a transformational paradigm as the worldview of this study. The chapter ends by presenting how research activities have been handled.

Chapter Five recounts rape experiences from capture operations to the escape of rape survivors from the jungle in Kalonge community. This chapter highlights the circumstances in which women and girls were captured, taken to a jungle where they spent time experiencing a series of rapes, and their effort to escape from perpetrators and armed groups or militias’ campsites.

Chapter Six relates rape survivors’ feelings of belonging in their social reintegration process after escaping from rape in the jungle or after a rape incident. The first contact after the rape, or after coming back from the jungle, and the social interactions between rape survivors, their family members and people in the community has produced unexpected reactions depending on each social group and the individuals. Where some accepted them naturally, others have not welcomed them, refusing to facilitate reintegration into their social groups.

Chapter Seven concerns rape survivors’ feelings about belonging in their earlier, later and current social reintegration process. The chapter highlights weak relationships, and the distorted cohesion of rape

survivors in their community. This can span from one year to more than ten years after the rape as an indicator of social cohesion disturbance. The emphasis is on rape survivors' conceptions of social cohesion including self-identity, their feelings regarding the rape experience, and the way it changed their lives afterwards. This can be either positive for post-traumatic growth, or negative because of the effects of the rape incident, as well as their inability to positively change the situation.

Furthermore, the seventh chapter includes a section on rape survivors' feelings of belonging being weakened by the denial of social integration of children born from rape. The presence of children born from rape plays an ambivalent role in their mothers' lives. Maltreatment against children, based either on socio-cultural motives, or individual, private, or collective motives, has negative effects on mothers' feelings of belonging. It disturbs their safety, harmony, and network support, as it deals not only with their own rape issues but also the abuse of their children. Where individuals have maltreated children born from rape, the kinship cultural system has been the key factor that has worsened children's integration into their mothers' family and community.

Chapter Eight concerns the stiff social integration process for children born from rape. This chapter highlights children's maltreatment and the effects of social integration denial. It also examines the reaction of children to manage their social integration. Two dimensions of social cohesion are explored. First, are feelings of belonging including self-representation, safety and support, trust, risk and vulnerability, hope or desperation, and the effects of abuser image. Second is the management and re-establishment of their abusive relationships. The outcomes of children born from rape maltreatment have resulted in two types of children: either introvert children, with their related issues, or extrovert, violent ones who pose a threat to community peace, security, and stability.

Chapter Nine highlights the intricate rape perpetrators' accountability, feeling of belonging and trust, and the attempt toward rape survivors' safety. Holding perpetrators accountable for rape is the most challenging issue where success determines the rest of the process towards restoration of their relationships with their victims. This entails the enabling of trust, safety, and other social mechanisms contributing to the restoration of their victims' feelings of belonging and safety. These are the key factors in enhancing relationships.

Chapter Ten looks at an intervention for the restoration of social cohesion for a united community using mixed methods participatory action research and conflict transformation practices. The intervention aims to reintegrate them socially into their families and community through enhancing the quality of intra- and inter-personal relationships. The intervention has been supported by key community guarantors of social cohesion such as local community leaders, custom law-keepers, and social workers to reinforce the quality of the process. The intervention comprised of four major activities: training on social cohesion and post-traumatic growth; family dialogues, a literacy centre, and community awareness. It was limited to community leaders, custom law-keepers, and stepfathers, and has included

two major themes. These are the restoration of social cohesion, and post-traumatic growth. These themes are considered as a measure of the outcomes of the intervention.

Chapter Eleven covers the recommendations, conclusion, and areas of further study. The findings reveal cultural, social, personal, and relational factors that have obstructed the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from rape in the community. This has included risk factors that have increased the alteration of the issues about the pre-rape period, during the rape, and the post-rape period. The factors surrounding these three periods have worsened social reintegration. The intervention on attitude change has contributed to using conflict transformation practices as a tool for constructive change. Recommendations have been made on community, national and international levels, followed by the areas of further research that were not developed well, were not completed, or were not addressed, but are still relevant for the contribution of the knowledge in this field.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides approaches to manage the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors. To address this issue, two levels of conflict transformation have been explored: personal and relational which would influence the community level. The structural level is not considered for this study. The theoretical framework of the study is conflict transformation stemming from liberal peace and peacebuilding, which have been applied to the three dimensions of the theory of social cohesion, namely, solidarity, feelings of belonging, and trust for the sake of change. Furthermore, discussions were held under the umbrella of the socio-ecological model at three levels: individual, relational and community. Liberal peace and liberal peacebuilding theories, from where the theory of conflict transformation emerges, have been used to understand the complex context of rape that led to the damaged community of South-Kivu, but failed to address the issue at the bottom level of the community. By focusing on social cohesion dimensions, the latter theory has contributed to enhance the quality of relationships.

2.2 Conflict Transformation: Fundamental Framework of the Study

The fundamental framework of conflict transformation lies on liberal peace and liberal peacebuilding.

2.2.1 Conflict transformation precursors: Liberal peace and liberal peacebuilding

On the one hand, liberal peace is a theory that functions in both peacetime and wartime. In peacetime, it prevents conflict and maintains peace through democratic institutions. In wartime, it resolves conflict and sustains peace. On the other hand, peacebuilding, specifically in wartime and in post-conflict periods, endeavours to promote stability, rebuild peace, and contain violence, and plays the same role as liberal peace in wartimes.

Liberal peace is a renewal idea of Emmanuel Kant's prediction on peace in the world. It finds its explanation through three pillars which are republican representation, ideological commitment to fundamental human rights, and transnational interdependence³ (Caranti 2016; Doyle 2005; Sorensen

³ Peoples and governments are affected by what happens elsewhere by the actions of their counterparts in other countries.

nd). Respect of the individual's freedom and justice, the rule of law, the protection of human rights, dignity respect and relationships between governments are relevant to fulfil peace through democracy and trade (Howarth 2014). Especially, trade increases interdependence between countries, what trends to diminish bellicose conduct (Murphy 2020). As Hegre (2004) notes, it is normally restricted to how trade and democracy reduces countries' propensity to become involved in interstate militarized conflicts. Not only those paradigms of liberal peace work in peace time to prevent conflict within and between countries, but they also play similar roles in post-conflict periods as the best way of rebuilding sustainable peace in war-torn societies. The liberal peace consensus has become the primary framework to assist post-conflict societies in building sustainable peace. However, besides its limited success record, the liberal peace has become under criticism for its purported violence (Gelot 2018). Given that this theory has shown its limit, liberal peace has failed as many conflicts remains unresolved, the strategic pattern best suited to rebuild peace in a society is peacebuilding.

The term 'peace-building' appeared in Boutros Boutros-Ghali's Agenda of Peace, defined as a "post-conflict action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict" (Tschirgi 2004: 2). The aim of peacebuilding is to "prevent the resumption or escalation of violent conflict and establish a durable and self-sustaining peace" (Newman, Paris and Richmond 2009: 3). Peacebuilding has been divided into two approaches to clearly understand the issue of post-conflict interventions. The first is the conventional approach that focuses on a "problem-solving" strategy. The second challenges the existing institutions' policies and the interests they serve. It raises questions on whether peacebuilding is really liberal or a mechanism of hegemony (Newman, Paris and Richmond 2009).

2.2.1.1 Galtung's view of peacebuilding

In 1976, the pioneer of peacebuilding, Johan Galtung, perceived that peacebuilding as a tool for maintaining peace (the absence of physical violence, or negative peace), strengthening structures (the absence of structural violence, or positive peace) before violence occurs, and plays a similar role to end violence (Lambourne 2004). He bases his view on two pillars of peacebuilding: Sustainable peace, which addresses the root causes of violence, and the management of peace and conflict resolution through the involvement of indigenous groups (Shonda Simmons 2016). Even though one UN peacebuilding paradigm⁴ is ownership that puts people at the forefront of the reconstruction of the peace process, the general orientation of the interventions is still top-down. However, Galtung advocates a

⁴ Operational principles of post-conflict peacebuilding, the peacebuilding paradigm :

³ Peacebuilding is a multi-dimensional enterprise with several pillars: political, social, economic, security and legal dimensions, with security as a key dimension. Other elements of the paradigm are: Hierarchy of Priorities, Ownership, External Actors, Capacity Building, Time, Funding, Response Levels, and Accountability. Tschirgi, N. 2004. *Post-Conflict peacebuilding revised: Achievements, limitations, challenges*. New York: International Peace Academy. (p14)

bottom-up intervention which provides a specific place for the indigenous population who have knowledge of the reality of the issue and the accepted ways of managing it. The top-down intervention should be considered as a supportive group. The difference in orientation caused the UN peacebuilding intervention to fail. The more it deals with the multidimensional effects of violence, the more it neglects the foundation of its success: ownership and the root causes of peace transformation⁵, especially the national and local ownership, which is a key of success. Unfortunately, the involvement of the national and local ownership is typically weak throughout the process of a peacebuilding programme. When interventions are planned and decided at the top (the international level) and re-implemented in a particular local situation without consulting the bottom level, there might be a disconnect between the international objectives and the local social reality which affects the outcome of the intervention (Loode 2011). To address the issue of the disconnect, Loode (2011) looks at two elements which are the contributions to different scales such as local indigenous, national, regional and international actors making good decisions, and the uniqueness of a war-torn society instead of the replication of western institutions in post-conflict societies.

Galtung in Loode (2011), asserts that the lack of ownership, and the disregard for local practice are reasons why peacebuilding operations fail. The missing point is the philosophy behind the Western intervention, namely, the relationship between the master and the subject, Northern vs Southern societies, and neo-colonialism. There is a failure to consider the quality of relationships, and the power-balance between the decision-maker and the beneficiary of the peacebuilding programme in a war-torn society. The philosophy behind the non-involvement of the local indigenes to decision-making, and the solutions to their war-torn societies, rests on two factors: the consideration granted to those citizens, and the primary interests (political and/or economic) of donors regarding the victims. Selby (2013: 65) argues that, *from a post-colonial perspective, liberal peacebuilding has been described as a colonialism project, "cast in the mould of colonialism"*, and aiming to restructure southern societies in accordance with northern metropolitan ideology. In the context of this study, it reflects the hegemony of liberal values that reigns in global politics.

In such conditions, the gap between theories of peacebuilding, both to contain violence and to prevent the recurrence of violence, and the realities is large. As a result, victims of war remain subjected to unhealed, unsafe, and unimproved social, political, economic and security conditions. Peace issues are becoming a business, taking advantage of victims. However, when peacebuilding interventions are

⁵ Peace transformation presupposes a peaceful context as provided by peace education/journalism, the continuation of the work after violence and readiness to reopen peace agreements. Galtung, J. 2000. *Conflict transformation by peaceful means (the transcend method)*. New York: United Nations, Disaster Management Training Programme (DMTP): p.3.

impartial, planned and implemented with and to the advantage of war-torn victims, peacebuilding becomes a real tool of change from the bottom up, and a sustainable process of peace.

2.2.1.2 John Lederach's Peacebuilding view

Lederach is a scholar and practitioner who has associated theory and practice of peacebuilding in two directions: top-down and bottom-up. Most scholars emphasise theory and activities of peacebuilding from the top down, which is visible and, politically, the highest level of peacebuilding (Toscano 1995; Tschirgi 2004; United Nations 2010). They put less stress on the community, the bottom-up, as discussed above.

Lederach suggests that the essence of peacebuilding can be found in four major disciplines: relationship⁶, paradoxical curiosity⁷, creativity and risk⁸ (Lederach 2005). For constructive change, creativity is at the centre of the process of peacebuilding. It is an art of innovation. "It is where the divine and the human meet" (Lederach 2005: 38). Galtung approaches the issue of creativity almost in the same way as Lederach but tries to be more specific. Innovation should be unbroken in order to produce variety and continuous alternative solutions for change. The more alternative answers to an issue, the more constructive will be the change. Apart from the risk of uncertain response, creativity itself has a risk which those authors did not bring out: The risk of emotional response. The risk is to propose responses that are emotional rather than objective. This is a great motive of checking each response before implementation, so that it will lead to constructive change instead of further violence. Therefore, to avoid such blunders, sometimes it is better to apply strategic peacebuilding which involves more actors and enough time.

2.2.2 Strategic Peacebuilding

Strategic peace building involves 15 disciplines: Restorative and transitional justice; legal and judicial systems; environmental protection; human rights; humanitarian assistance; early warning and response; civilian and military peace-keeping; economic, social and political development; education; activism and advocacy; research and evaluation; trauma healing; military intervention and conversion; governance and policymaking; and conflict transformation (Schirch 2004). Strategic peacebuilding involves strategy, which is developed by considering the four W's and H questions: What (to do at the four levels of conflict transformation?); who (is responsible; who should be involved, and who is able

⁶ The centrality of the relationship is humility and recognition; these determine the quality of the relationship. We should recognise that our life depends on the quality of life of the other. For instance, the well-being of our grand-children is directly tied to the well-being of our enemy's grand-children.

⁷ Accept the appearance of the issue or argument, and then discover the invisible which lies beyond appearance when there the cycles of violence are often reduced from the complex to dualistic polarities – between the "we and they": we are right, they are wrong.

⁸ The practitioner should be prepared to work through the uncertainty of a proposal about change to find the solution.

to instigate significant change?); when (occurs before, during and after violence in three frames: one year, five to ten years, 20 to 50 years?); where (the place of intervention requires significant analysis?); and how (to design the strategy, under what principles?) (Schirch 2004).

This study used the four Ws and H approach, with a time frame of 9 to 12 months. This first-time frame emphasized the transformation of relationships as a pilot project. The outcome of that pilot project served as the basis for further implementation and experience. As my study emphasised on a post-conflict society, I emphasised the rebuilding of social relationships without violence, and the prevention of further violence.

2.3 Peacebuilding Schools of Thought

Peacebuilding has three main schools of thought, which are sometimes extended up to five. However, the mainstream peacebuilding literature posits three schools which are: conflict management, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation. The two extended schools are the complementary school and the alternative discourse school of peacebuilding (Paffenholz 2009). All those schools aim to achieve peace but differ in approach.

The oldest school of thought, linked to the institutionalisation of peacebuilding in international law, is the conflict management approach. It uses diplomacy to end war. Mostly, it deals at the political level with those in power such as state and party leaders in conflict (Miall 2004). The advantage of this strategy is that it may easily end war. Paradoxically, the approach is a short-term management of armed conflicts, and overlooks the root causes of conflict (Paffenholz 2009). Instead, according to John Bourton, conflict resolution aims to solve the underlying causes of conflict mainly based on the denial of human needs such as identity, security and distributive justice, and so on (Fetherston 2000). It seeks to rebuild destroyed relationships from individuals to communities with a long-term approach (Paffenholz 2009).

On the other hand, conflict transformation is a continuation of and replacement for conflict resolution. It focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a different understanding of peacebuilding (Miall 2004: 7; Paffenholz 2009). This approach builds on the complementary school, which is the association of conflict management and conflict resolution. This is the form that brings together the top and the bottom orientations. The last school is the alternative discourse school of peacebuilding. This school shows that the peacebuilding discourse has become a self-referential system that long ago lost its connection to the real world and the needs of people (Paffenholz 2009).

Hence, my study has utilised conflict transformation theory because it has contributed to rebuilding relationships between victims of rape, the perpetrators, and the rest of the communities, as I will show further.

2.3.1 Theoretical foundation: Theory of conflict transformation

Lederach and Maiese (2009: 8) suggest conflict transformation can be viewed through three lenses in one frame: “*A lens to see an immediate situation, a lens to see beyond the immediate problems and view the deeper relationship patterns that form the context of the conflict and a lens that helps to envision a framework to find creative and sustainable solutions to social change*” Those three lenses involve a deep analysis of conflict, devising appropriate solutions to conflict for a constructive change as a process towards sustainable peace.

The first lens determines the episode, the expression of the conflict, the immediate situation. This is rooted in a context connecting the present to the past. The episode serves as a window to investigate life and relationships, to capture and understand the content of conflict, and to see patterns of relationships which influence the immediate situation, the epicentre that produces the energy of conflict. That first lens permits access to the epicentre of the conflict, which is the second lens. They both involve the content, context and structure of relationship (Lederach 2003). The second lens is more of an intellectual exercise that demands one to think, to envision the possibilities and alternatives of devising creative solutions towards a third lens, which is one of sustainable social change. The three lenses are held together in a single frame to achieve the same goal. Thus, from those lenses, Lederach’s meaning of conflict transformation differs a little from the one given previously by Galtung and others.

For Lederach, conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships (Lederach 2003). Consequently, in my view, conflict transformation, involves the capacity to consider conflict as not always positive, but that may lead to positive change. It shifts from destructive to constructive change with an emphasis on the quality of life at any scale of relationship. It is willing to engage in the paradox of a negative correlation of reducing violence while increasing justice. It is an opportunity to change vision into long-term actions, notwithstanding the dynamism of conflict within human relationships. Lastly, it affects the process of constructive change, combining linear and circular movements.

2.3.2 Practices of conflict transformation

The practice of conflict transformation, according to Lederach (2003), rests on five pillars which are: *Develop the capacity to see present issues as a window; develop the capacity to integrate multiple time*

frames; develop the capacity to pose the energies of conflicts as dilemmas; develop the capacity to make complexity a friend, not a foe; and develop the capacity to hear and engage the voice of identity. I will apply these five pillars of conflict transformation in my study by focusing on the effects of rape against women, a case study of the DR Congo.

In fact, to transform social conflict within the local South-Kivu community the restoration of social cohesion destroyed by wartime rape against women. In this regard, instead of an emphasis on all four levels of relationships acknowledged by conflict transformation – that is, personal, relational, structural and cultural (Lederach 2000) – I focused on two levels: the personal and relational in order to influence changes at the structural and cultural levels.

The personal level includes victims and perpetrators separately. Rape survivors are both women and girls who have been raped, children born from rape, and perpetrators. For perpetrators, my study dealt with two kinds. The first is a perpetrator who becomes a victim after committing an offence; he feels guilty and is ready to change. The second is a perpetrator who remains potentially an offender, does not feel guilty, and is ready to commit an offence again. Finally, my study considered only perpetrators who have been charged and released, whether from prison or charged by an extra-judicial structure within the community. The relational aspect rests on both central actors and peripheral actors. The central actors are rape survivors, children born from rape, and perpetrators as listed above, whereas peripheral actors are family members of victims and perpetrators, friends, colleagues, husbands of victims, extra judicial agents, and traditional leaders. Those personal and relational levels influence the way structures and culture contribute to social change.

The five pillars of conflict transformation are presented as follows:

2.3.2.1 Develop the capacity to see present issues as a window

The present window is the immediate situation leading to the social conflict. This window allows us to understand the current situation. The immediate situation of rape survivors within the local South-Kivu community is the persistent effects of rape against women and the entire community in the post-conflict period, notwithstanding the interventions of the non-state organisations, governmental institutions, and regional and international organisations. That situation has affected social bonds between people within the community and the way rape survivors overcome their difficulties in terms of social cohesion.

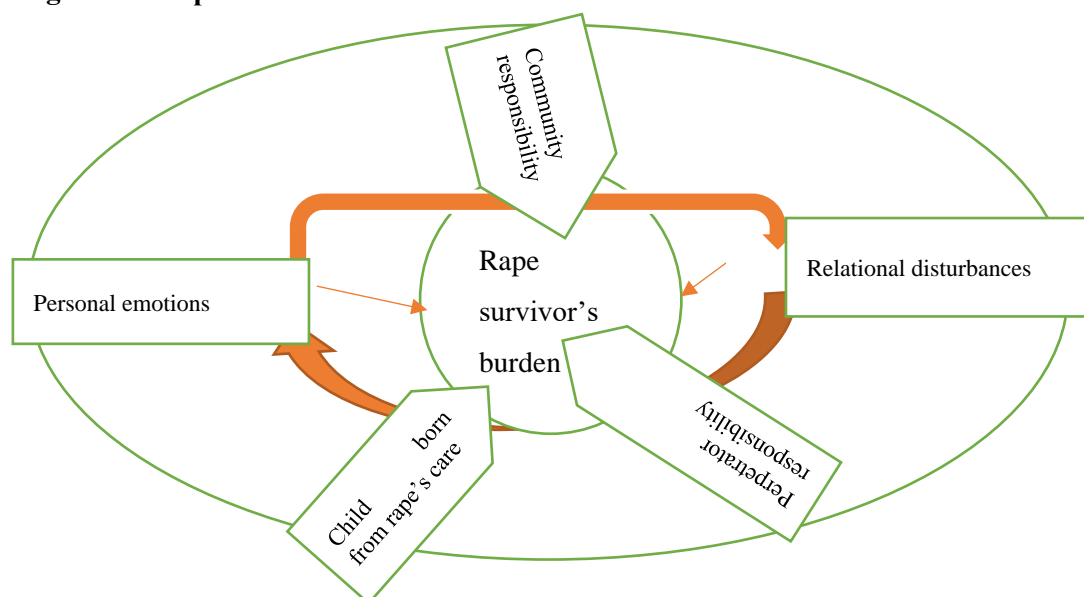
The effects of rape at the interactive level can be seen in several ways. Weak social capital of victims (less consideration within their communities and in their families, lack of trust, the limit of women's access to resources, and so on (Hagen and Yohani 2010); the exclusion/rejection of direct victims (women and their children born from rape); the lack of solidarity to direct victims (weak participation in the social network in villages, and in different associations such as those for farmers, deconstruction

of rape survivors identity, and so on); exclusion from traditional mechanisms of peace and extra-judicial services used to put aside rape survivors and deal with perpetrators and the victims' families and/or the victim's husband for the sake of the victims' reintegration.

Moreover, children born from rape have experienced similar feelings, treatment and consideration as their mothers: the lack of a sense of belonging to their proper family; discrimination and stereotypes such as “children born from rape still being rebels as their father” (known or unknown), “children born from rape are a curse and shame to the family and community”, and so on. Thus, they are rejected by their families and communities. The non-acceptance of children from rape is a social and psychological burden for their mothers, as displayed in the diagram below.

Perpetrators have found numerous of ways evading justice. The impunity and lack of restorative justice is at the same time an advantage for perpetrators but adds to the mental and social burden for rape survivors at the relational and intrapersonal levels. The fact that perpetrators are neither forced to accompany rape survivors through their social reintegration nor to participate in their recovery is terrifying rape survivors, making them feel unsafe. From those central actors (rape survivors and perpetrators) and peripheral actors (the community), the situation of unhealed victims and shattered communities is the burden of rape survivors at the personal and relational levels, as well as the reaction of peripheral actors to rape survivors in the community, as Figure 2.1 illustrates.

Figure 2:1 Rape survivor's burdens



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

There are two interdependent aspects affected: the personal and the relational. These could be the unhealed conditions, trauma, anxiety, deconstruction of identity, and so on, which affect the way rape survivors are reacting to others vis-a-vis their perception of themselves and others. Subsequently, those

perceptions influence the rape survivors' behaviours and conduct within the community. For those who have children from rape, the evil treatment by others (family members, friends of their children, and other groups within the community) increases the rape survivors' trauma. That traumatic situation continues to disturb the safety of rape survivors and their relationship to the rest of the community. For instance, if the victim's child is not accepted or is rejected, ill-treated, discriminated against, the mother feels the same as well. The suffering of the child automatically becomes the mother's suffering as well.

The second group is the perpetrators. The rape survivors' treatment by the community appears to give rights to the offenders, normalising and implicitly magnifying rape by men as proof of their masculinity. Such thinking condones a male-controlled culture where the community participates to reinforce pain, anxiety, and many psychological effects of rape. For example, if the perpetrators are free, not convicted, and feel unaccountable, the victim's fragility remains.

The third burden of rape survivors is at the community level. The ways their families, spouses, friends and others within the community condone the tenets of patriarchal tenets behaviour, is shocking. The victims feel unable to participate in community activities, and to identify themselves as members of their community. Thus, victims suffer fourfold: from the rape, from the treatment of their children, from the impunity of perpetrators, and from the perception of the community at personal and relational levels. Hence, the cohesion of the entire community is disturbed. From that present situation, it is possible to look at the scale of the interventions, and the time frames.

2.3.2.2 Develop the capacity to integrate multiple time frames

According to Lederach (2003), multiple time frames demand two actions, thereby creating strategies that include responses for the short term without being limited by the constraint and inventing strategies for the long term. This emphasises the specific needs of all actors involved. For this second tenet to work, the first is to discover the needs of the actors in the conflict, to understand them, and to devise appropriate solutions. In the context of this study, and according to the present situation, I consider the change from negative to positive attitudes of rape survivors, perpetrators, children born from rape, and the entire community. That involves the two levels of change: personal and relational as they relate to opportunities for change:

Personal change: For female rape survivors, the basis for personal change lies on the willingness of victims for change, trusting herself and the perpetrators, feeling accepted, and reconstructing her identity, among others. The children of victims have similar requests to their mothers such as feeling accepted within the community, especially from their mothers' family, feeling safe and loved. Perpetrators who are guilty need to feel accepted as well, trusted by the victims and the community.

Relational change: Victims and perpetrators have similar relational needs. For instance, the feeling of belonging to their community, participation in social networks, being accepted, respected, and trusted, and so on. Children born of rape need to be treated as equal to other children, and should be taken care of emotionally, economically, socially, and so on. Apart from the similar needs, perpetrators on the other hand, have specific needs such as participating in the victim's reintegration process within her family and community. The un-

convicted perpetrators need to repent, acknowledge their accountability, and participate in the victims' reintegration process as well as convincing other perpetrators.

2.3.2.3 develop the capacity to pose the energies of conflicts as dilemmas

Dilemmas and complexity are inter-related and involve the decision between either/or. The choice of handling contradictory solutions to move towards constructive change is at the heart of a dilemma. The formula is then: *How can we address "A" and at the same time build "B"?* This is at the centre of transformation (Lederach 2003: 52). So, putting energy into a dilemma to find a solution is efficient for the sake of change.

Again, the relational level in my study is where dilemma appears. The dilemma lies in the relationships between victims and perpetrators where it demands enhancing communication, dialogue, trust, respect of others, and so on while, at the same time, avoiding the relapse of rape and sexual abuse in an asymmetric relationship: the "power" (man) against the "weak" (woman and girl). This is the most contradictory fact in my study. That contradiction is also the complexity of this study.

2.3.2.4 develop the capacity to make complexity a friend, not a foe

As noted above, a dilemma implies complexity. The issue is how to consider complexity a friend rather than a foe. The only way to see the conflict positively is to accept it. The more we break the fear and feeling of insecurity, ambiguity, and uncertainty, the more we move towards simplification and solutions. *"Trust the capacity of systems to generate options and avenues for change, pursue those that appear to hold the greatest promise for constructive change, and not be rigid by looking on one idea or option"* (Lederach 2003: 54). Hence, the complexity of this study rests on addressing the multiple needs, handling the contradictions, and the need for solutions.

In fact, solutions to this complexity are embedded in the options available through conflict transformation. Yet, the process is compounded by both the central actors and the peripheral actors who may generate many options for change. That capacity lies in the actors' commitment to constructive change in building a cohesive community. What is interesting here is the fact that every group of actors has some predisposed potential to participate in the solutions. These are opportunities to explore cohesion within the community.

2.3.2.5 develop the capacity to hear and engage the voice of identity

Lederach (2003) asserts that identity is the way people see themselves, their expectations, fears, and hopes, and impacts relationships. In my study, the identity of women victims of rape, as well as the perception of themselves and others, have been altered and deeply affected. Therefore, narrative brings an awareness of the fears, hopes, and expectations for a relational solution between victims, perpetrators, and the community. The understanding of that narrative will lead to the one of the

epicentres of the conflict and will be the beginning of the process of solutions engaging both linear and circular processes. Moreover, the issue of identity disturbs relationships and interactions against social cohesion within the south-Kivu local community. That disturbance alters indicators of social cohesion, discussed in the subsequent sub-section.

2.4 Social Cohesion Theory Under the Socio-Ecological Model

The philosophy underpinning the restoration of social cohesion inquiry lies in the socio-ecological theory including the intra-personal or individual, the inter-personal, or relational, and the community and society levels. At the individual level, personal characteristics, biological factors, behaviour, and personal experience have risk factors such as: gender, age, low levels of education, belief supporting the use of violence, anger, or hostility toward others, having few friends, or being isolated from others, being unemployed, and so on. Relational risk factors include fights, tension or struggles among family members, marital instability, divorce or separation, poor communication between parents, poor supervision or monitoring of children, association with aggressive or delinquent peers, an emotionally unsupportive family, and so on. At the community level, the risk factors around social relationships include: the level of residents' social connectedness, the lack of recreational opportunities, the lack of neighbourhood organization, and so on. At the community or society level, social factors either create a level of acceptance or intolerance for violence. Also included are factors that can create and sustain gaps between different segments of society with the increased risk lying on social norms that, for example, it is acceptable to use violence to resolve conflict and that consequences are minimal, cultural norms, health policies, economic policies, and educational policies.

2.4.1 Theory of social cohesion

Theoretically, there are three main ways of approaching the study of social cohesion. The first is the sociological approach, the second is the psychological approach based on the study of integration and social stability, while the third and most recent one is the policy-oriented approach (Acket *et al.* 2011b). Coined by Durkheim in 1893 (United Nations Development Programme 2016), the concept was soon followed by the work of Le Bon (1896) who “distinguished different types of crowds/communities, and that these have a multiplicity of characteristics, opinions and beliefs that impact the individuals in a crowd” (Fonseca, Lukosch and Brazier 2019: 233). Social cohesion theory has also been developed by scholars such as Jacob Moreno (1934), Lewin (1943), Wellman (1979), Berman and Phillips (2004), and Bruhn (2009) (United Nations Development Programme 2016). However, despite their different approaches, they somehow converge social cohesion values in which “bonding between individuals is created once they feel connected through group feeling, frequent social interactions, social attraction, social capital, and task commitment or interdependence” (Sahharon *et al.* 2020: 238). In my inquiry I

have used a mix of sociological and psychological approaches to address the restoration of social cohesion in the local community.

The third approach of social cohesion focuses on policy. Institutions and policymakers see social cohesion as important for stable democracies, greater civic participation, productivity and growth, resistance to the consequences of economic shocks, and a better quality of life for citizens. This is because cohesive societies are simply more liveable and sustainable for people and are inclusive and tolerant of diversity and multiculturalism. Social cohesion also assists with conflict management and resolution, particularly after crises such as radicalism, violence, protests, or political divisions. Furthermore, in fragile states, health outcomes, particularly related to the links between health and income inequality, employment and social support measures can be tackled (Burns *et al.* 2016). The policy of social cohesion rests on the bond of living together. The quality of relationships is predicated on values that produce ethics and norms by which a society function. The nature of those values determines the strength of the relationships, which ultimately dictate how stable a group of people will be in a society (Heuser 2005). Thus, the quality of relationships determines the level of cohesion. In a post-conflict society such as the DR Congo, the respect for and implementation of that policy become tools to reduce the level of violence, prevent further relapse of conflict, control how the society is functioning, and how leaders are taking care of the defenceless people.

2.4.2 Dimensions of social cohesion

Therborn (1999) posits that scholars distinguish three dimensions of social cohesion. The first is trust institutions. The second is the feeling of belonging based on an individuals' social integration, and on the place given to them in society. The third is a willingness to show solidarity with their society. Those three levels, including the vertical and horizontal interaction of people within the society, depend on attitudes and norms (Green, Janmaat and Han 2009). Other scholars classify social cohesion within five dimensions which are: feeling of belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy (Berger-schmitt 2000). Whether there are three or five dimensions, the final purpose is to reduce exclusion and disintegration, and to increase togetherness or cohesiveness. In my study, I have used the first three dimensions – that is, trust, feeling of belonging, and solidarity – as these connect to the practices of conflict transformation and, therefore, link the two theories of conflict transformation and social cohesion.

2.4.2.1 The first dimension: Trust

The concept of trust is complex to describe. It is both feeling and belief at the same time. Some scholars, such as Jack Welch cited by Rawlins (2007), stress the precedence of feeling before believing: “You know it when you feel it.” Some prefer to provide synonyms instead of defining it; for them, trust is confidence and dependability. The definition of trust is not uniform; it depends on each group of

scholars and the perception they have of the concept. For instance, some describe it as an expectation or belief instead of feeling (Bligh 2017). Therefore, the meaning can be divided into two components: a general-attitudinal affective component, which is known as feeling, belief and expectation, and a specific-situational cognitive component known in terms of predicting outcome variables, as noted by other scholars such as Butler (Rawlins 2007) Lloyd Sherwood and DePaolo 2005).

As I understand it, trust is all about feeling, belief and expectation: you feel the rightness of something, and the feeling gives you confidence to believe, and to command your intellect to shape your expectation; however, it is tricky and uncertain. It seems that trust covers several scientific disciplines and situations such as psychology, management and leadership, negotiation, and so on. My research will focus on the important discipline of social interaction or the sociological approach.

To handle the issue of trust sociologically, we need to understand its four dimensions: The first is relational trust⁹; the second is interdependence trust¹⁰; the third concerns a trustworthy individual, group, or entity based on the quality of relationships (benevolence, competence, honesty, integrity, reliability, predictability, good judgment, concern, and openness); while the fourth dimension is the outcome of trust¹¹ that has a behavioural action (Rawlins 2007). The sociological approach views trust as dyadic, which reduces the intensity of uncertainty. In other words, when a person trusts another, these impacts both parties. By trusting, the first person reduces the risk. This creates reflexive trust, which is reciprocated, thus reducing the risk further. This, in turn, makes people feel confident in each other. Hence, confidence reduces uncertainty and strengthens the quality of the relationship, which is the ultimate goal (Holmes and Karl Rempel 1985).

However, the above trust debate is mostly focused on a normal relationship rather than on relationships after a social crisis. How can trust be rebuilt, confidence regained while, at the same time, reducing the uncertainty and risk in a broken relationship? In my view, trust experiences in normal times are different than in a crisis, especially among people who have been destroying each other within a community shattered by the effects of war. Thus, the concept of trust should be revisited in order to contextualise it correctly. The question that remains is: How can we transform a relationship of mistrust into a co-operative one?

⁹ Within a relationship, people differ in their degree of trust. Some people are more trusting; others are calculative vis-a-vis the trust.

¹⁰ In interpersonal relationships, interdependence and the risk of vulnerabilities are important for trust. For example, in a relationship between those who are powerful and those who have little power, trust is born of risk. It helps to transcend their differences, and expects to get benefit from the social exchange. In that regard, the risk of fear and uncertainty is minimised.

¹¹ Not only trust behaviour in terms of action, but also intention.

2.4.2.2 Second dimension: feeling of belonging

The feeling of belonging to a group or community is embedded in the need for identity. To start with, the meaning of “belong” demands deeper understanding. Since the 1950s, scholars have looked at “belonging” in various ways such as motivational, relational, and sociological. In fact, all three approaches are connected to explain what “belonging” means. As Maslow, cited by Allen and Kern (2017), pointed out in his hierarchy of needs, “belonging” is one such need. It includes one’s social spheres such as close friends and family, parents, and communities. This involves personal and social needs on the one hand, and motivational, relational and sociological needs on the other.

The underlying theory supporting belonging is a Freudian version of Bowlby’s theory of attachment. Bowlby’s basic theory stresses the infant-mother attachment in that a child’s tie to its mother shapes the physical and mental well-being of the child (Bretherton 1992). This has an impact on the relational development from childhood to adulthood. As written by Baumeister and Leary (1995b: 499), *“adult attachment to work organizations, religious groups, or others are derived from the child’s tie to its mother and revolves around personal attachments to the group leader.”* The feeling of belonging to a family, an organization or association, or to community is a tie of integration. However, in the context of a crisis which touches relationships, the lack of feeling of belonging seems to be a source of disintegration, exclusion, and rejection. The burden of crisis triggers either auto-disintegration or disintegration by someone else or a group.

Related to the long-term effects of rape within the local South-Kivu community, victims have experienced a lack of belonging. For instance, rape victims lack a sense of belonging to their community; children born of rape lack a sense of attachment with their mothers because of ill-treatment by the mothers’ family, their friends, and the rest of the community. Within the community, this issue has not been dealt with yet. Unfortunately, it has increased the gap between the national and local levels, and between the norms and the reality concerning the issue of identity and belonging.

At the national level, there are norms that people should share for them to be recognised as a part of a nation. However, within a local community, those considerations are significantly reduced to the extent that community social cohesion considerations are limited to traditional ideas of “who belongs to our community”; the sharing norms such as citizenship and identity, are limited to the dimension of the ethnic group. This causes the two perceptions, national and local, to collide. Therefore, ‘national belonging’ becomes principles on paper without strong effects to help those children to truly integrate with their mothers’ community. Congolese legislation on social cohesion clashes with Congolese traditional norms. The national perception is in the interests of everyone, based on the “civil code”, with the question, “Who has the right to be Congolese?” or “Who has right to get Congolese nationality?” The legislative norms seem to impose principles of cohesion of people in social conditions that do not fit the feelings of people.

In the local community, social cohesion is first based on feeling rather than on the law. In other words, in the Congolese local community, we are ‘brother by blood,’ and more by feeling, rather than ‘we are brother by law.’ This difference in perception between the top-down and the bottom-up impacts reality such that children born from rape are victims of the concept of “belong to.” Therefore, because of the rape crisis, there is a shift from being ‘brother by blood’ to being ‘brother by feeling.’

The reality of rape in my study shows that is not enough for people within the local community to feel belonging to the same community. The issue of belonging has little or no significant credit among citizens but contributes a great deal to the solidarity within the community.

2.4.2.3 Third dimension: Solidarity

The concept of solidarity has been used in the three forms of social cohesion, that is, economic, political, and social. For my study, social solidarity, developed by Emile Durkheim, is the relevant approach. This distinguishes two kinds: mechanic and organic (Berger-schmitt 2000). Durkheim is a socialist who considers solidarity as a *fait social*¹² that transcends individual consciousness (Thijssen 2012). Mechanic solidarity is a characteristic of small, undifferentiated tribal communities. Lives of group members exhibit a substantial degree of objective similarity, creating what Durkheim calls the “conscience collective.”¹³ That “conscience collective” is underpinned by the socio-psychological fact that accompanies social structures: the attraction based on the compassion and consideration among group members triggers interaction. Individuals identify themselves to the group and get a new identity (Thijssen 2012). The second form of solidarity according to Durkheim is organic. Organic solidarity is characterised by the contractual logic, rational consideration, complex division of labour, and empathy which drives the exchange between partners by recognising others as partners to help (Thijssen 2012).

The third component of solidarity is what Durkheim calls social solidarity, which is a derivation of both mechanical and organic solidarity. According to him, “*civic solidarity refers to the bonds that tie people together in shared interests based on group belonging and the negotiation of identity*” (Sammut 2011: 1). This relates to the second dimension of social cohesion – the sense of belonging and identity. Therefore, solidarity becomes an expression with a purpose, reducing exclusion and increasing participation of all members within a group, family, organization, and community. The trend is towards vulnerable members of the community who need support because they are poor and excluded (European Committee for Social Cohesion 2004b).

If mechanic solidarity gives way to organic solidarity, there is a new way of thinking about organic solidarity in terms of division of labour. Division of labour is not only rational and economic, but also

¹² *Fait social*, from French, can be translated as a social fact

¹³ Conscience collective from French can be translated as a collective conscience

social and emotional within a society. Durkheim concludes that, we seek in our friends the quality we lack, since in joining with them, we participate in some measure in their nature and feel less incomplete. It is this division of labour that determines friendship. In fact, the true function of the division of labour is to create in two or more people a feeling of solidarity (Breiger and Roberts 1998).

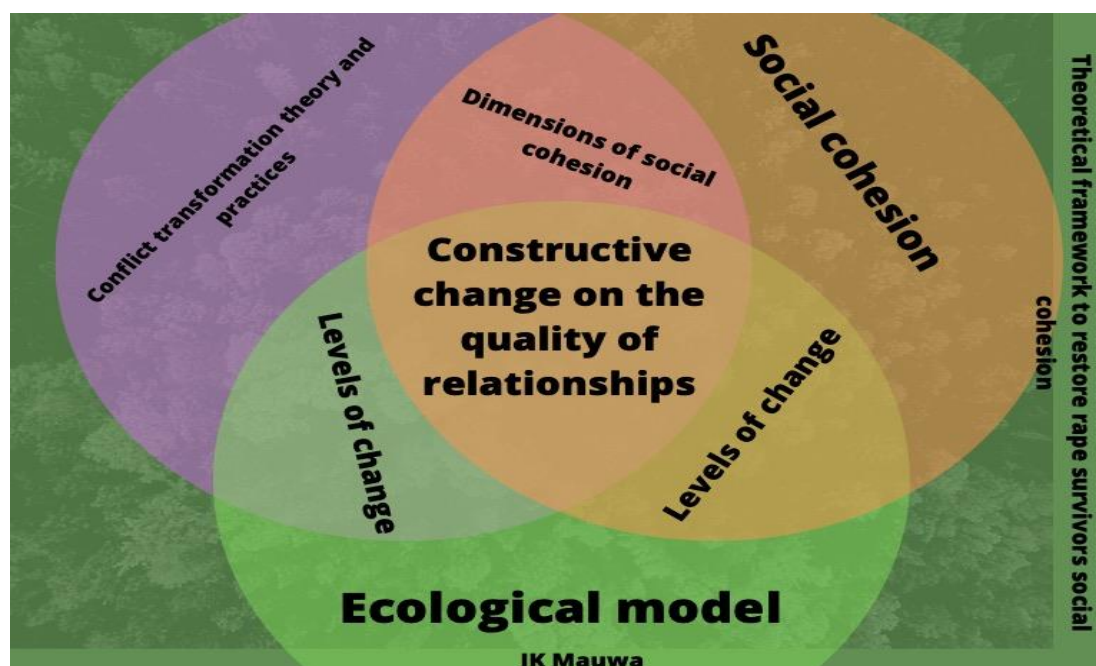
2.5 The Criteria of Evaluation Inquiry

To ensure the inquiry process considers the strengths and weaknesses, it is important to include the people and groups most affected by the inquiry throughout the process from design to implementation, up to the reflexive stage. And, since evaluation is a core component of the research process, the study must be judged according to certain criteria chosen according to the philosophy, theories and methodology applied to this research. Although evaluation is sometimes seen as a one-off activity at the end of a project, it can also be seen as an integral part of the knowledge creation process (Worthen *et al.* 2019) and, even, used continuously as in action research evaluation. Hence, I have used participatory evaluation since it is related to participatory action research used to this inquiry even though there is no convention to evaluate action research. The advantage of this evaluation model is that it can be applied as a specific form of evaluation on its own. Or it can be applied in combination with other forms of evaluation such as impact evaluation, gender-responsive evaluation or theory-based evaluation (Intract for civil society 2017).

Evaluation of participatory research is based on the correctness of the original diagnosis, the usefulness of the action taken, and the effectiveness of the action taken. The usefulness and effectiveness depend on co-operation between the researchers and practitioners. Where the research engages in significant work, the results can be new with enduring changes (Khan and Tzortzopoulos 2016).

Since the inquiry rests on conflict transformation practices where change of attitude and behaviour are key, the evaluation of this inquiry will be based on transformative participatory evaluation. This relies primarily on participatory action research by helping to create conditions where participants can empower themselves. Thus, it focuses not only on data collection, analysis, and dissemination, but also on learning inherent in the process and on any actions that may result (Cousins 2007). Stages and details on the way the evaluation will be carried out are developed in the following chapter on methodology.

Figure 2:2 Theoretical framework on the restoration of social cohesion



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

2.6 Conclusion

The theoretical framework of my study lies on two main theories: conflict transformation, which draws from liberal peace and liberal peacebuilding theories to explain the issue, and social cohesion theory under the socioecological model to find solution. Liberal peace explains the way that political and economic systems could normally bring peace within a country. Unfortunately, the implementation of that theory has failed in DR Congo and is the beginning of mass rape in that country. Liberal peacebuilding, by contrast, is well known for containing and preventing violence and rebuilding peace in post-conflict societies. However, liberal peacebuilding has failed as well because of the long-term effects of mass rape against women within the eastern part of DR Congo. Liberal peacebuilding uses different strategies to manage and end war issues such as conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. Thus, as one of the schools of thought of liberal peacebuilding, and one of the 15 components of peace building, conflict transformation is a theory which explains and underpins the process of finding solutions and change.

Furthermore, conflict transformation has the merit of handling social change by transforming relationships. My study shows that relationships have been destroyed by mass rape within the South-Kivu communities of the DR Congo. The relations both among central actors and between central actors and peripheral actors still require rebuilding 20 years after the beginning of war and the mass rape crisis.

That situation has altered ties, cohesiveness, and togetherness. Hence, social cohesion aspects such as trust, solidarity, and the sense of belonging are tools that will contribute to the cohesiveness of the community to prevent further violence and bring sustainable peace to the South-Kivu communities. Therefore, the intervention using conflict transformation based on social cohesion will be evaluated in terms of the impact of the changes that the intervention has brought.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW ON RAPE AND SOCIAL COHESION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the issue of rape in both peacetime and wartime, and of the issue of social cohesion. It presents theories which explain the motives of isolated, incidental peacetime rape, and those of widespread functional wartime rape including classic theories of rape in the DR Congo. To avoid squeezing, minimising the gravity of rape meaning in war as frequently understood to be an intractable cultural trait and outside of that context as a private matter perpetrated by lone, sexual deviants (Eriksson 2010), the current chapter gives details that bring together the deeper meaning in both times.

Rape is a complex phenomenon that must be classified into two periods, peacetime, and wartime, for a proper explanation. Various theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence have been provided, often from different epistemological positions, to explain soft and extreme acts of rape in peace and wartime. These include patriarchy, biosocial, feminism, “pressure cooker”, environmental aspects, and cultural pathology as factors triggering rape, but do not appear to touch the problem in depth because of limited explanation. Particularly in wartime, there is a continuing debate on the causal and corrective factors of rape related to negative consequences. Contributions to the discourse emerge from wide ranging disciplines and a holistic and encompassing review of literature is needed for better understanding. In the case of the DR Congo, specific explanations that fit mass rape experienced in this country will be discussed. Before getting to the motives for mass rape in wartime in the DR Congo, I will present general points on incidental rape in peacetime and then functional rape in wartime.

3.2 General characteristics of Rape and Classic Theories of Rape in Peacetime

The general characteristics of rape are here developed under the meaning of rape, theories underlying the existential explanation in peacetime, and other issues surrounding rape.

3.2.1 Meaning of rape in peacetime

Rape in peacetime is an isolated phenomenon which concerns all society throughout the world. Notwithstanding the diverse definitions of rape, and to avoid bias of defining rape as carnal knowledge of a female, forcibly and against her will (Dowds 2021; Sodipo *et al.* 2018), the definition becomes the penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with anybody part or object, the intrusion of other objects for example a stick, finger, and so on, constitutes the act of rape, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim (Caringella 2009; Williams and Walfield 2016), an individualized harm, an attack on the self by violating private boundaries (Ghabrial 2021).

This is a traditional meaning which emerged from the historical perspective of the society where women were the legal properties of their fathers and husbands. As such, rape was a crime against a man's property damaged or spoiled by the offence (Ullman 2007). The historical perspective of rape has produced several effects. It puts aside the offence against the victim and, instead, considers the offence being against the owner of the victim. Thus, the humanity of the victim is diminished as she does not have right to her own body since rape has become the offence against victim's family and community. The advantage of that consideration is that the victim is not blamed but protected, gaining support from everybody as a property. In modern time, there is a recognition of the "classic rape": When a male stranger attacks a woman at night, kidnaps her, or breaks into her home, and then forces her at gunpoint to submit to sexual acts (Williams and Walfield 2016).

3.2.1.1 Classic theories and views of rape in peacetime

Views on rape have been discussed in the context of the post-colonial period and reflect different characteristics according to various disciplines and scholars' views. Those developed by earlier feminist scholars such as Simone de Beauvoir, Susan Brownmiller, and so on, lead to questions of power and consideration of men *vis-à-vis* women as a source of violence. However, the recent feminist theories of Cynthia Enloe and Judith Butler stress male privilege and identity as sources of violence against women. Most theories are expressed in terms of characteristics of rape to explain the reason why men rape.

3.2.1.2 Legal characteristics of rape

Rape has been a recognised crime (Franjić 2021) involving consent, force, *mens rea*. *Consent* is principally seen as either subjective or performative, that is, the individual permitted the sexual act in question or physically displayed such assent. *Force* may involve a range of physical acts ranging from assault to obstructing a person's freedom of movement (coercion, fear of violence, duress, detention, psychological oppression, abuse of power, taking advantage of incapacity and coercive environment). *Mens rea* refers to the state of mind of the perpetrator that must be established to have existed at the time of the commission of the offence (Eriksson 2010).

Legally, rape has been split into two different forms: statutory rape and forcible rape. Statutory rape laws apply to a man who engages in sexual intercourse with a female under the age of consent, even if she participates willingly but she is still a child at the time of the consent, her consent does not cancel the fact. Forcible rape on the other hand consists of intentional unlawful sexual intercourse¹⁴ with a woman without her consent (Vogelman 2017) and it has been considered as a crime, a felony under common law (Allison and Wrightsman 1993). Likewise, judicial institutions try to clarify rape in a

¹⁴ Intercourse is defined as any degree of penetration by the male genital organ into the woman's vulva or labia. The rapist does not necessarily have to achieve orgasm or ejaculate.

situation “if a man should ravish a woman, married, maiden, or other woman, where she did not consent, neither before nor after...”, a psychological oppression (Allison and Wrightsman 1993: 196). In this way, consent is the main criteria that defines rape event though concept of consent within the context of rape and sexual offence laws has long been subject to critique. Though preferable to force-based definitions, consent has been criticized for being a vague concept (Cossman 2022).

Consent changes its nature when it comes to the sphere of marriage. A married woman had no right to consider a forced intercourse as rape: married people were denied status as victims [of rape] (Allison and Wrightsman 1993; Mackenzie 2010). This is because of the socio-historical view of rape *vis-à-vis* women: a woman is the property of a man, a woman is the “other” of man as De Beauvoir (2005) says. As Adams (2005) emphasises in the title of his book, “I just raped my wife. What are you going to do about it?” that statement and even the content of the book grants to men the right to rape their wives. For them, acting violently against a wife’s will is normalised and neither an offence nor a felony. Perpetrator attitude has to be viewed according to the state of his mind which is also condoned and reinforced by the silence from belief systems such as culture and religion.

3.2.1.3 Religious characteristics of rape

Rape is treated as a sin against God and all people. It’s an offence against God who created human beings in His image and with a dignity that needs to be respected (cf. Gen. 9:6; Jas. 3:9). This is evident in the Bible that sexual assault is also a sin against another person, involving a physical, psychological and emotionally violation. But it also affects the whole community (cf. Judges 19-21). Marie Fortune (Holcomb 2013) cited by (Woodbridge and Joubert 2018) describes sexual assault in four different ways:

- ‘It is a bodily sin. Sexual assault is a violation of bodily boundaries and distorts one’s sense of body image’.
- ‘It is a sin against relationship in the sense that it destroys and violates the command to love one’s neighbour as oneself’.
- ‘The consequence of this sin is that it can create barriers of distrust between victims in their future relationships’.
- ‘It is a sin not only against the victims but the community surrounding that victim’.

Rooted in sociocultural belief, rape is complexified by the perception of religious men. Religious characteristics of rape are embedded in the context of patriarchal systems where religions seem to condone it from their silence, neutrality, and the perception of certain religious leaders towards women. To start with, religion is considered as a mixed spiritual, social, institutional, and personal reality for many people (Woodbridge and Joubert 2018). It has an important mission of preventing violence, discrimination, and any kind of issue against the cohesiveness of people, peace, and development.

Through teaching, training, counselling, and praying, religions have spread their doctrinal components with values and beliefs which strengthen their actions and trust. Yet, some religions seem to spread discrimination against women, especially when it comes to sexual abuse and other issues where women feel disempowered. As Fortune and Cindy G. Enger (2005) argue, religion can also be misused to excuse or condone abusive behaviour. The neutrality and silence of religious teachings in the context of violence against women is seen as condoning the conduct which is reinforced by some conservative religions.

In fact, the earliest conservative church doctors, fathers, and American patriarchs have destroyed the image and consideration of women in the church as well as in the mosque. They have expressed in several words their perception of women as inferior to men, loathsome, evil, who have a defective nature morally and religiously, and so on. This is because of the original sin that was triggered by Eve (Cross 2013; Tarico 2013) in Christianity for example. Therefore, they have condoned and encouraged the right of men to sexually spoil women even though the influence of those words has decreased nowadays.

In religious circles in general, themes of female chastity, wifely duties, and the ideal woman in religious texts contribute to a culture that excuses men's violence against women and practices hinder rape acknowledgement (Piggott and Anderson 2022). Preliminary research suggests that a substantial number of clergymen endorse marital rape myths (Sheldon and Parent 2002). This is driven by cultural and socialisation influences (Barnett and Wang 2016). For them, Biblical texts might support some rape myths such as marital "rights" of men to their wives, and those certain types of women deserve to be raped (Blyth 2009; Fortune 2005). On the other hand, much has been written about the association between the poor status of women and Islam. Many scholars state that moral codes supposedly derived from Islam are not faithful to shari'a but rather are distorted by male interpreters and/or need to be reinterpreted in a modern context (Franiuk and Shain 2011). This belief affects the behaviour of religious people against women as their statement is the position of women is to always assume a subordinate role in relation to a powerful man as God created men to rule the world.

If conservative religions condone rape, especially marital rape, there are modern and moderate clergy who are trying to prevent rape and violence against women. They have adopted a different style of intervention regarding sexual violence and rape against women through religious organizations such as the Faith Truth Institute (Busanello Kroba and Steffena 2015), "Commission Diocesaine Justice et Paix" (Conference Episcopale Nationale du Congo: Commission Episcopale Justice et Paix 2007), and others. These organizations are active and helpful in a war-torn society shattered by rape against women. Apart from religious institutions, there is another structure that perpetuates violence and rape against women: it is called the Media.

3.2.1.4 Media: A pornographic characteristic of rape

Media, as one of the essential cultural institution, has a direct influence on sexual Violence against women (Ali, Youssef and Qamar 2020). The media is a pervasive and powerful tool for influencing perceptions of both genders, yet differently. The media impose daily messages, images of sex, and pornography into our consciousness which perpetuates unrealistic and stereotypical perceptions. Thus, part of the common debate suggests that pornography leads to sexual assault, harassment, rape, and any kind of sexual crimes.

Feminists such as Brownmiller, Lederer, Morgan, Russell, Dworkin, and Mackinnon have a slogan: “Pornography is the theory, and rape is the practice” (Kutchinsky 1991: 47). Feminist theories of rape and learning theories believe rape results from social and cultural traditions, and originates in societies where “males have dominated nearly all important economic and political activities” (Ellis 1989: 18). Such theories assert that prostitution and pornography depict males as dominant, portray females in a degrading, demeaning manner, treat women in a subservient way, and consider them as nothing more than property. The media spread of pornographic rape images contributes to socialisation and influences men against women, acting exactly as the pornography provides the scene (Ferguson and Hartley 2009; Layman 2020). The argument concerns the influence of pornography on any types of relationship, and contacts between male and female which can lead to rape.

Scholars categorise pornography into two groups which include non-violent and violent pornography. Non-violent pornography is sexually explicit material without any overt coercive content. Violent pornography, or sexually violent media, refers to materials that fuse sex and violence: acts that are non-consensual, coercive, and/or violent are explicitly portrayed (Linz, Malamuth and Beckett). Compared to non-violent pornography, violent pornography is widespread through the Internet and most electronic devices (Makin and Morczek 2015; Owens et al. 2012). It’s marketed to wider audiences with the role of perpetuating misogynistic behaviours and attitudes (Makin and Morczek 2015). For instance, pornography has become a big business, although precise revenue data are difficult to obtain. In the USA, sales are estimated at up to US\$4 billion per year, with around 10,000 to 15,000 pornographic movie productions (Diamond 2009). In 2016, Some have estimated the industry to generate between \$5–12 billion per year (Bridges 2019). Around the world, production and distribution of violent pornography, including literature, audio, animation, movies, toys, and video games, is estimated at US\$57 billion per year (Bada Math *et al.* 2014). The best-selling pornographic video is a tool used to spread acceptance of the idea that rape is a myth. The most important finding is that women, dominated through pain, resist at first but eventually express enjoyment (Gutierrez 2013). Rape myth portrayals in the media contribute to their acceptance and, consequently, affect the frequency of violence against women (Elmore *et al.* 2021; Malamuth and Check 1985; Makin and Morczek 2015; Martin and Yuen 2010) as much of popular pornography depicts acts of aggression or degradation (Bridges 2019).

Thus, there seems to be a positive correlation between the increase of violent pornography and the rise of the rape rate, between biased media reporting and a rapid increase in the prevailing rape incidents (Ali, Youssef and Qamar 2020). There is a debate on the fact that violent pornographic materials increase aggression and rape against women (Bada Math *et al.* 2014; Bonino *et al.* 2006). As Mancini, Reckdenwald and Beauregard (2012) reported, around 40 to 43 percent of rape victims are from pornographic consumers, and 21 percent of them believe that pornography use increases the frequency of violence, sexual assault. Several scholars also assumed a strong correlation.

Even though constant watching and reading of pornographic materials may not lead directly to sexual abuse, there is a positive correlation between the period, the frequency of watching, and the need for masturbation. The more the consumer masturbates himself, the more he begins to seek real people to fulfil his need (Johnson 2014). This is to say that pornographic behaviour has two major consequences in an offender's life: the loss of partner consideration and significant auto-consideration based on sexual pleasure.

Notwithstanding the correlation between violent pornography and rape, some scholars do not agree that watching even violent pornography might lead to rape and any sexual abuse. Johnson (2014), for instance, argues that addiction cannot be transformed into abusive behaviour. Also, easy access to pornography does not have a significant impact on rape rates and crime rates against women (Bada Math *et al.* 2014). Scott, on his side, shows that there is no correlation between semi-hard-core pornography magazine consumption and rape (Ferguson and Hartley 2009). Hence, there is no consensus among scholars. Not only have some scholars argued that there is no link between violent pornography and rape, but others display the advantages of pornography. Consumers of pornography feel this does not harm women. For them, viewing and reading pornographic magazines has more positive¹⁵ effects than negative effects (McKee 2007). However, the consumers' perception is different from non-consumers. For non-consumers pornography is said to affect the consumers' mind. It distorts attitudes and perceptions about the nature of sexual intercourse as they can tolerate abnormal sexual behaviour, sexual aggression and even rape; they also view women as objects. Violent pornography has physical and emotional consequences too. For the body, the major effect is addiction; in the heart, it affects the emotions. For married men especially, they feel less sexually satisfied by their partners, and

¹⁵ Becoming less repressed about sex, becoming more open-minded about sex, becoming more tolerant of other people's sexualities, giving them pleasure, providing sexual education, maintaining sexual interest in long term relationships, being more attentive to a partner's sexual pleasure, finding an identity or community, and making it possible to open discussions with their partners about sex. The possibility of creating negative attitudes towards women is the least likely effect. McKee, A. 2007. Positive and negative effects of pornography as attributed by consumers. *Australian Journal of Communication, ResearchGate*, 34 (1): 87-104.

tend to become unfaithful. Bachelors feel ashamed, sexually uncertain, with diminished self-confidence (Fagan 2009).

In fact, people and organizations that are against the availability of pornographic material stand on two relevant arguments: Pornographic materials destroy social order by leading to rape, sexual assault, and other crimes related to sex as it is seen as a fantasy providing pleasure. Also, it is harmful and contributes to degrading, detrimental attitudes toward women (Diamond 2009). To these critics, the media uses pornography to minimize the effects of sexual violence on women and emphasises the supposed pleasure that sexual violence can bring to women, so that society could be ready to accept this fact. Even though society has condoned acceptance of the rape myth through pornography, feminists have their view against society's perception of rape.

3.2.1.5 Feminist theory of rape: Patriarchal characteristics of rape

The views of rape have been discussed in the context of the post-colonial period. Earlier views by feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir and Susan Brownmiller, led to questions of power and consideration of men *vis-à-vis* women as a source of violence. However, recent feminists such as Cynthia Enloe and Judith Butler, reckon that male privilege and identity are a source of violence against women. The patriarchal system is expressed through a man's domination, power and control. De Beauvoir (2005) attempted to find out the origin of this system. For her, if the human consciousness had not included the original category of the Other¹⁶ and an original aspiration to dominate the Other, the invention of the bronze tool could not have caused the oppression of woman. This is to say that male dominance is a social construct which influences rape against women. The patriarchal system that dominates societies is a drive of the perpetuation culture of the minimization or rationalization of sexual violence against women, misogyny in form of verbal abuses and on body parts of women (Singh 2021). Influenced by Brownmiller, she claimed that: "sexual violence is perpetuated by a patriarchal system where men hold higher status and have greater power than women" (Brownmiller 1975). The patriarchal system is nourished with the myth of rape acceptance that relegates women to a position of powerlessness and the assault is motivated by power and control rather than sexual gratification which is a violent rather than a sexual act (McPhail 2015).

However, in modern times, violent rapport between men and women has been viewed in terms of privilege and identity because dominance and control can be applied in different spheres of life such race, class, ethnicity, politics, and so on, where people experience power, not just with respect to gender. According to Enloe (2004b: 5) "patriarchy is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the

¹⁶ A woman is called second sex as what a man decrees; she is simply a sexual being to man, she is the other; the inessential versus the essential who is a man.

privilege of masculinity.” To follow up on this point, Butler (1999: 6-7) asserts that, “The notion of patriarchy has been criticized in recent years for its failure to account for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural contexts in which it exists”, and for her, this sphere of power is related to identity and privilege. Therefore, the modern perception of rape due to patriarchy has been diminished. Feminist identities¹⁷ related to sexual assault emphasise on the modes in which they interact with sexual assault (Canan and Levand 2019).

3.2.1.6 Western and African feminist perceptions

Western feminism: is a mainstream theory of ‘female’ that claims deference to the equity between men and women within society. Nevertheless, feminism still complex as it considers general and specific principles according to the location, geographical space, the culture of a society, and the environment in which that feminism has been developed. Thus, I will present feminism from an African feminism perspective, as my research is geographically located in Africa, within the DR Congo adapted to African culture. As noted above, the bedrock of western feminism is patriarchy expressed through a man’s domination, power and control. In addition to De Beauvoir, Brownmiller and Enloe, Judith Butler (1999) extends the notion of patriarchal perception as a universal characteristic of male dominance. Her point, however, is that, currently, the universal view of patriarchy has failed to illustrate its universal principle. She asserts that, “*The notion of a [universal] patriarchy system has been criticized in recent years for its failure to account for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural contexts in which it exists*” Butler (1999: 6-7). If universal patriarchy has failed to explain the universal subjugation of women under male power, it also fails when it limits male power to the gender realm only, for men may have power upon other men and violate them too. So rape might occur among men, among women, between men and women in whatever domain and levels of life (race, politics, religious, military, and so on) where there is a power and subjugation trend (South and Felson 1990; Sivakumaran 2005; Lewis 2009; O’Brien, Keith and Shoemaker 2015). This is the limit of feminist theory which aims to categorise gender and victimise women, limiting patriarchy to a certain kind of society as well. This trend goes well within a patriarchal society where masculinity is equated with power and dominance. Out of the context of those societies, the pattern of patriarchy which stresses power, control, and dominance of men upon women seems to be diminished in meaning. Thus, we assume that, where there is power, dominance and rape may well occur. The question remains: when it comes to rape, does patriarchy keep its intrinsic meaning outside the feminist view?

¹⁷ There are four distinct feminist identities that, despite being conceptualized over 20 years ago, are still culturally relevant to the ways many feminists interact with sexual assault today. These are: academic feminist, activist feminists, commercialized feminists, and “power” and “victim- hood” feminists.

African feminism: Although western feminism movements started to spread the ideology, African feminism stepped in three decades later, around the 1990s (Ahikire nd). To catch up on the reality of feminism, African feminism has been positioning itself as a feminist epistemology and a form of rhetoric providing arguments that validate the experience of women of Africa and of African origin (black women in diaspora). This differs from the root causes of mainstream feminist discourse as it stresses oppression against women (womanism, motherism) rather than dominance and control (feminism), as I will show later.

The difference between western feminism and African feminism is the different issues experienced by African women. Whereas western feminists have endured the consequences of capitalism and globalisation, African feminists are facing issues such as colonialism and decolonisation, education, poverty, health, terrible labour conditions, and so on (Maerten nd). This is not to deny that African women also suffer from the negative influences of capitalism and globalisation.

Not only is African feminism facing the issue of colonialism and decolonisation but, given that Africa is complex, experiences of African women differ from one side of Africa to another. Africa cannot be treated as a single entity. Moreover, there is the issue of diversity of women's experiences. For instance, women from the Maghreb still face problems that have been overcome by women of the sub-Saharan. Feminism in Morocco deals with issues relating to Arabic women which differ from black African issues (Lem Atanga 2013). Because of the multicultural diversity, African feminism seems to be controversial in the sense that each side has conceptualised a segment of gender-consciousness. Indeed, there exists a mutual exclusion of African feminism segments or varieties (Nkealah 2016) (Joy Gatwiri and Jaqueline McLaren 2016). Even though the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (African Women's Development Fund 2007) shows some similarity to western feminism based on patriarchy which is common to women throughout the world, the specific identity and reality of African women provides a particular meaning by itself.

African feminism is part of African women's social, political, economic, and religious life experiences (Maerten nd), and of African indigenous ways of knowing (feminism from an African cultural perspective, geopolitical location and African ideological point of view), (Joy Gatwiri and Jaqueline McLaren 2016). African feminism is an epistemology that empowers many African women to understand their gendered status in society, a school of thought that involves their strength and multiple identities amidst the challenges that threaten them. It's a proactive and not a reactive thought (Nnaemeka 2003) despite that Nnaemeka's views of proactive African feminism contradict other scholars' views.

For instance, for scholars such as Nkealah (2007), African feminism has been severely attacked by African critics as a purely Western ideology where there is nothing to do with the proactive position. It is an African way of defining women's status in their community in reaction to western thought. But,

what Nkealah did not see is that the involvement of traditional African women in politics, economic, religious, and social affairs is the great model of emancipated women not influenced by any western philosophic system.

Women in Africa have a long history of ruling in political, religious, and social affairs. by being queens, chiefs, and religious leaders. Unfortunately, even when women were leading, men were still getting larger privileges as leaders. The privilege that women have is their double gender role. This allows them to participate in a ritual or professional organization, a peer group, or a gender-specific organization, a privilege that men do not have. Indeed, women were treated equally because of the political and social (family and community) participation as well as the decisions made together (women and men). Furthermore, women were still sensitive to, advocated for, and hung on to the interests of family and group when they were threatened (Maerten nd). They were able to defend themselves (as women leaders) to fulfil their needs.

Unfortunately, that energy has gradually waned. From oral tradition, it appears that women began losing their double gender function. Although women led well in crises periods, when they started bearing children, they were often overshadowed by their sons and husbands. Thus, political inheritance rights were lost step by step until the double gender role system shrank away (Maerten nd). Even though they still played a leading role in religion, they ended up splitting that role, sharing the power (healers, priestesses) because of physical restrictions such as menstruation.

In recent times, except for some few categories of Christian denominations, women's power has been reduced further by the influence of new religions such as Islam and Christianity, which considered the woman's place to be at home, near her husband. Also, the colonial system and Western education gave more opportunity to men has swarmed traditional African rights such as right of ownership to women. Colonial magistrates consider women as minors needing men guidance even if in theory, they have rendered women independence and emancipated them (Maerten nd). The Western and religious influences have affected relationships between men and women within their family and community such that men become owners of property and women are treated as property. In this way, political independence was for men, not for women. The effect of independence on African women turned into a dependence to men and unpowered women.

In central Africa for example, in a country such as the DR Congo, women have been paying the price of the failure of the state including coups and military dictatorships, economic instability, pressure to install democracy, and so on, the consequences of which are visible in the poor and weak conditions of women (Maerten nd). Women have experienced oppression, repression, and discrimination, and their motherhood, womanhood and a nodal point of authentic black African identity and feminism has been deconstructed (Atanga 2013; Gatwiri and McLaren 2016).

In fact, early African feminism has resisted Western feminism which seems to be anti-male, anti-child, anti-culture, and anti-religion, and has sought to maintain rather than challenge traditional gender roles. African feminists defended the importance of their roles as mothers and characterised African feminism as family-oriented (Atanga 2013) which is called “motherism”. This perception of African feminism expands the focus on women in Africa by entrusting the rural women with the task of nurturing society. The woman’s role of farming and agriculture makes her the economical, agricultural, political, commercial, and labour base of every nation. She is “the living personification of the earth and all her rich blessing of love, patience, knowledge, strength, abundance, life and spirituality (Nkealah 2016). That consideration regarding women treats men and women equally instead of confrontationally (anti-male). A partnership between men and women lifts women to the position of a social change agent within the family and community, which is favourable to social cohesion (Nkealah 2016).

However, motherism does not include both rural and urban women. There is a clear distinction between these two kinds of African women. Urban women seem to be more connected to Western feminism, claiming the same rights, even though the context of the problem does not fit. They are fighting a retrograde culture that rural women find normal and do not feel male oppression, repression and discrimination or exploitation, since they are embedded within rural cultural values. On the other hand, for more than five decades (Nkealah 2016), urban women are still resisting imperialist culture which has denigrated the philosophical ideologies and belief systems of Africans. Therefore, urban women have struggled with three groups – dominant men, Western feminists, and a denigrated culture attached to rural women – for their emancipation. Those burdens constitute the gravity which does not allow African women to overcome their situation easily. But the heaviest burden still spoiling women is the hegemonic masculinity of certain men used to oppress women instead of protecting them.

3.2.1.7 Theory of masculinity

The theory of masculinity rests on male sex roles (Wedgwood 2009) developed in feminism and gender studies. The social role operating under the ‘male protector and female protected’ principle (Marion Young 2003a) is not to be considered as a clash between masculinity and femininity but, rather, as a way of performing both of them. Masculinity and femininity, however, are not sum concepts applicable to human behaviour in relation to sexual difference. Rather, masculinity puts man and his sexuality into a superior position (Carver 2014). That theory describes the way men perform the social role of being male yet, in the meantime, it fosters the hierarchy of the male’s power over the female based on the patriarchal nature of society (Lwambo 2011). Thus, masculinity and patriarchy have a common link which is power. Both are tools for shaping male behaviour that influences the role of women and determines the status of gender in society.

Masculinity concept does not exist in every culture. Masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity. A culture which does not treat women and men as bearers of polarised character types, does

not have a concept of masculinity. The type of masculinity that has received most attention is hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005; Duncanson 2015; Glydon 2017; Wedgwood, Connell and Wood 2022). The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been the driving force behind the expanding field of critical masculinities studies, and it established a long, distinguished, and continuing influence on the interdisciplinary understanding of masculinity (Messerschmidt 2019). Messerschmidt (2019) cited by Yang (2020) distinguishes hegemonic masculinity from dominant and dominating masculinities. He asserts that for the masculinity to qualify as hegemonic, it must legitimate patriarchy. However, dominant and dominating masculinities do not necessarily legitimate patriarchy. Dominant masculinity is about the exercise of power and control over people and situations. Positive masculinity however contrast to hegemonic masculinity, it legitimates egalitarian gender relations.

According to Connell (2005), hegemonic masculinity was understood as a specific form of masculinity in a given historical and society-wide social setting that legitimates unequal gender relations between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, and among masculinities. He suggests that hegemonic masculinity embodies the most honoured way of being a man. However, the way Connell formulates hegemonic masculinity seems to attenuate and even hide the violent face of male dominance. The crucial point here is, where there is power, force, and dominance against a subordinated person, that is the “other”, there is violence, and those who had a preferential attitude to traditional gender roles are inclined to be more likely to accept sexual violence (Reshma *et al.* 2022). Violence occurs as soon as the opportunity is given for the dominant male to subjugate the subordinated – such as a female – by cultural constructions or institutional condonation. In the case of sexuality, for instance, male dominance is very explicit, as feminists assert.

In wartime generally, militarised masculinity has been expressed as an illustration of hegemonic masculinity. In fact, military theorists have often focused on two relevant types of masculine qualities for soldiers: (a) calculating and informed rationality, making the soldier able to assess a situation and choose appropriate actions; and (b) the physical and mental ability to endure and fight in direct confrontation with violent opponents (Christensen and Rasmussen 2015). Those characteristics of masculinity have nothing to do with dominance against women in that regard. However, the connotation that hegemonic masculinity proves the role that men play in wartime within their communities and nations, which is to defend and protect themselves against any invasion, is the positive aspect of male and masculinity (Carver 2014).

Unfortunately, militarised dominant masculinity ends up by turning against people needing protection, such as women, when the national and international system of civil protection is unable to secure protection against any sort of abuse. Nor can it dissuade protectors from human rights abuse such as rape and other sexual violence. As McMahon argues, it is not surprising that, in some contexts,

hegemonic masculinity actually refers to men engaging in toxic practices including physical violence for example (Connell 2005).

Thus, debate on masculinity and feminist perceptions of masculinity should consider two broad dimensions instead of limiting it to an aggressive relationship between men and women: the relational and factual. The relational dimension focuses on the fact that hegemonic masculinity may be experienced between both men and men and women, depending on the issue of who has power upon another. On the other hand, the factual dimension distinguishes aspects that trigger the aggressiveness of masculinity. These include war, and the lack of respect for institutional protection of women to constrain male dominance and subjugation of women. Under that perception, hegemonic masculinity nourished by patriarchal acceptance becomes an issue of male *privilege* (Butler 1999; Kaufman 1999), that fuels dominance, whether over other men or over women. Especially for women, sexual violence done by men against their will is an illustration of male dominance and power.

3.2.1.8 The biological and psycho-physiological characteristics of rape

In biological view, rape is understood and explained in terms of faulty biological development and ‘dysfunction’ of the brain, understood as a ‘chemical imbalance’ or ‘faulty circuits’ in the brain (Woodbridge and Joubert 2018) normalised as such. The biological and psycho-physiological theories of rape focus on male sexual drive and aggressiveness which are natural to men. Expressions such as *‘Boys will be boys and cannot be trained otherwise’*; *rape and combat go together* (Breines, Connell and Ingrid 2000: 17) spread the biological and the psychological status fostering men’s attitudes and behaviour against women. This belief is justified by the masculinity theory in which men predominate across the spectrum of violence such that a rape culture becomes acceptable. For some radical feminists, though, it is not biology that prompts men to rape, but misogynist and patriarchal institutions (Kaufman 1999). The theory of rape culture condones physical and emotional terrorism against women (and girls), and presents it as the norm (Buchwald, Fletcher and Roth 1995). Thus, the biological theory of rape finds its justification through social and cultural approval.

Most of psychological aspects of rape explanation is rooted to emotions such as anger, power, and sadism. The aim of rapist resorting to anger for rape is to humiliate, debase and hurt their victim. This type of rape involves using much more physical force than is necessary to overcome the victim and achieve penetration. Power becomes a way to compensate for their underlying feelings of inadequacy, feeds their issues of mastery, control, dominance, strength, and authority. Sadistic Rape glamorize violence and aggression, and they tend to attach sexual associations with violence, infliction of pain, anger, and power. They tend to associate violence and aggression with sex by force (Chabra, Rai, and Chacko 2014; Chaudhury *et al.* 2017).

3.2.1.9 Social characteristics of rape

Brownmiller's (1975) book is considered a turning point in academic history as it was one of the first books that described rape as a political and social problem, rather than an individual crime of passion. Drawing from social construction theory, researchers have determined that rape is perpetuated through the social construction of a rape culture by socialising boys and men to be sexual aggressors, and girls and women to be sexually passive. Consequently, society has been socialised to believe that relationships involving male sexual aggression are natural and normal (Orth 2018). From the socialisation perspective, this is also justified in terms of gender's attraction.

The social aspects of rape come from the idea of attraction between woman and man. For the rapist, excitement has in part a social basis. Female sexuality is marked out as the catalyst for man's animal drives (a woman provokes). As Symons says, "Women inspire male sexual desire simply by existing" (Symons 1979: 284). The author focuses the social meaning of rape on a natural attraction between man and woman and the oversexed desire of man. This argument cannot stand because of the experiences of homosexual groups. Currently, *homosexual rape* (Smith 2004; Twinley 2017) is actually proof that female attraction can no longer be the only social reason for rape. The reason must be found elsewhere. For instance, some institutions such as the media intensify rape. This is seen in aggression within bestselling pornographic videos, which is a tool used to spread the acceptance of the rape myth. The most important finding pertains to the idea of "rape myth" in which women, being dominated through pain, resist at first but eventually express enjoyment (Gutierrez 2013). Thus, the media uses pornography to minimize sexual violence effects on women and emphasises the pleasure that sexual violence can bring to women so that society can readily accept this as fact. On the other hand, the spread of pornography triggers lust which incites men to rape (Gottschall 2004). Hence, the media remains an important institution that fosters and drives rape in society.

3.2.1.10 Socio-cultural characteristics of rape

The socio-cultural characteristics of rape are compounded by various considerations such as women being viewed as property. Traditionally and historically, the essence of rape was the theft of or damage to another man's property, be it the father or the husband. As a result, rape was originally connected to property, the seizing and devaluing of a possession. In particular, the idea of a virgin daughter was a valuable commodity. If the daughter was raped, her virginity and marriage prospects were shattered. Laws on rape were to safeguard men who were afraid that family wealth could be lost through rape and subsequent pregnancy. This helps to explain why rape has always been seen as a more serious crime than assault (Dowdeswell 1986). Regarding the property aspect of rape, females are the legal property of males. Therefore, rape is considered as a crime, that is, damage against a male's property. The offence against female (woman and girl) personality is not considered a problem. I assert that the traditional understanding of rape considers it as an issue for the entire community. Raping a girl or a woman refers

to an offence to the family and to everyone within the community. Then the victim is not blamed but protected by everybody. As a result, the victim recovers in a short time despite the effects of this crime.

3.2.1.11 Economic characteristics of rape

A long-term approach to men violating women has broad implications, and refers to issues such as a woman's poor access to productive resources such as land, property, income, employment, technology, credit, education, and their likely experience of gender-based violence and abuse (Peterson and Bailey 1992; True 2015). Research shows that there is a link between poverty and the incidence of crime, particularly sexual crime. Studies have shown that poverty can predispose some people to sexual abuses and expose the more vulnerable to abuses of their sexual rights. People living in poverty and people who lack economic power are vulnerable to sexual violence (Eralp and Gokmen 2022; Wrigley-Asante *et al.* 2016; Macêdo *et al.* 2021; Ninsiimaa *et al.* 2020; Ramiah 2019;).

The issue of male violence against females rests on poverty inequality between men and women (Peterson and Bailey 1992), whether in peacetime or wartime. Some factors related to poverty are sources men's aggressive behaviour against women particularly after long periods of unemployment, or the loss of a job, and so on. Men feel powerless, especially in the family sphere. The feelings of powerlessness trigger some men to use violence against women to regain a sense of control (True 2015). Moreover, poverty associated with culture encourages cunning men to rape women to marry them. This is the easiest way of escaping the expenses around a marriage ceremony when a man is poor. Given that a victim of sexual violence such as rape is often encouraged to utilize traditional justice mechanisms in cultures where community leaders order the perpetrator to pay money or in-kind donations (such as livestock) to the survivor's family, or force the survivor to marry the perpetrator as Hersh (2014) points out, the perpetrator takes advantage of his act by that approach.

All those characteristics of rape and theories are mostly factors of rape in peacetime. They are somehow incorporated and experienced by women in wartime as well.

3.2.2 Issues around rape in peacetime

There are many issues around rape to consider such as the characteristics of the perpetrators, the silence of the victim, the consequences, and the effects of rape on the victim and society.

3.2.2.1 Characteristics of perpetrators

The characteristics of perpetrators include his profile, the justification of the act, and the similarities and differences related to perpetrators. Every man is a potential perpetrator because of the tool¹⁸ he holds. He may or may not be known by the victim. But most times a perpetrator is well known by the victim. He can be a husband, boy-friend, brother, uncle, school mate, and all the variations of “ex”: ex-husband, ex-boy-friend, and so on (Dowdeswell 1986; Sorenson, Joshi and Sivitz 2014). Thus, boy-friends and intimate partners are the first level, while acquaintances are the second level (Futures without violence). Strangers as perpetrators are rare and depend on the circumstances in which rape occurs. Mostly, rape occurs because of promiscuity.

There has been some debate as to whether the victim feels less damaged by rape done by a known perpetrator or by a stranger. For some, this is just a myth (Dowdeswell 1986), while for others, rape is all about culture, where men are granted superior status and the effects are minimised (Kalra and Bhugra 2013). But there is no good or bad rape; there is no rape for pleasure, only harmful rape, whether it has been done by a known perpetrator or a stranger. The same effects are produced. The issue of damage is the one of societal justification, called ‘rape myth acceptance.’ Rape myth acceptance condones stereotypes, false beliefs about rape, and rapists; this gives men the right to rape women¹⁹ (Burt 1980). This means many males and society try to justify and normalize rape by minimizing its effects and forcing people to accept it by using the rape myth acceptance approach. See table below for some examples.

Table 3:1 Rape myth acceptance: some illustrations

Rape myth	Reality
Rape is primarily sexually motivated	Rape combines elements of power, anger, and sexuality
Rapists are primarily strangers	Most perpetrators are known to the victim
The victim did something to cause rape	No behaviour warrants a victim being raped; under no circumstance should a victim be blamed for her victimization
Victims experience less psychological trauma when raped by an acquaintance	There are no differences in the victim’s psychological symptoms between acquaintance and stranger rape

Source: Ben-David and Schneider (2005).

¹⁸ The tool is normally the penis even if any object able to enter any female orifice can represent the tool of rape.

¹⁹ “Only bad girls get raped”, “Women ask for it” and “Rapists are sex-starved, insane, or both.” Women often falsely accuse men of rape; Rape is not harmful; Women want or enjoy rape; or Women cause or deserve rape by inappropriate or risky behaviour, and so on Burt, M. 1980. Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38 (-): 217-230.

3.2.2.2 Similarities of perpetrators' characteristics and different identities

There are more similarities than differences between perpetrators. Perpetrators' similarities include aspects such as demography, motivations, childhood experiences, belief about women, social perspective and skills, general aggressiveness, and manipulative style. Since most perpetrators are males (Dowdeswell 1986), the motivations of male adult abusers for rape are common to most of them. These include, for instance, a compensatory attitude, sadism, anger, power, control, domination, opportunity, and an antisocial attitude (Blasko 2016). There are some factors that influence men to rape and sexually abuse. Some of these are: the fact of growing up in a violent home; an environment where females, mothers, or one parent, have not been treated with deference; cognitive processes characterised by distorted attitudes; beliefs and behaviour concerning sex roles; social skills from pornographic materials; aggressiveness in sexual conduct; hyper-masculinity; anger; sadness; happiness; and so on (Dowdeswell 1986; Polaschek 1997), (Allison and Wrightsman 1993). These are common characteristics of perpetrators, even though some can differ from one man to another, depending on the interests of each abuser.

Those characteristics can determine the profile of a sex offender even though differences can be introduced to get a proper image of the offender. There is no fixed profile of rapists. The propensity to rape differs because of the motivations, environments, circumstances, factors affecting each man and/or group of men. For instance, some rapists do it because of a mental disorder. Freud qualifies deviant sexual behaviour as a direct reflection of disorder character which origins can be infantile sexual desires that continued into adulthood (Polaschek 1997). Other characteristics can be made in terms of the typology of offenders such as specialised rapists (men who are sexually aroused by violent sexual stimuli); disadvantaged men (men who have low socio-economic status, or mate deprivation hypothesis); opportunistic rapists (men rape when the level of women's receptivity is low, and/or the vulnerability and rape myth acceptance within the society is higher); higher-mating-effort rapists (the rapist is more experienced, dominant, and aggressive, and has high self-esteem); partner rapists (those who rape their partners, and ex-partners), and so on (McKibbin *et al.* 2008). Those different characteristics of offenders put together can be categorised into two or three types of perpetrators: intimate perpetrators, stranger perpetrators, and wartime perpetrators. From those categories we may simplify them into two groups, intimate and non-intimate perpetrators.

3.2.2.3 Identifying a perpetrator

Even though sex offenders have similarities and differences, identifying the potential perpetrator is a key to managing the issue, be it an intimate perpetrator, a stranger, or a wartime perpetrator. Generally, a perpetrator is a pro-active abuser. An intimate abuser is more manipulative than other kinds of sexual

abusers. He works under psychological manipulation²⁰ to fulfil his goal. There are some signs for the victim to identify the type of abuser. The victim should be aware of how to unmask the perpetrator. The first aspect to consider is that abusive relationships do not materialise at once. The abuser has a strategy and a plan to reach his goal as McMillan (2016) argues. Thus, psychological manipulation is a philosophical principle used by the offender. It is useful as a perpetrator tactic. Tactics are compounded with three important elements: trust, attachment, and control:

- *Trust*: the perpetrator will be saying and doing things to quickly lure a victim in, inspiring the trust, for instance by maximising contacts and that for long time until the victim feels well and trusts him
- *Attachment*: the perpetrator tries to intensify emotional attachment. For example, he will be pretending to protect the victim, looks sorry most of the time, and does not resist to change while he makes mistakes
- *Control*: the perpetrator will make sure he has increased his control upon the victim. He wants everything to be done in his way, tries to change her mind to excessively believe him so it becomes easy to manipulate the victim. Besides, early in the relationship, the perpetrator will try to set up quick strategies of control – Too much (many promises, future promises, several gifts, and much talk of the future, and so on.), too soon (makes big plans for the victim in the present and in the future), and too transformative (he tries to change the victim immediately, as soon as the relationship begins, he tries to change the personality of the victim – personal style, taste, career, beliefs, and so on.)

Moreover, he takes advantage of the strategy of “you and me against the world”. This strategy of control rests on three other compounds:

- *Secrets*: he will make the victim share secrets with him. The victim’s secret will turn into a gauge of keeping the victim beside him, a guarantee of the continuation of abuse once the victim decides to change their mind or leave the perpetrator. This is to control the victim over the period of the relationship and afterwards as well
- *Prioritising the perpetrator’s life* – the perpetrator turns the victim’s attention to focus on his life and makes her prioritise the perpetrator’s life
- *Isolation*: the perpetrator will try to make sure that the victim trusts him more than other people and keeps the victim for himself. At this stage the victim relies totally on the perpetrator. This is the last stage for readying the victim for abuse.

These psychological manipulation strategies of the perpetrator seem to be a very long process for him to abuse the victim. Other perpetrators are not so patient and use quicker strategies to act as soon as possible to commit the offence. It all depends on the environment and conditions in which both victim and perpetrator happen to be at the time.

3.2.2.4 Identifying a strange perpetrator

A strange perpetrator includes both strangers and acquaintances. A strange perpetrator is a “calculating” abuser. Time and place are two catalytic factors for him to satisfy his desire. An acquaintance abuser

²⁰ Psychological manipulation is a type of social influence that aims to change the perception or behaviour of others through underhanded, deceptive, or even abusive tactics.

targets the place and the time. Most acquaintance abusers take advantage of the location of the victim, which is generally at home. At home, women feel safe and, as a result, their capacity for defence is low as argues Dowdeswell (1986: 21) *“Nearly a third of those women who had been raped or sexually assaulted said that it had happened in their own home”*. This is one reason for female vulnerability. But Dowdeswell’s argument of vulnerability is confusing as the meaning of vulnerability goes beyond weakness. To question the term, is it vulnerability, fear of shame or other factors that contribute to what Dowdeswell calls vulnerability? In my opinion, women are not raped at home just because of their lower defence, but because of the silence that becomes a culture for them. Thus, men take advantage knowing that in advance. Women are concerned to preserve their dignity against blame and male complicity condoned by the society. This desire to preserve their dignity quickly gives opportunity to offender for abuse. Another factor why acquaintance rape occurs might be a past sexual history between the abuser and the victim as well as a sexual precedence in a relationship. A previous engagement on consensual sex produces the perpetrator’s motivation of entitlement, contributing to sexual aggression.

Other characteristics to identify the acquaintance perpetrator include a sub-clinical psychopathy-related personality trait (enjoys hurting their lover); impulsivity (enjoyment of the rebellious, enjoying taking chances); sexual dominance motivation (the abuser feels masterful); the frequency of heavy drinking (during the past 12 months for example, they consumed five or more alcoholic drinks in a two-hour period) and drinking during the incident; the perpetrators’ expectations (the two of them had planned in advance to be together that day); attempts to isolate the victim, and so on (Wegner, Pierce and Abbey 2015). Those characteristics may also fit a strange perpetrator. There is no exclusive profile of rapists; they come from different backgrounds and characteristics (Bojanić and Deljić 2011). Especially for a strange abuser, the environment and time are also important factors for him to abuse. For instance, most women feel frightened on the streets. This is because, on the street, in the alleyways, along dark streets, at a bus station, you fear danger. At all those places, the fear is about strange people.

3.2.2.5 Identify a wartime perpetrator

Another type of perpetrator with characteristics like the strange perpetrator is a wartime perpetrator. This is the more difficult and complex profile of rapists to identify, an unpredictable identification to set because of the motivation of the offender. The most common image is of an unknown rapist similar to strange perpetrators. Also, not only militaries, militias and rebels are among those unknown offenders, since civilians have been known to take advantage of the chaotic war situation to rape (Kay Cohen, Hoover Green and Jean Wood 2013).

3.2.2.6 The issue of silence and shame

Silence and shame of the victim are consequences of societal acceptance between what a woman should do, should be, and what she should not be and do. All these are social constructions. There are many

reasons why the victim may feel ashamed and keep silent, such as distrust, the unequal moral burden on the female, loss of honour, false accusations, and so on. That the victim is hardly trusted as a genuine victim produces shame for her, her family, friends, neighbourhood, and the community. Even when the victim is trusted, rape is humiliating to the victim and all her family (Dowdeswell 1986) which makes the victim deny the rape.

The shame of women after rape comes because society, the community, and relatives have high moral expectations of her. A woman is not simply a daughter, mother, wife, aunt, or niece, she is “the honour” of the family and, indeed, the entire community. Her behaviour is not for her dignity alone but also for the entire society. Misbehaving becomes a shame for everybody who surrounds her. According to Vogelmann (2017) there is a double standard of morality that is characteristic of human sexuality: Sexual promiscuity is encouraged in men as sign of virility; in contrast, promiscuity is shameful conduct for a woman and warrants strong disapproval within the community. For a woman, rape is sexual misbehaviour. Hence, it produces shame and guilt. The one who is supposed to create dignity brings shame to the entire community. Rape in both men’s and women’s social life is a social construct.

That perception of double standards in sexual morality is unfair because it considers women as not having freedom for their own morality. Their morality determines that of the other, such that they are not living for themselves but for others. Their behaviour and freedom must respond to the expectations of others, especially the male community. That is why the victim’s guilt depends on the perception of others rather than their own perception. It is the turning point that increases the trauma; consequently, it reinforces the victim’s silence. The need for a woman to protect other individual’s reputation comes before the need to protect her own dignity. That honour associated with sexual morality becomes a social burden that women carry, and it causes trauma for victims. Women’s respect seems to be inapt as it is determined according to men’s status and to “honour”. However, her dignity should be considered as private before it praises others. As Serap Cecil²¹ says, we are your daughters, not your honour (Hudson *et al.* 2012). Both honour and shame are used as social control mechanisms that limit women’s behaviour in society for the good of others more than their own good. Finally, silence not only frees the perpetrator but, in contrast, also retains the victim in an infernal cycle of trauma.

3.2.2.7 Jurisdictional justification of silence

Several reasons form judicial institutions’ attitudes toward victims which reinforces their silence. It is acknowledged that rape is an under-reported crime (Allison and Wrightsman 1993). The question is, why is the offence of rape the last to be reported, whereas in any other offence, the first thing to do is

²¹ Serap Cileli, author of the book *We Are Your Daughters, Not Your Honor*, recounts

to report it? The answer is the victim's attitude and the judicial institution's behaviour. The victim's silence comes from guilt and other feelings as well as the reaction of the judiciary.

Dowdeswell (1986) provides a range of thoughts developing the reason for a victim's silence. According to her, the victim deals with many fears: Fear of police attitude, blame, shame, perpetrator reprisal, proof of evidence, and so on:

Attitude of the police: reporting the issue does not guarantee the victim's innocence and the punishment of the perpetrator. Even when the victim has the right, there is a probability that the victim may not be considered a victim by the court or the police. Also, the lack of chief prosecution witness is another factor that discourages the victim from reporting to avoid guilt. Because of the methods that the legal system applies, victims are discouraged from prosecuting their perpetrators. Victims are often dehumanised by a series of questions, intimidation and blame-casting (Campbell 2008b). This communicates a lack of trust in the victim.

Reprisal from the perpetrator: the perpetrator may get the opportunity to commit the offence again when he gets the opportunity. As mentioned before, most of the time the attacker is a known person, so it becomes easy for the attacker to bully the victim by raping her again and again.

Proof and evidence from the victim's body: rape is the only crime which puts the victim in two positions. She is at the same time a victim and a witness. Apart from being a victim, her body should provide evidence by a medical doctor, otherwise, she will be blamed.

Blame: she is usually blamed for putting herself in danger or provoking the act for many reasons. For instance, the way she wears her clothes, and other "inappropriate conduct or behaviour" according to the abuser.

All those reasons are imperfect. In her argument, Dowdeswell has missed getting to the origin of judicial institutions' attitudes and behaviours. The reason that drives both parties' behaviours (victim and judicial institutions) is the patriarchal system embedded in their mind-set. As Enloe (2004a) said, patriarchal inclinations can also be found in peace and justice institutions. It is the structural and ideological systems that perpetuate the privilege of masculinity. The cultural classification of human beings puts man superior to woman and shapes the consideration of the relationship between men and women. Hence, blame, the negative attitude of policemen against the victim, even when she is right, the lack of trusting the victim, reprisal of the perpetrator, and so on. expresses the behaviour and morality of the master against the slave, that is, the dialectic of master and slave (Chidan 2015). For instance, those who blame do it because they feel powerful to do so and consider things in their way despite rule and law. On the other hand, those who keep quiet have the moral status of a slave and have an unfavourable eye for the virtues of power, scepticism, and distrust. Therefore, because of the burden of cultural belief which modelled her, the victim is hesitant to prosecute the perpetrator even if the judicial institutions will be impartial. She feels keeping the tradition of the patriarchal system and conforming to the model of the master is important.

Furthermore, evidence of patriarchal inclination within the institutions of justice itself is the fact that rape done to women has been considered as a crime against the State and not a crime against the victim. It chokes most women to find that rape is a crime against the State, and that they – the victim – is treated as a witness to the crime. The prosecution is not brought by you but by the State, so you will be hauled

to court as chief prosecution witness to give evidence; you will be cross-examined and then told you can go. As it is the police who decide whether or not to prosecute, the full costs of bringing the case are paid out of public funds (Dowdeswell 1986). Rape puts the state in a position of a defendant, the perpetrator as an offender, and the victim as a witness. The state advocates and tries to protect these women by making them co-minors. The victim is considered a child, and this may be interpreted as undermining her status.

3.2.2.8 Consequences of strange, intimate and wartime rape

To start with, trauma is a fundamental consequence of rape and disturbs both physical and emotional elements of the victim. A traumatic experience affects and alters victim's personality, her way of thinking, learning, remembering things, feelings about herself and others, and making sense of world (Bartels *et al.* 2010c; Bloom and Sandra 2003). Victims of rape often spend their life facing Post-trauma stress disorder (PTSD). It is a chronic and often disabling condition, and the prevalence of PTSD after rape is extraordinarily high. It can last up to 15 years after the offence has been done (Schewe 2008). However, the length Schewe suggests is indeterminate since it is not possible to differentiate the PTSD of a victim who has benefited from some psychological support or any other support and the one who has not benefited from it, since the duration of the PTSD depends on the way the victim's body and mind may react to the shock. Also, the duration of PTSD would normally depend on the type of rape, and the type of offender. For instance, an intimate rape does not have same consequences as a wartime rape. Therefore, the duration will depend on several factors contributing to its persistence. Likewise, Campbell (2008a) stresses the mental health effects of rape, and that it is difficult to convey how devastating rape is to a victim's emotional well-being and the period it will take to recover.

Nevertheless, there are common effects and consequences of rape to every victim: physical and emotional. Physically, victims of rape manifest long-term symptoms of headaches, fatigue, sleep disturbance, recurrent nausea, decreased appetite, eating disorders, menstruation pain, sexual dysfunction, physical injury, pregnancy and gynaecological complications, sudden sweating and/or heart palpitations (fluttering), changes in sleep patterns, constipation or diarrhoea, more susceptibility to colds or illnesses, increased use of alcohol or other drugs, and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS among others, (Coleman 2015; Schewe 2008).

Emotionally, a victim is subjected mental health disorders such as behaviour problems, suicide behaviour or attempts, which reduce the woman's ability to see her sexuality as something over which she has control, especially for a young victim. Moreover, victims suffer from shock and/or disbelief, fear and/or anxiety, grief, disorientation, denial, hyper-alertness or vigilance, irritability, restlessness, outbursts of anger or rage, emotional mood swings (for example, crying then laughing), worrying or ruminating (on, for instance, intrusive thoughts of the trauma), nightmares, flashbacks (that is, feeling as if the trauma is currently happening), feelings of helplessness, panic, feeling out of control, increased

need to control everyday experiences, minimizing the experience, attempts to avoid anything associated with the trauma, and a tendency to isolate oneself.

Feelings of detachment, concern with burdening others with problems, emotional numbing or restricted range of feelings, difficulty in trusting and/or feelings of betrayal, difficulty concentrating or remembering, feelings of self-blame and/or guilt, shame and silence, diminished interest in everyday activities or depression, unpleasant past memories resurfacing, loss of a sense of order or fairness in the world, an expectation of doom and fear of the future, and so on (Hill 2008). Although the consequences and effects of rape for victims are almost the same, the intensity of those effects depends on the types of rape, from strange, acquaintance, intimate, in peace time, to wartime rape. In wartime, the consequences are deeper and extend to the entire community. For instance, when a victim experiences those effects, they may well affect the life of the victim's family and friends as well. It all depends on the degree of their attachment. It also affects family honour as illustrated above.

Furthermore, legal procedures are a source of trauma for a victim. As noted above, victims are wary of the legal procedure which considers victims as a witness rather than a victim. For instance, victims are questioned many times about the elements of the crime²² for the judge or policeman to check for consistency in the victim's accounts (Campbell 2008b). That investigation is traumatic, with a risk of raising secondary trauma (Fanflik 2007).

If there are consequences, the concomitant question is: Are there any benefits from rape? Rapists are the first beneficiaries of the advantage they gain from rape, as they are the first cause of rape. Rape benefits misogynists who satisfy their misogyny and sexual fantasy (McKibbin *et al.* 2008). This can go further than a simple offender benefiting depending on the circumstances of the rape. The benefit can be political when it benefits one country over another or any other political issue, or a group for instance in wartime.

3.2.3 Wartime mass rape theories: Specific characteristics of rape

One scholar who explores theories of rape in wartime is Gottschall. He discusses the issue of mass rape in wartime, and the factors that trigger rape. Those are 'traditional' theories of rape in wartime. I labelled it as traditional because of the new theory I have come up with, that is the women and security theory, according to widespread rape experiences in DR Congo that have not been exploited by scholars to explain the nature and function of rape, and the conditions which feed it.

²² For example, penetrations, the use of force, or other control tactics

3.2.3.1 Meaning of rape in wartime

The international community provides meaning to the traditional expression of rape, alluding to the offence to the community. In fact, rape is a deliberate and strategic decision on the part of combatants to intimidate and destroy the enemy by raping and enslaving women who are identified as members of the opposition group (Nancy 2004). Also, *“Rape has been used historically as a form of genocide, as the ... destruction of a race ... It produces a sense of inadequacy on the part of the collective heart of the race, a sense of helplessness, a sense of worthlessness”* (Nancy 2004: 392). This form of rape shows that the target is the enemy but the tool and means to achieve the aim is women. Both men and women from the enemy group are targeted during war. Unfortunately, women are considered a strategic entry point to destroy the entire community. Therefore, the aim of destroying the community is a priority. Some organizations, such as the International Criminal Court (International Criminal Court 2011) has focused on the component of rape and considers it as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population, and that the perpetrators were aware of these intended motives.

However, understanding rape as genocide according to the previous meanings seems to be an instantaneous decision to destroy people and community, whereas genocide is a process of eight stages: classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination, and denial (Stanton 1998a; Burleson and Giordano 2016b). On that view, genocide is scheduled intentionally in order to exterminate the targeted group. In wartime, this is a tactic and weapon of war as a systematic political campaign with a strategic military purpose.

Cassandra (2008:3) emphasizes that, “Rape, as with all terror-warfare, is not exclusively an attack on the body, it is an attack on the ‘body-politic’. The goal is not to maim or kill one person but to control an entire socio-political process by crippling it. It is an attack directed equally against personal identity and cultural integrity.”

There is a recent judicial meaning of rape drawn from the Akayesu case (Schaack, 2008). The case, *Prosecutor v. Akayesu* illustrates for the first time that wartime rape has been defined as a crime against humanity, as an act of genocide, a genocidal rape. This recognition has the potential to increase accountability for rape in the International Courts (Goldstone 2002). Some legal scholars do not believe that the Akayesu case, or the inclusion of rape as genocide by the International Tribunals, is as groundbreaking or progressive as it may appear (Engle 2005). Nevertheless, the merit of the Akayesu case is to constitute wartime rape as genocide when the fact respects certain criteria such as killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Statute of the International Tribunal for Rwanda: 1994).

Rape in wartime according to feminist theory is used as political control (Mackinnon 2006) which becomes a tool of war. Brownmiller asserts that, if rape occurs in every conflict, across all centuries, it persists because it serves a function (Brownmiller, 1975). This is the significance of what rape in wartime against women means. Given that in wartime, each belligerent is calculative, rape is used for many reasons. One International Amnesty (2009) publication on the campaign against sexual violence in armed conflict has been titled, “Rape is cheaper than bullets”. That means bullets – and the weapons to fire them - are considered more expensive than rape to produce the same effect.

Despite the loud critique of being too offensive and insensitive, this campaign succeeded in highlighting the lasting problem of rape in modern wars. Indeed, it demonstrated the wide, and increasingly unchallenged, agreement between academics and policymakers that rape and sexual violence constitute a highly effective and efficient weapon of war (Krulisova n.d).

3.2.3.2 Classic theories and hypotheses of mass rape in wartime

Theories of rape in peacetime as mentioned above, are the bedrock theories of rape in wartime. Hence, the contextualisation of those theories in DR Congo is relevant in capturing the reality of widespread rape in that country.

To start with, the views of rape have been discussed in the context of the post-colonial period and have been characterised according to various disciplines and scholars’ views. Earlier views by feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir (De Beauvoir 2005), Susan Brownmiller (Brownmiller 1975), and others led to questions of power and consideration of men *vis-à-vis* women as a source of violence. However, the recent feminisms theories of Cynthia Enloe and Judith Butler, rest on male privilege and identity as the source of violence against women. One scholar who writes about theories of rape in wartime is Gottschall. In referring to the DR Congo crisis, Gottschall has conflated four theories on wartime to explain the motivations of perpetrators. Those theories are as follows: feminist theory, cultural pathology theory, strategic rape theory and biosocial theory. We will consider these as a way forward to a new understanding of mass rape in the DR Congo.

3.2.3.3 Feminism theory of wartime rape and hypothesis

Throughout the development of the feminism field, scholars’ attention has focused on gender binary issues and the problems of the relationship between genders. Generally, females are considered victims, while males are offenders. This view nourishes the feminists’ consideration of wartime rape, which is just the extension of peacetime male power, dominance and control over women. Brownmiller (1975) is the first classic feminist scholar to introduce the notion of wartime rape, and declares that male dominance, power and control upon women in wartime is the extension of the ones in peacetime. In this regard, a feminist theory of rape in wartime asserts that the biologic pressure (theory of the pressure

cooker) which drives rape against women is not libidinal but a misogynistic fact. The theory of the pressure cooker places man as a victim of his own biological drive. So, women become the enemy instead of his antagonist soldier (Gottschall 2004). The idea is that men are victims of the irresistible biological imperatives which vent male soldiers' urges and demands sexual satisfaction from women. This means justifying male destruction against the female species. However, biology cannot be given as a reason for rape; this is an excuse to rape.

According to Gottschall, wartime rape is limited to Western and patriarchal societies. This is to say that patriarchy is not universal. Therefore, wartime rape can be avoided in some societies. Yet, wartime rape does not depend on the type of society. Rape is considered an appropriate behaviour of soldiers involved in war. It has been used by militaries for ages (Isikozlu and Millard 2010a) despite the society in which it occurs. This is because there are other factors that trigger rape such as power.

Gottschall fails to take into account the function of power as a component of patriarchy whence stem identity and privilege (Butler 1999; Kaufman 1999), which may trigger dominance and then rape behaviour if it is used wrongly. The issue of power in wartime rape may no longer be considered as a heterosexual trend due to biological pressure. This is because men may have power over other men and abuse them during war, and military women who have power over men may abuse them also. Even power among the same sexes may lead to abuse. Thus, where there is power and subjugation, there might be rape (Dietrich 1976; South and Felson 1990; Sivakumaran 2005; Lewis 2009; O'Brien, Keith and Shoemaker 2015). This is the limit of feminist theory which aims to categorise gender and victimise women. It depends on who has power to dominate and control.

This leads to our first hypothesis (H) 1: In wartime, where there is power, dominance and control, there might be rape abuse among and between genders.

3.2.3.4 Biosocial theory of rape

The key idea of Gottschall's biosocial theory is that, men possess instincts for sexual aggression that are restrained under normal conditions but that, in the chaotic wartime milieu, spew forth like the vented gas of a pressure cooker (Gottschall 2004: 133). For the author to explain the biosocial theory of wartime rape, he has associated three theories: the "pressure cooker" theory, the hydraulic model of aggression, and the biology-based theory, with the pressure cooker theory as a metaphor for the hydraulic model of aggression.

The hydraulic model of aggression pioneered by Freud rests on the dichotomy of the death (thanatos) instinct (an innate destructiveness, aggression against self-directed towards an enemy), and the life (eros) instinct (a creation of libido and self-preservation) (Dennen 2005; Özçelik 2017). So, the biologic

theory of wartime rape is identified with the hydraulic model of aggression based on genetic determinism.

There is a debate among scholars on the genetic determinism of rape. Biological and psycho-physiological theories of rape hold to the fact that the male sexual drive and aggressiveness are natural to men. As mentioned above, the argument rests on the idea that, *“Boys will be boys, and cannot be trained otherwise; rape and combat are evidences”* (Breines, Connell and Ingrid 2000: 17). Biological essentialists reinforce that thought on a blind biological drive: *“We are how we are because of our genetic makeup including race and sex”* (RadFem Hub Archives 2009: 25). However, biological essentialism has been contradicted (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013). As Gottschall (2004) argues, feminists deny the natural fact of genetic determinism, and instead, consider misogyny as a principle motive of male wartime rape that views women as the enemy. Moreover, in wartime, the youngest women are targets because of their attractiveness, which is a great means of perpetuating rapists’ genes as a function of biological determinism. Gottschall (2004) emphasises that the merit of this theory lies on the assumption that, where there are hostile soldiers among civilians, there is a high level of rape once misogyny is accepted.

However, he drops the idea that biological fact is not a determinism of rape because is not every soldier who rapes (limit of this theory). He explains it by the variation from conflict to conflict and variations of motive where some soldiers do not rape. My assumption against Gottschall is that every man is a potential rapist because of the libido for sexual aggression. What Gottschall did not raise is the issue of a genetic reason for that differentiation. The response to that question rests on the ego instinct for self-preservation, if certain men do not rape. Thus, my hypotheses are as follows:

H2: Every soldier is a potential rapist; hence, the prevention of wartime rape is all about the self-preservation capability of each soldier

H3: Every soldier is a potential rapist; hence, the prevention of wartime rape depends on the self/group motive of soldiers. The environment is a facilitative factor.

Finally, theories of genetic determinism are biosocial theories that emphasise genetic and sociocultural aspects. In fact, wartime rape is a reality in every society and at any level of life (Gottschall 2004). However, as the biosocial theory cannot by itself fully explain the reasons of wartime rape, two other theories endeavour to explain the fact.

3.2.3.5 Cultural pathology theory

The cultural pathology theory presents a causal factor about rape provocation made through a nation’s history and contributes to the ferocity of frequency. This can be a long-term or short-term culture related to rape within a nation, such as the use of pornography to trigger lust. For instance, widespread rape in

Croatia's war was preceded by pornographic movies to incite the military's lust (Gottschall 2004). Nevertheless, this theory remains weak because of its particularity. Each society has an abnormal behaviour which triggers rape in its culture in wartime. There are behaviours and cultures which can only work in modern society or only in a traditional society, and so on. The categorisation of rape triggers is important to understand how this theory may work in the story and habits of each society, culture, and nation.

3.2.3.6 Strategic rape theory

From Yugoslavia to Rwanda, up to the DR Congo, armies have used mass wartime rape to accomplish their strategic objectives. The main target of wartime is civilians, and the function of that strategic rape is to intimidate and destroy the enemy. It spreads debilitating terror, diminishes the resistance of civilians, and demoralizes, humiliates, and emasculates the enemy. In the process though, it shows the soldiers would have failed in their most elemental protective duties. Further, mass rape is said to cast a blight on the very roots of the afflicted culture, affecting its capacity to remain coherent and to reproduce itself. By raping women, soldiers split familial atoms of which every society is composed. Raped women may become pregnant by the enemy, suffer grievous physical and psychological injuries, be abandoned or disavowed by shamed families and husbands, and even die, all of which degrade the ability of a culture to replenish itself through sexual reproduction (Gottschall 2004; Diken and Bagge Laustsen 2005; Ruby Reid-Cunningham 2008; Matejkova 2014).

Thus, the strategic outcome of mass wartime rape smites society at its core, atomic level. In referring to the biological theory of wartime rape, Gottschall did not consider the fact that male sex is used as a tool of destruction in wartime. The death instinct associated with misogyny acts against women and the entire community. Even Freud, the champion psychoanalyst, did not consider the male genital organ as a tool of destruction equal to bombs and bullets. According to his topographical theory, Freud asserts that, if there is libido for sexual aggression, there is ego instinct for self-preservation (Dennen 2005). In other words, by its nature, there is regulation of the male genitalia to prevent self-destruction. The question is, how soldiers' use of that organ has suddenly turned into a destructive tool. Is destruction motivated by military bellicosity or soldier misogyny? In my opinion, there are complex factors causing a hostile and bellicose behaviour of soldiers. There are two levels of the problem to consider: the lower dimension is the sociocultural factors of rape in wartime developed by Gottschall (see above), while the upper level is embedded in political and security issues. If at the lower level, there are socio-cultural factors associated with genetic control, at the upper level, there are political factors associated with security issues.

Finally, refer to the functions of wartime rape mentioned above, the main idea with sociocultural theories of wartime rape is, rape in wartime is functional and not incidental. All three major theories developed by Gottschall have socio-cultural aspects (complex combinations of causal factors), an

orientation of wartime rape under genetic control²³ but not political and security issues. Thus, based on Gottschall's current theories, the case study of the DR Congo is a new challenge to those theories regarding the functions that rape has fulfilled. Hence, this gives new insight into the issue of mass rape in wartime, which looks at political and security matters. But before exploring wartime mass rape in the DR Congo, it is necessary to point out that the contextualisation of Gottschall's theories of mass rape in wartime have been proved as suitable at a certain level but are not complete.

3.2.4 A complementary approach to mass rape theory in the DR Congo

Gottschall's theories reflect a new approach to understanding mass rape in the DR Congo. The idea developed in this sub-section is the understanding of wartime mass rape theory related to the experience of South-Kivu province, an eastern part of the DR Congo which has experienced a great prevalence of mass rape in wartime. According to feminist theory, rape in South-Kivu is the expression of male dominance, power over women, and privilege. The relationship between men and mass rape, misogyny and patriarchy against women is clear because men exercise power over women in different ways through attitude and behaviour. Some men in power have taken advantage of their position to violate women. For instance, "Commanders allow sexual violence to become endemic and often encourage it as a reward for troop morale. According to soldiers' testimonies, fighters were 'expected' to rape" (Brown 2011: 4-13), thus displaying their misogynistic character. What better explains the misogyny of their act is that soldiers raped females regardless of their age and used sticks to destroy the genital organ of females.

According to strategic rape theory, mass rape has been used as a weapon of war to achieve military goals within south-Kivu communities by causing shame to all inhabitants. For Kitwe Mulunda (2014) sexual violence emasculates men and boys and shatters the leadership structure in family, community, and society. Males feel that they have failed to protect their females, which leads to psycho-social consequences such as spousal abandonment, social rejection, negative socio-economic impact, and psychological symptoms (Onyango MA et al. 2016).

The biosocial rape theory is combined here with the cultural pathology rape theory. In the DR Congo, the former theory is not as clear as the latter one, mentioned by Nordstrom (1996: 150) who says, "Wars are cultural, not biological, phenomena". The environment for rape is important here. For example, soldiers in the DR Congo have reported in interviews that factors such as peer pressure, fear, boredom, and magic all influence and lead them to rape (Brown 2012a). The environment is more important for

²³ It is often described by critics as indicating that socio-cultural factors are insignificant variables in soldiers' decisions to rape, and that the activity is wholly under genetic control. Gottschall, J. 2004. Explaining wartime rape. *Journal of Sex Research*, 41 (2): 129-136. p. 6.

soldiers to rape since a biologic cause without the genetic issue has no explanation. However, the most important fact remains unexplained: under which theory could we explain why rape continues to be used within those communities even after war? Liberal peace distortion is one possible explanation. Yet, the complete explanation and solution should be found during the action research process.

According to the strategic rape theory, mass rape has been used as a weapon of war to achieve military goals within the communities in different ways. Hence, rape against women in south-Kivu communities has caused shame to all inhabitants in the community. As Kitwe Mulunda (2014) writes, sexual violence emasculates men and boys and shatters the leadership structure in a family, community, and society. Males feel that they have failed to protect their females, which has led to psychosocial consequences such as spousal abandonment, social rejection, negative socioeconomic impact and psychological symptoms (Onyango *et al.* 2016). Compared to the traditional theories of mass rape used to explain motivations of perpetrators' rape in wartime, especially in the DR Congo, I have drawn a new explanation of mass rape which completes the one Gottschall proposed but was not developed. This new explanation looks at the foundation, the nature and function of widespread rape done to women in the DR Congo.

a. Nature and functions of rape in wartime based on Congolese experience

The nature of rape in wartime provides an image of the functions of wartime rape, which is not an incidental fact but, rather, a functional one. The nature of the rape crisis is here embodied under a huge umbrella of war. This will provide a portrayal of rape, notwithstanding the complexity of the issue. Many human rights activists, scholars and practitioners have painted rape as the monstrosity of our century, an epidemic, the worst in the world, and anew pathology (rape with extreme violence) to describe the gravity of rape in the Congo crisis.

b. Rape as the monstrosity of our century

Rape in the DR Congo is “the monstrosity of our century” as described by Dr Denis Mukwege (Lewis 2008). This characteristic of rape is related to the violations of human rights and especially feminine dignity. The argument is based on the widespread and systematic sexual violence in conflict settings including rape, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, forced impregnation, enforced sterilization, and indecent assault (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women 2009). This portrayal is related to grave breaches of Geneva conventions (International Committee of Red Cross 2008) against International Humanitarian Law (IHL). These offences are depicted and defined by the International Criminal Court (ICC) statute (Dormann 2003; International Committee of Red Cross 2007) as war crimes and crimes against humanity, in the 7th and 8th articles of the Rome statute. To be sure, women in the DR Congo crisis have experienced sexual slavery (Meger 2010); forced impregnation – as one of the consequences of rape (Brown 2011); women given as rewards; and soldiers ordered to abduct women (Brown 2011; Kelly 2014). There are many forced marriages, where soldiers were saying, “If

you don't marry me, I will shoot you” (Brown 2011: 10) to force the victim’s will. This is another form of sexual slavery developed during the Congolese rape crisis. In South-Kivu for instance, sexual slavery affected 4.9% of the survivors (Bartels *et al.* 2010b).

Claire Grayson (2012) notes that the types of sexual violence in the DR Congo cover every crime mentioned in international law, from rape and forced prostitution to forced pregnancy and torture. However, the issue of sterilization does not exist, and would hardly have been identified throughout the rape crisis and, even, among other forms of sexual violence.

Some human rights violations, such as genital mutilation (Arieff 2009), are not included in the above list of grave breaches, though Congolese women were subjected to this form of violence. Nevertheless, it can be included in the larger realm of “Sexual Violence as International Crime” (Aranburu 2010: 609). Some 72 percent of women reported that they were tortured during the rape session itself (genitally mutilated/burned by drops of plastic melted by flame) (Mukwege and Nangini 2009). Many sexual violence victims in the DR Congo have been subjected to horrific mutilation that goes far beyond mere rape (Meger 2010). Thus, the monster of our century – which is rape – should be considered as an horrific, terrifying act of extreme sexual violence that deliberately harms the body and the will. The gravity of such harmed violations is clearly expressed and captured in another term which is ‘epidemic’.

c. Rape as an epidemic matter

Scholars from Harvard University have called the gravity of rape and sexual violence in the eastern region of the DR Congo as an epidemic (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and Oxfam International 2010). This is related to the frequency, scale and figures of raped women and sexual violence survivors, which is considerable. Even though rape has been done to women in the whole country, the eastern part has suffered more than other regions of the country. The frequency of rape in those provinces is unique in terms of prevalence compared to other modern war countries.

Figures will help people to understand the considerable and undeniable issue of rape in the DR Congo. At first glance, it is evident that figures depend on the accessibility to the information, the capacity of the organization to get in touch with sexual violence survivors, and their efforts in breaking the silence to report the issue. That is why it is very likely to see figures that differ from the same year, or period, depending on the organizations’ samples. Hence, there is no conformity in terms of figures, only approximations. Furthermore, there are some reports which speak about rape in the DR Congo, but unfortunately these cannot even give the approximate figures on the rape issue, as we shall see later.

The United Nations estimates that at least 200,000 cases of sexual violence have been reported since the conflict started, which is thought to be a significantly low estimate (Kelly *et al.* 2011b). Also, they

report that more than 15,000 people were raped last year²⁴ in the DR Congo and that 200,000 women and children have been raped since 1996 (Peterman, Palermo and Bredenkamp 2011a). The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the agency co-ordinating work on sexual violence in the DR Congo, reported that 15,996 new cases of sexual violence were registered in 2008 throughout the country (Human Rights Watch 2009a). In 2009, more than 15,000 cases of sexual violence were officially reported and in 2010 there were no signs that the trend was decreasing (Human Rights Watch 2011). Figures of rape victims during the ongoing conflict in the eastern DR Congo from 2000 to the present²⁵ has fluctuated between 12,000 to 15,000 per year (Behr *et al.* 2010). Also, it was found that 1,152 women are raped every day – a rate equal to 48 per hour which comes to an estimated 16,000 rapes reported in one year (Adetunji 2011). As we can notice, figures above have fluctuated between 12,000 and 16,000 – which is the peak – since the beginning of the war in 1996. There is an average of 14,000 rape cases per year, and around 200,000 rape cases over the period of 14 years, which indicates the gravity of rape in the DR Congo.

However, some authors give distorted figures and dates. There is an unclear figure of Congolese rape cases which is similar to the Rwandan cases of rape. Barbour *et al.* (2009a: 2) state the following, “the toll of the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a staggering 500,000 victims of sexual violence since 1991.” To see it clearly, the stated period of rape seems to be earlier than the official year of the eruption of the Congolese war, which is 1996. Another author (Moore 2010), chooses to keep quiet on the figure. Among statistics of rape, she focuses on the levels and magnitude of sexual violence in conflict zones, but without providing any figures for the DR Congo. Instead, she chooses to give the amount funded by the USA to treat rape issues in the Congo. She shifts from figures – which was the topic – to funding. There is something odd in the description of the author. She mentioned the DR Congo as a country in conflict where sexual violence is widespread, but at once gives the figure of only one day’s rape and ignores the total figure as she mentions for other countries on her list. Does the number of women raped in one day determine the level of widespread rape in the Congo?

Another deformation of the information is the figure allocated to rural agglomeration, yet the figures are for the entire province. The governor of South Kivu estimated that 2,500 to 3,000 women and girls had been raped between late 1999 and mid-2001, and a religious congregation reported having assisted some 2,000 raped women and girls [in Shabunda²⁶]. This figure, unfortunately, does not belong to Shabunda only but to the entire South-Kivu region (Human Rights Watch 2002). All these distorted figures and confusion should be considered seriously in order to get the exact figure each year in the

²⁴ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2011. Thus, last year means 2010.

²⁵ 2000-present, means at the time of writing the report which is 2010.

²⁶ Shabunda is one rural agglomeration of South-Kivu.

relevant area, otherwise people will get a wrong image of the rape pandemic against women in the Congo.

For instance, in the eastern part of the DR Congo, particularly in South-Kivu, rape has ravaged women and children. In October 2004, the human rights group, Amnesty International, said that 40,000 cases of rape had been reported over the previous six years, the majority occurring in South-Kivu (Autesserre 2012b). There were 4,066 cases of sexual and gender-based violence recorded between January and March 2008 in South Kivu alone – the equivalent of 45 rapes in a single day (Peterman, Palermo and Bredenkamp 2011b). Some 18,505 cases of sexual violence were reported in Eastern Congo during the first 10 months of 2008, 30% of whom were children (Bender 2011). Some rural areas have been drastically affected by rape. For example, in the Shabunda region of South Kivu, it is estimated that 70% of the female population has been raped (Gettleman 2007). In some villages, two-thirds of all women are thought to have been raped (Kirchner 2012).

The data given above are reported by survivors of sexual violence. However, we should understand that international organizations do not necessarily have access to entire cases in every area in order to get exact and complete figures. The issue of silence of raped women has reinforced the gap between reality and the figures displayed. The figures we give are the major ones pointing to the increase in the level of sexual violence.

Finally, a 2011 nation-wide survey published in the *American Journal of Public Health* found that approximately 1.69 to 1.80 million women reported having been raped in their lifetime, (Kelly *et al.* 2011a) and, by 2017, the number had increased to two million (Le Monde 2013). However, the 2011 figures seem to be extrapolated by the authors (1.8 million women out of the country's population of 70 million people). For Michael van Rooyen (Gettleman 2011), the arguments come from the methodology. He says there were some limitations of methodology to collect the data. But the important message remains that rape and sexual slavery have become astonishingly commonplace in this region of the DR Congo and have defined this conflict as a war against women.

Those figures show the level of an unrestrained epidemic of rape in the DR Congo, especially in the eastern part. This pandemic of sexual violence, as Stephen Lewis describes it, is obscene, insanely savage, (Ensler and Lewis 2008; The Stephen Lewis Foundation 2008) and can only be described as femicide²⁷.

d. Rape in the DR Congo as the worst in the world

²⁷ “Femicide” is a word derived from French meaning a genocide or murder of females.

Though rape seems to be as old as war itself, the atrocity of this phenomenon in conflict zones for two decades, from the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and up to the DR Congo, has become a new practice. It has attracted the attention of scholars and professionals to focus on it. The scale of rape has led some to define the conflict as "war against women" (Nobel women's initiative 2011) because of what females have endured. Thus, the DR Congo has been labelled by scholars and practitioners such as Margot Wallström as the worst place in the world to be a woman (Bailey 2016; Sadie 2015) where "it is more dangerous to be a woman than to be a soldier in modern conflict" (Nobel women's initiative 2011: 2). Those characteristics are more related to some facts such as atrocity, normalization of rape, and humiliation (which will be presented later), a drastic and odd destruction against females and the entire community. In the time of colonialism, the DR Congo was known by many as the heart of darkness (Conrad 1992) because of the colonial atrocities inflicted on the people of Kongo. This has been re-dubbed the rape capital of the world (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013), described as "a systematic pattern of destruction toward the female species" (Ensler 2007: 2), and "incomprehensible" (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013: 6). This is a crisis of women, a pervasive atrocity shrouded in a conspiracy of silence, which Hillary Clinton called evil in its purest form (Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2013). The Eastern Congo has witnessed rape and sexual violence of women and girls on a scale never seen before, argues Meger (2010). Rape has been committed against females regardless of their age. Victims of sexual violence have ranged in age from four months to 84 years (Brown 2012a). In Bukavu Province, there are victims ranging in age from 10 months to 87-year-old women (Ensler 2007). That is war against women.

In South-Kivu, women have experienced four types of rape: individual rape, gang rape, rape in which victims are forced to rape each other, and rape involving objects inserted into victims' genitals. In many cases, rape victims were tortured and others were murdered (Ohambe, Muhigwa and Mulyumba 2004). The worst acts, the pure evil feeling, and the misogyny against women, is rape with insertion of objects and murder, as if rape itself is not enough. For instance, many scholars and activists horrifyingly recount rapists using different objects including rifles, sticks, bananas, bottles, and pepper-covered pestles being forced into the women's vaginas, the electric shocking of the genitals, as well as compression or stretching of genital organs and breasts (Claire Grayson 2012). Many victims have been subjected to horrific mutilation that goes far beyond mere rape and the cause of fistula (Meger 2010); even being murdered by bullets fired from a gun barrel shoved into their vagina (Brown 2012a). This level and intensity of violence against women is inhumane. It is a savagery against women that most of the world has never experienced and leads to question why there is such atrocity against women in the DR Congo. Why does it occur to innocent women who know nothing about war, conspiracy, and politics? Many questions remain without clear and understandable responses on such rape atrocity matters. What is shocking and unbelievable is that rapists normalize that kind of atrocity against women and consider the victim as a partner. Calling one's victim a "partner" and normalizing some types of violence (rape) illustrates some of the ways soldiers justify their behaviour (Kelly 2014).

e. The function of the rape crisis in the DR Congo

The nature of rape in the DR Congo has drawn my attention to the reasons for such levels of rape against girls and women. I identified four major factors justifying rape in this country: Political, strategic, social-cultural, and socio-psychological, with a link to the judiciary. All those factors converge and achieve the offender's need and purpose. This is shown in that 70% of rapes were planned with a specific aim in the perpetrators' minds (Banwell 2014).

To begin with, war crimes such as rape with a large magnitude as that subjected to Congolese women, is a politico-strategic strategy of war. For rebels, it serves to attract the international community, regional countries, and the DR Congo government's attention, and helps to identify the capacity of armed groups for combat to be considered as an important group. In fact, armed groups have their agenda to negotiate. To fulfil that agenda – to cause trouble – the armed group is needed as a tool to ascertain whether the government or the international community will negotiate with them. Consequently, the civil population becomes a prey, trapped by trouble-making rebels. This strategy has been used by armed groups because of the failure of the Congolese government's peace process which only frees a dangerous criminal, grants him a place in the government, and treats him with respect. Thus, for rebels, committing grave breaches has become part of a strategic philosophy of negotiation during or preceding the peace process (Mauwa 2015). Pascale Kambale understands that strategy when he argues that, "If you kill a person, you are sent to jail; if you kill ten people, you are sent to a psychiatric asylum; if you kill 1000 people, you are invited to a conference on peace" (Kambale 2003). In other words, the more the crime such as rape increases, the more the government considers armed groups with respect. This principle has worked and characterized almost all armed groups' negotiation strategies in the DR Congo in order to achieve their agendas.

Another function of rape is the socio-psychological strategy of war. As a terror tactic, rape aims to destroy or expel populations or ethnic groups, impregnate women, intimidate civilians, loot land and resources, and may serve to increase military morale by awarding women to combat. Different militia groups have distinct and recognizable ways by which they rape women, marking women with a signature that often mutilates and scars them for life, but also establishing the armed group's power and control (Editorial staff 2009). Wartime rape is "a military tactic, serving as a combat tool to humiliate and demoralize individuals, to tear apart families, and to devastate communities" (UN Action against sexual violence in conflict 2006: 5). This leads to devastating physical and psychological ramifications for survivors (Nobel women's initiative 2011), since these terrors and humiliation weaken women and the entire community.

Rape has also served to clear the identity of rapists in the memory of a victim, to wipe the mark or trace of an offence. This tends to insulate perpetrators from a sense of personal guilt, and leaves victims less able to identify perpetrators (Nobel women's initiative 2011). That is the reason for committing this

crime as a group. The group usually does it in such way that the victim cannot recognise them to avoid being prosecuted. So, mass rape serves to achieve their purpose without being identified to escape criminal accountability from justice. Also, rape reinforces cohesion between combatants. The practice of gang rape in particular has been employed to create cohesion within units, bonding fighters who have been recruited by force and increasing their tolerance to violence (Nobel women's initiative 2011). Women are here used as a tool to reinforce men's masculinity. The reward of women is also used as a cultural argument. At the same time, since rape is a challenge to the unity of the community, it helps to bind combatants to reinforce their cohesion while working against community cohesiveness for women (Nobel women's initiative 2011). Moreover, children born of rape become a great source of anxiety and a mark of men's failure to protect their community. Displaying their presence as a disturbance to the genealogy of family, they are discriminated against and excluded from the community. Finally, the function of rape is that it serves to extract information from women and girls. In this case, torture with extreme violence is done to women in order to force them to disclose secret information needed by armies.

From the above explanation of the function of rape, the issue is complex, and the underlying reasons need to be explored to get a full understanding. We also assume that widespread rape in the DR Congo is a higher political matter depicted as a security issue.

3.2.5 Understanding women and security in widespread rape in the DR Congo

In International Relations (IR), security is a broad term that covers several domains. Feminists in IR define security as the diminution of all forms of violence including domestic violence, rape, poverty, gender submission, economic, and ecological destruction (Tickner and Sjoberg 2010). A specific violence such as rape can be politically planned from and by a government, foreign army, and so on, whether inside a country or against another country. If it is planned and ordered, it is usually done in wartime rather than in peacetime for specific interests. As some scholars confirm (Brownmiller 1975) (Kirby 2012), when rape has been committed by an army, after the act, rape may be viewed as part of a recognizable pattern of national terror and subjugation. In that view, rape is related to security issues, and can draw its explanation from both realism and feminism, or more.

The issue of women and security stems, yet differs, from feminist security studies. It stems from feminist security studies with regard to the philosophy of security, which tries to securitize gender, and is interested in the relationship of gender to the construction of security discourses (Mackenzie 2010). Referring to gender, the women and security issue differs from feminist security studies as it focuses directly on women as securitising actors rather than on gender.

The reason this new feminist approach to security focuses on women rather than on gender is because, although both involve identity, 'gender' is weak in that regard because it is dynamic; it may change

according to the environment, society, or any circumstances; gender is manipulating and performative, as Judith Buttle (Šaranović 2011) puts it. Yet, 'woman' is a strong identity because of its stability that hardly changes. Moreover, because of the sex identity, this concept become a political unit within society. By means of law, the state grants man access to a woman's body. As such, sex becomes central to the regulation of a relationship between a man and a woman and, therefore, is a political fact which needs higher protection by everyone, from the family to the national and international realms. In wartime, the female body and reproductive capacities become one of the most significant sites of political power (Mackenzie 2010) needing great protection. That is why women and security fit together to explain the importance of the security of women in the state, rather than gender and security.

In fact, feminist security studies rest on the idea that feminists feel responsible for securitising the gender issue (Mackenzie 2010), whence their struggle comes. They advocate gender equality within the security realm of a State, internationally, and in global relations as a strategy to contribute to their own protection.

My assumption is that the security of women in wartime is affected by the security of the state and the involvement of the international community. Referring to the functions of rape in the DR Congo mentioned above, I assert that physical insecurity of women triggered by rape in wartime is more a matter of security politics, both 'high politics' and 'low politics' (Mackenzie 2010) which include respectively, military and strategic issues on the one hand, and economic and political issues on the other. But for the Copenhagen school to express the matter of security and politics, the school names those politics the 'normal' politics and securitized matters (McDonald 2008). So, for me, to simplify all those concepts, I choose the concept of securitising politics which is the physical security of women through high level of politics (that is, the national and international arenas), and low-level politics (the local and community arenas). Thus, the women and security aspect endeavours to bring together both explanations of widespread wartime rape, from higher level politics, the primary motivations of which rest on feminism (Wilderson 2017; McGlynn 2008; Enloe 2004a). This are realist explanations of rape in wartime in the Congo (Blanchard 2003). The lower-level politics explanation is based on Gottschall's critics on theories of wartime mass rape developed above (Brownmiller 1975; Skjelsbaek 2001; Gottschall 2004). Here, however, I will focus on the issue of securitising politics to explain the challenge of the Congolese State to protect women from widespread rape in wartime according to the function of rape and the motivation of perpetrators to do so.

To understand just how widespread rape against women in the DR Congo is, the issue of politics demands consideration of the political and economic motivations of direct and indirect perpetrators. Arguing that widespread rape within Congolese communities is a matter of security, means that women's security in wartime and in post-conflict periods is linked to higher politics at both international and national levels.

To start with, we assert that the nature of rape associated with the utmost suffering against women in a modern conflict, the aim of rape (to destroy victims and the communities affected by it), and the current theories of mass rape in wartime developed by Gottschall and their contextualisation in the Congolese case study, are the bedrock on which the women and security aspect stands. Two factors have motivated direct (visible actors) and indirect (hidden actors) perpetrators to commit such infamy against women in the DR Congo. These are: the political and then economic interests of those actors in Congolese natural resources (Global Witness 2009). This includes the interests of regional governments, the interests of any other government in the world, and the interests of international corporations (Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement-terre solidaire 2014). All these take advantage of Congolese natural resources (Wilson nd), and are motives that intensify the insecurity of women in an environment of atrocious mass rape.

In fact, rape in the Congo has been used as a trigger to fulfil political goals. Say, several political groups in DR Congo conflict, such as rebels and foreign insurgents, endeavour to find a strategy of drawing the Congolese government and the international community's attention to their monumental human rights abuses and criminality (Mauwa 2015). They have been allowed implicitly by those in powerful countries to commit any atrocity and criminality because of the guarantee of impunity granted to them (Reyntjens 2012). Besides, the insecure environment has been used for the continuation of war in order to explore minerals under war conditions (Denault, Abadie and Sacher 2008). This kind of deliberate local, national, and international strategic combination against human rights abuse, such as sexual violence, to protect their interests is here understood as action to protect business to the detriment of protecting women, as mentioned in the previous chapter. From the perspective of International Alert (2010), sexual violence is not directly connected with the mining economy, but rather with the lack of security and the reigning anomie in the areas outside the law where the Kalashnikov is king.

Unfortunately, the lack of women's security has been encouraged by certain high-ranking staff working in international peace organisations who are supposed to protect women against rape. As Cynthia Enloe (2004a) confirms, patriarchal inclinations can also be found in peace and justice movements. It is the structural and ideological system that perpetuates the privileging of masculinity. For instance, a peacekeeper commander in the DR Congo has minimized rape against women by telling his team members that rape was a "normal" behaviour of soldiers (Meger 2010).

The recurrent use of sexual violence is arguably one of the worst global protection challenges due to its scale (United Nations Women 2012). Instead of being protected by the international peace commission, peacekeepers are the ones involved in raping Congolese women and abusing them sexually. Starting in 2003, peacekeepers serving under the UN Mission in the DR Congo (MONUC) have been periodically accused of sexual exploitation and abuse of women and children (Arieff 2009). Peacekeepers have been found buying sexual slaves from villagers in exchange for milk and bread (Meger 2010), as well as the

deplorable matter of peacekeepers themselves raping women and girls (Barbour *et al.* 2009b). Regrettably, in 2008, Human Rights Watch contended that those crimes have been ignored and minimized (Arieff 2009). Moreover, prosecutions remain low and impunity is still high. Even the International Law community has been silent (Dranginis 2014). All the evidence constitutes new protection risks from peacekeepers, judicial institutions and others pretending to protect women in wartime and post-conflict Congolese society.

Hence, both political and economic motives of war have shaped the unsecured, unsafe environment in which women have suffered from widespread rape within their local communities. Women are unsafe at any level of society, from their community to the institutional level, including institutions in charge of justice and peace where some men – perpetrators – take advantage of the insecure environment.

3.3 Social Cohesion

To understand social cohesion, meanings, typology, and indicators – beside the dimensions developed in the previous chapter – provide an overview of the concept.

3.3.1 Meanings of social cohesion and similar concepts

According to existing literature, social cohesion is a concept which has a long theoretical evolution and is multidisciplinary. Social cohesion has been used in many disciplines such as sociology, sociopsychology, psychology, and mental health. Not only do academicians, researchers, and scholars use the term, but also politicians and practitioners. For instance, states, institutions, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, and so on use social cohesion policies to achieve many purposes, either for development or for peace.

In the social sciences, social cohesion is not a new term. Particularly in sociology, scholars have been involved for more than a century (Bruhn 2009). The evolution of the term has implied that many scholars have developed the concept in different ways and provided the following meanings. Emile Durkheim (Durkheim 1897), the earliest sociologist, says social cohesion is an ordering feature of a society, and defines it as an interdependence between members of the society, shared loyalties and solidarity (Berman 2003). The key words in vogue today are solidarity and social integration, with strong ties as a tool of reducing suicide. This highlights the key of combatting social exclusion within the community through social values to improve the quality of life.

Moreover, scholars who come after Durkheim describe social cohesion in several ways. For instance, for Freud, social cohesion is intense emotional ties which represent social bonds of groups. For others, social cohesion is a common mode of feeling, and reciprocal influence among members; the interdependence of members; the essence of a group; the cohesiveness under conditions of democratic leadership and having one's expectations met; the value of the rewards available in a group; a key

phenomenon of membership continuity; the ‘cement’ binding together group members and maintaining their relationships to one another in respect of norms; the power of groups to generate conformity; a co-operative interdependence in the pursuit of shared goals; mutual satisfaction of needs through co-operative interaction; commitment to the group; consensus among group members; community ties; attraction and bonding; self-disclosure and feedback; a sense of belonging and feelings of morale; a group’s tendency to stick together and to remain united in satisfying member needs (Bruhn 2009). There are others, but these are the most important, common, and inclusive descriptions of social cohesion. For me to easily capture the description, I will put them together and extract a common description according to the context of the population I will study.

Thus, from those multiple meanings of social cohesion, my understanding regarding my study is as follows: Social cohesion is an expression of cohesiveness, togetherness, bonds founded on the respect of consensual norms of group members, as their social power to generate conformity and commitment. That group members are sharing similar interests, needs, and expectations, which create interaction, attraction, interdependence, and relationship from where stems support in terms of solidarity through intense feelings, emotional ties, and a sense of belonging to the same community, which is socially integrated under a democratic leadership. In summary, social cohesion is a bond that gathers society, while putting aside any disturbance that affects the togetherness of the society. It is the glue that binds people together, or the forging of a common sense of identity and belonging to the same community. To others, it may speak of a willingness to extend trust to outsiders and among societal members (Burns *et al.* 2016). These are strengths of social relations values that have led our research in a non-cohesive community in which the risk is increased social tension, violent crime, the targeting of minorities, human rights violations, and, ultimately, violent conflict (Burns *et al.* 2016).

3.3.2 Similar terms to social cohesion: social capital, trust

In the context of my study, social capital is considered as a physical and human capital. Social capital is seen as a community-level attribute, and consists of the existence of social and community networks; civic engagement; local identity and a sense of belonging and solidarity with other community members; and norms of trust and reciprocal help and support (Morrow 2004). This refers to the quality of relationship of the community which affects personal interactions. There is a set of characteristics of social capital (trust, tolerance, association and so on) which tend to go together at the individual level with people who trust others, and institutions tend also to be tolerant, to give to charities and to join associations (Green, Janmaat and Han 2009). Hence, trust is a drive of relationship which will facilitate interaction between victims and perpetrators. As Coleman (1988) notes, a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness is able to accomplish much more than a comparative one without that trustworthiness. They have many advantages such as to help victims and perpetrators to shift from negative emotions to positive emotions (Kenworthy *et al.* 2015).

Though there is no shortcut or simple prescription for healing wounds and divisions of a society in the aftermath of persistent violence, creating trust and understanding between former enemies is a supremely difficult challenge. However, it is an essential one to address in the process of building lasting peace. Examining the painful past, acknowledging it, understanding it, and above all transcending it together, is the best way to guarantee that it does not – and cannot – happen again (Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse 2003). Although trust is a difficult challenge to overcome, it remains the bedrock of rebuilding relationships and, consequently, a cohesive community. The success of this stage will lead automatically to other values of a cohesive community such as solidarity (emotional support, mutual acceptance, protection, and so on), the reconstruction of new identities (feelings of belonging to the family and community), self-acceptance, the use of victims' and perpetrators' privileges, and so on), and real interaction. Then the quality of social cohesion will depend on the level of the survivors' (re)integration within the community.

Social capital can be seen at global and national levels. Although quantitative analysis of social cohesion and social capital may sometimes use similar indicators (such as trust), the phenomena are not necessarily connected. For instance, a country may well be rich in terms of the social capital residing in different groups, but this will not inevitably make it socially cohesive. Intra-group bonding does not necessarily translate into inter-group harmony (Green, Janmaat and Han 2009). That difference is the challenge of social capital at the national level. Nevertheless, when the number of intra-groups each bonding through social capital is large, the more a country has a chance to maximize the bond of social cohesion, maintaining peace, and containing violence. But the fewer the intra-groups within a country, the greater the risk of the lack of cohesiveness, which maximizes violence and conflict.

3.3.3 Typology of social cohesion and indicators

There are three domains of social cohesion based on bonds or ties that help to keep society integrated. Marshal classifies social cohesion into three groups: civil, political and socio-economic (Manza and Sauder 2009). Each form of social cohesion is determined by the nature of relations. The political tie relies on public and private institutions involving the participation of every citizen. The economic tie rests on the shared market capacity involving insertion, equality in chance, and in the conditions. The sociocultural/community form is determined by pluralism and acceptance, the share of common values, and the feeling of belonging to the same community (Manza and Sauder 2009; Acket *et al.* 2011a).

In relation to my study, I have selected community indicators of social cohesion. Even if, according to Woolley (1998), social cohesion has no precise definition, indicators can be given in terms of inclusion, exclusion, integration, disintegration, social dissolution and social capital, trust, norms, solidarity (Berman 2003), membership, isolation, participation, non-involvement, recognition, and rejection (Berger-schmitt 2000). Those indicators will shape the dimensions of social cohesion needing to be restored after the changes in social cohesion in South-Kivu community's experiences.

3.4 Conclusion

Rape is a long-time experience that women have had in both peace time and war time. The traditional motivations of rape in peace time are the basic ones which incite perpetrators to rape in war time. However, there are some factors that aggravate rape in war time and make the difference between those two sorts of rape: Incidental peace time rape and functional war time rape. Traditional explanations of mass rape are compounded of patriarchy, socio-cultural aspects, feminist issues, cultural pathology, a strategy of war, and bio-social and psycho-physiology theories. Recently, traditional explanations have been improved by some feminist scholars who argue that privilege and identity are nodes of patriarchy that nourish bellicosity against women. Up to the present, the explanation of mass rape in war time has remained traditional, or has received less interest while improving slowly, thereby drawing attention to direct actors on the battlefield. However, from a women and security approach, this brings a new path to complete the understanding of theories explaining mass rape in war time. This is a combination of complex involvements of both top political and economic factors and local factors triggered by motivations of mass rape in war time. Here, most of the actors are hidden, either indirectly or directly, acting against women's security. Therefore, the issue of mass rape in war time becomes one of international security passed by national security, as is the case in the DR Congo.

Social cohesion on the other hand has been described differently by different theorists and researchers depending on the context and population being studied. In my study, the term social cohesion is described according to the types, meaning, and dimensions with the emphasis on the dimensions of social cohesion as foundation of social change. It is an ideal which has been pursued throughout my study based on the transformation of relationships among and between central actors and peripheral actors for the sake of social change. The next chapter focuses on the methodology of the study to get idea on the procedure of transforming relationships and to restore social cohesion in the local community.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

Research design is the plan that developed for my investigation, using an accepted approach and procedure to achieve the research goals. Yin (2009) and Boru (2018) posit that research design guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting observations. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relationships between the variables under investigation. Research design should be considered more than a plan. It is the association of plan, procedure and activities which depend on the kind of approach and method used to collect and analyse data. The plan of my research activities was structured following an action research design under a case study umbrella, using qualitative methods. This is because qualitative research is a systematic and subjective approach to highlight and explain daily life experiences, and to further give them proper meaning (Mohajan 2018). Furthermore, Stringer (2014:6) writes that “fundamentally, action research is grounded in the qualitative research paradigm whose purpose is to gain greater clarity and understanding of the question, problem, or issue”. In order to describe and structure the design of my study well, a spectrum of principles is needed to shape and clarify the design of my study such as the worldview of the study which, is a transformative assumption, an action-oriented research design, and the components of this design.

4.2 The Worldview of the Study: Transformative Paradigm

The worldview of my study is a transformative paradigm. This paradigm provides a philosophical orientation fitting studies that deal with individuals and relationships, including issues of power, social justice, discrimination, and oppression. An emphasis on individual orientation motivated me to use the transformative paradigm since my research activities were more focused on individual relationships than on institutional relationships. The use of participatory action research in my study linked the three features of a transformative paradigm: *asymmetric power relationships, politics, and social action*. That combination highlights inequalities of beliefs on how and why problems of opposition, domination, and unequal power relationships exist (Mertens 2009; Mertens 2012; Creswell 2014), and are fundamental to establishing the process to address the issue and finding solutions to change.

The features and orientation of the transformative paradigm were relevant to my study because it deals with asymmetric power between men and women, that is, between antagonistic parties in conflict. The unequal power in relationships has triggered widespread rape of women, destroying relationships

between them and within the community. On the other hand, the persistence of shattered relationships seems to be the result of social actions which do not aim to promote social change within the community and the victims' lives. Hence, the focus on individuals to transform power and relationships using 'why' and 'how' questions. These were intended to reveal the causes and effects of the issues that have produced outcast victims and outlaw offenders. This, in turn, was aimed at generating solutions for community cohesiveness, the heart of my research. That philosophical view matches the theory of conflict transformation for social change used throughout this study.

4.3 Action Research Design

The blueprint for this research is action research, "a collaborative approach to inquiry that provides people with the means to take systematic action to resolve specific problems" (Stringer 2014: 8). It will help all participants to clearly understand and analyse the way rape has affected relationships, identity, and social capital values within the community. This will generate and should sustain potential solutions for the consolidation of social cohesion through the Plan, Act, Observe, and Reflect activities (Lufungulo, Mambwe and Kalinde 2021; McNiff 1999).

Within action research, there are various types of case studies. These are: the configurative-ideographic study²⁸, disciplined-configurative study²⁹, heuristic case studies³⁰, plausibility probes³¹, and crucial case studies³² (Tight 2017). My action research design involves five elements: The background and the philosophy of action research, the features of action research, participatory action research (PAR), the challenges of PAR, and the underlying arguments for adopting PAR in this inquiry.

4.3.1 Background and Philosophical Foundation of Action Research

Action research is both a methodology and a philosophy of research. It has evolved from the 19th Century to the present. It links critical emancipatory action research and participatory action research³³ (Carr and Kemmis 1986; Kemmis and McTaggart 2000; Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2007) with the features of action research as a central pillar of the research activities.

Coined in 1944 in the United States by social psychologist Kurt Lewin (Haddad 2018), action research, founded on social change, has evolved over the last century. As a method of inquiry, action research

²⁸ Dealing with complex collective individuals

²⁹ Application to cases of frameworks of inquiry'

³⁰ Serving to find out

³¹ Establish whether broader, more painstaking studies might be valuable

³² Tests of theory

³³ The first generation is the original one defined by Kurt Lewin, the second generation is the one developed by Kemmis and others which is more critical and emancipatory, the third generation is the participatory and the fourth is the link between the critical emancipatory action research and the participatory action research. Savin-Baden, M. and Wimpenny, K. 2007. Exploring and implementing participatory action research. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, Routledge, 31 (2): 331–343. (p331).

emphasised field work activities, the inspiration for which came from a prior reformist, called Moreno (Gunz 2006; Ron 2022). Moreno used group participation in a community development initiative with prostitutes in Vienna in 1913 (Masters 1995). From him, Kurt Lewin derived improved research activities beneficial to society. Lewin drew his philosophy from the two fields of scientific management and education.

In fact, the scientific management approach which aims at economic efficiency, is unfortunately underpinned by the inequality of power within organizations (Skinner 2017). Yet, for Lewin, the best reaction to scientific management must focus on implementing an approach that stimulates equity for all members within the group or organisation. Participation of all members is needed not only to generate solutions, but also knowledge gained through the action research process (Skinner 2017). Therefore, democratic participation becomes a way of inhibiting power, reducing inequality, and helping every participant to improve the quality of change.

For Lewin, there should be “no action without research” and “no research without action” (cited in Skinner 2017: 12). Therefore, he recommends connecting action, research, and training, handled together for the sake of a successful outcome of resolving a social problem. His action research philosophy is found in the following statement:

The study of social groups and social problems yields a set of general laws; and one can express these laws as “if/so” propositions, using **them** in conjunction with a diagnosis of specific problems to plan how to resolve or improve social conditions. In turn, one should evaluate these change strategies by observing their effects and modifying and re-evaluating the strategies if necessary” (Peters and Robinson 1984: 115).

This philosophy embodies three characteristics: process, methodology and theory. The process that the researcher goes through to achieve these themes is known as the spiral of action research, consisting of four major phases: planning, acting, observing and reflecting (Vaccarino *et al.* 2007). Action research is considered as a methodology when it starts with a social or practical problem to find solutions, and to link action research with a specific way of interpretation. As theory, action research triggers debate in which positivism has been rejected. It emphasises a self-critical approach to social problems, and it has liberated social research (Peters and Robinson 1984). My study considers action research as a methodology rather than a theory, as it provided the design of this research.

Despite the merit of this philosophy, it has been criticised because of the failure of Lewin’s explanation of his own views on the methodology and philosophy of social sciences. This posed a serious difficulty in capturing Lewin’s view on action research (Peters and Robinson 1984). This is because of the challenge that action research presents to the educational research models, since it aims to promote change in specific situations rather than to discover ‘truth’ and derive general laws. Notwithstanding that challenge, action research tries to bridge the gap between theory, research and practice; between

social theory and social action; between the abstract and the concrete (Peters and Robinson 1984). The following sub-section explains in detail action research characteristics that bridge the gap.

4.3.2 Features of Action Research

Action research is a systematic approach of inquiry centred on the capacity of people and groups to find localised effective solutions to the problems in which they are engaged in their daily life. It is useful in pluralistic societies that value consultative approaches to problem-solving (Kaye 2017; Stringer 2007). Given that the need to solve problems occurs every day, this has affected the means by which people may increase the effectiveness of their solutions. Used routinely, this can lead to preventing further problems and improving social conditions. That routine is called the spiral of action research. It is a process involving “a set of collaborative ways of conducting social research that simultaneously satisfies rigorous scientific requirements and promotes democratic social change. It uses a democratic strategies of generating knowledge, and designs action in which local stakeholders and researchers work together” (Greenwood and Levin 2007: 1).

The fundamental components of action research rest upon an ‘action-research-participation’ pattern. It can be adapted and re-adapted according to the author’s perception and the situation which they are facing. Those three components are closely linked, and must work together, without them, action research has no meaning. In detail, those components mean:

- e. Action – Alters the initial situation of a group in the direction of a more self-managing, liberated and sustainable state
- f. Research – Aims to generate new research knowledge (power of knowledge, theory, models, methods and analysis)
- g. Participation – Places a strong value on democracy. All components are obliged to establish the agenda and to generate knowledge in order to transform the situation (Greenwood and Levin 2007).

Therefore, the action research components become effective in each field where research activities take place within the situations that people face.

The main characteristics of action research are presented in the diagram with the following structure: ‘Plan-act-observe-reflect’ cycle (Kemmis, McTaggart and Retallic 2004; Kemmis, McTaggart and Nixon 2014). This can differ from one author to another. For instance, Stringer (2007: 8) presents the action research under the structure ‘look-think-act’. However, this still conveys the same result as the Kemmis and McTaggart model. I have chosen the Kemmis and McTaggart model of action research as it is widely understandable, clear, and easy to get the sense as the figure below shows:

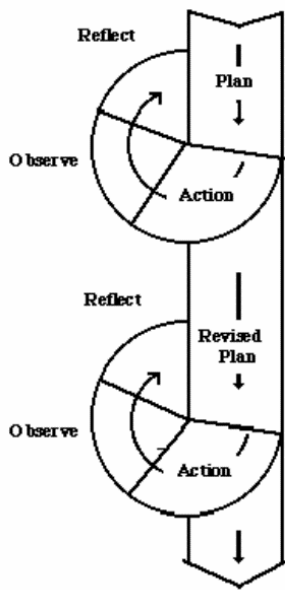


Figure 4:1 Kemmis and McTaggart's Action Research Model (Vaccarino *et al.* 2007)

As seen in the above diagram, action research is a cyclical process of planning, acting, observing, reflecting and then re-planning in light of the knowledge gained through the cycle (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005; Killmier 2010). This process includes two major activities, action, and research. The action aspect relates to the activities which aim to change the situation, while the research aspect involves the increase of understanding for those affected by the issue such as participants and, perhaps, the investigator. The Kemmis, McTaggart and Retallic (2004) action research model is:

a. Plan

Planning is a prospective work – a researcher's way forward to look at and shape the activities. For that, the framework of the activity and the strategy should be well elaborated. The plan should be flexible to adapt itself to unpredictable effects which could affect the activities. The accompanying strategy should be efficient enough to prevent risk to the process of social change. This involves reducing the external risk while dealing with disturbances from internal factors that the researcher might encounter while implementing the programme.

b. Act

Acting is the idea-in-action guided by the plan. Therefore, the researcher must control the movement of the action, and struggle towards improving the action. The action stage has characteristics that the researcher needs to control, such as the fluidity and dynamism of the action, instant decisions, and practical judgement for successful accomplishment.

c. Observe

Observation must be planned and run at two levels, which are the documentary and the reality. The effects of the action and the reality must be documented, and this should be done “*on the process of the action, the effects of the action (intended and unintended), the circumstances of and constraints on the action, the way circumstances and constraints limit or channel the planned action and its effects, and on the other issues which arise*”(Kemmis, McTaggart and Retallic 2004: 2). The observation is prospective; that is, it provides an immediate and future reflection on the process of the action, and a critical self-reflection.

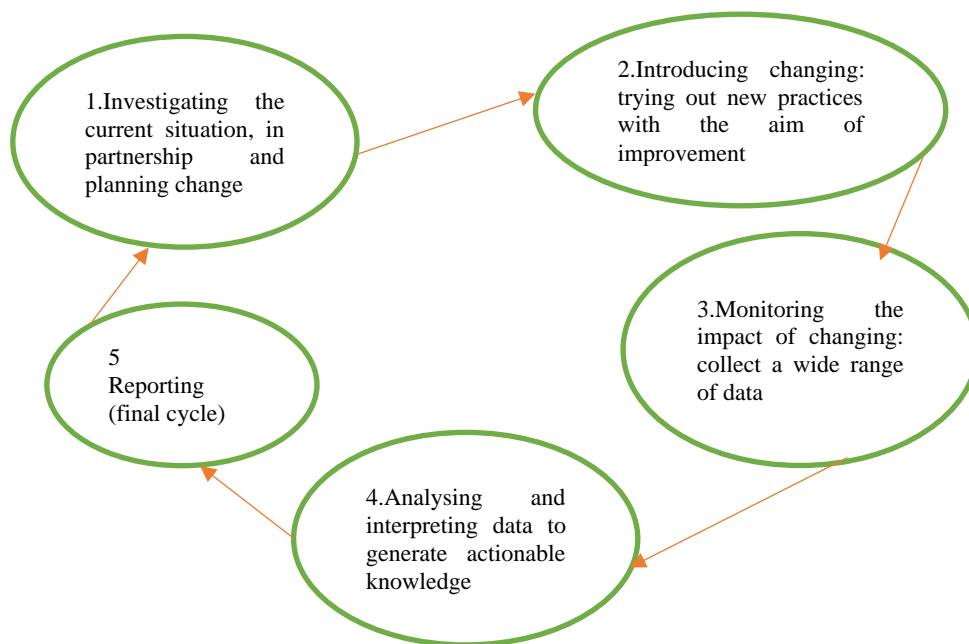
d. Reflect

Reflection is retrospective, constructive, descriptive, and evaluative (Mather-Pike 2018). Whereas the observation stage is prospective, the reflection is retrospective. The reflection is done on the observation activities. It tries to make sense of the action and observation stages involving processes, problems, issues, constraints, and perspectives (Grundy 1986). It is constructive because it derives meaning from the social situation through discourse. This allows a new activity plan to be remade. The descriptive aspect brings new understanding, a vivid picture of the action situation, and what might possibly be done. The evaluation aims to judge whether the effects of the activity were desirable or not, and to plot a way forward.

Reflection has a specific role, which is to reframe the problem in order to analyse further the outcomes of the research. As a tool for change, reflection does a forward and backward check to follow up constantly on the research activities cycle. This keeps the research activities in an ongoing reflective action (Vaccarino *et al.* 2007). As I will develop it later, reflection in participatory action research is the same as in action research, including the pre-emptive discussion of participants where they identify a shared concern or problem.

Other scholars present the action research model under a spiral which recycles the research activities. Through “Look-think-act” components, it considers “Look” as the fact of describing the situation and gathering information. The “think” stage is huge and includes the exploration, analysis, interpretation, and explanation of the research activities. The “act” moment aims to implement the plan and evaluate the activities (Stringer 2007). The Stringer model of action research, which was developed after the Kemmis and McTaggart model, seems to summarise the former one while still being more detailed than the latter. Those action research models, as mentioned above, are participant centred. As such, they involve human behaviour, which the researcher seeks to understand to generate solutions. Their structures contain investigation, action planning, piloting of new practices, and evaluation of outcomes incorporated at all stages of the collection and analysis of data, and the generation of knowledge (Somekh 2008), as figure 4.2 shows:

Figure 4:2 Stringer's Action Research Model



Source: Somekh (2008).

The human behaviour diagram of action research puts together the research models mentioned above in another way, which is detailed in five stages:

- “Investigate and look” focuses on the description of the problem, the issue which led to schedule the framework of the research activities. It refers to the ‘look’ phase of the Stringer model
- The second stage aims to “think”. Here, the author is in the process of planning the way in which new ideas can be found to get original and appropriate solutions
- The third stage seeks to observe the activities taking place and to monitor them. The ongoing activities target large collections of data so that participants have a chance to truly decide on the right way of implementing proper solutions.
- The analysis and interpretation of data collected on the situation also relates to the second stage which is the result after the action. It is at that level where reflection can be found. After reflecting, the course of action leads again to the monitoring and then back again to analysis until the researcher and participants can acknowledge finding the best unshakable, permanent solution.
- After reflection and reinterpretation, the last step is to write the report.

The human behavioural model of action research is a typical model needed for a local community; such research can be called Participatory Action Research (PAR).

4.3.3 Participatory Action Research

Participatory action research is action-oriented research which emphasises the participation of recipients and the action(s) as named. It involves the participation of people who are affected by some issue or problem and are willing, democratically, to find solutions for the change process. The move

from action research to participatory action research can be explained in that participatory action research is the fourth generation (Features of action research). It focuses more on the local situation rather than on organizational aspects (Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2007). This is the merit of participatory action research and what makes slight differences between the two action-oriented approaches.

In fact, participatory action research is a collaborative research, education and action used to gather information, using it for change on social or environmental issues. It involves people who are affected by an issue, taking a leading role in producing and using knowledge about it (Pain, Whitman and Milledge n.d). Focusing on the agenda of participants, on the use of self-reflective cycles, developing shared quality criteria to ensure validity, and generating knowledge and understanding which seek to improve the world and change it (Baum, MacDougall and Smith 2006Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2007); participatory action research is people-centred, power-conscious, and action-oriented.

Even though action research and participatory action research have the merit of generating knowledge and finding appropriate solutions with and by the participants, participatory action research has faced many challenges.

4.3.3.1 Challenges of the participatory action research approach

The challenges of participatory action research involve both researcher and participants. Participatory action research does not only have merit, but also has challenges which must be considered in order to prevent the implementation of the plan, process, and outcomes of the research activities from any factors that might embezzle the progress of the process towards irrelevant data and wrong results of research activities. There are many challenges, but I have chosen the most relevant.

Some of those challenges have been raised by scholars. According to Savin-Baden and Wimpenny (2007) the unequal power relationships between participants and researchers might well result in a lack of agreement, wrong direction of data which automatically becomes irrelevant, thereby affecting ways of finding solutions (MacDonald 2012). As such, the researcher must examine which factors regarding unequal power relationships might affect the success of the methodology and approach. This leads to the second challenge related to the kind of voices that are engaged to generate knowledge.

While implementing the plan, there are dominant voices and positions of participants that steal the contributions of weaker voices, weaker positions, and weaker suggestions from there to the process of change. Sharing the process between participants and the researcher in order to find solutions is the rule. Therefore, unequal power relationships and voices should be levelled for the sake of balanced solutions. Also, the researcher must find “empowering ways of communicating with local experts and developing decision-making procedures that respond to good ideas from ‘below’ rather than imposing

policies and projects from ‘above’ [as] important aspects of the participatory action research processes within which participants should, as necessary, have opportunities to develop skills” (Savin-Baden and Wimpenny 2007: 340).

The observation and monitoring aspects are worthy enough to fix that issue. They keep the researcher on the way towards solutions, showing respect by validating participants’ needs and letting them exercise their ownership. Other challenges are time, and the terms of action-oriented research. Participatory action research requires much time to successfully fulfil the needed changes.

Also, for the novice in action oriented research, there is often confusion in distinguishing between action research, participatory action research, and participatory research (MacDonald 2012). As Vaccarino *et al.* (2007) assert, the differences between the three types is not much, and there seems to be an unclear limit between them. Some do not even see the little differences, and define participatory action research as just action research, or use them interchangeably. From these three types, I have chosen participatory action research. The reason this choice for my study is summarised in the following sub-section.

4.3.3.2 The underlying argument for adopting participatory action research

I have chosen participatory action research to inform my study, to generate knowledge, and to solve the issue with which I would be dealing. The issue aims to restore social cohesion after widespread rape of women in the local communities of the Democratic Republic of the Congo through conflict transformation. The purpose of this qualitative participatory action research was to explore the issue of widespread rape within a post-conflict period, in a war-torn society, to generate solutions that heal victims from their trauma, and to restore relationships in the community between direct and indirect victims for the sake of a cohesive community.

The nature and function of rape in wartime within the eastern part of the DR Congo has been painted as the monstrosity of our century, an epidemic, the worst place in the world to be a woman, and a new pathology (rape with extreme violence). All these adjectives serve to describe the gravity of rape in the Congo crisis. The long-term effects of widespread rape within the community is a reason for involving victims (direct and indirect) and offenders through the process to act for their own improvement. Hence, the participatory action research model of my study is expressed in the design components of my research, followed by the data collection plan.

4.3.4 Components of the research design and actor mapping

My research has two groups of population: adults and children. Adults are both the central and peripheral actors of the study. They are the main group which will participate totally and throughout the research, though children are minor participants in the study. Their involvement is for a short while. Their presence is justified simply because they are one community component affected by rape, born

because of rape, and frustrated by the community behaviour. Nevertheless, the presence of children in this study changes the configuration of the enquiry in terms of data collection. Therefore, the procedure for the children's data collection will differ automatically from that for the adults. However, we will use the same qualitative data collection methods such as interview, observation and focus group. Before discussing the design of the study, I shall present the issue of the actors.

The map of actors displayed in my research was divided into four main groups: the primary actors, secondary actors, other interested actors, and the intervening actors.

The primary actors include rape survivors, children born from rape, and perpetrators of rape. In this group, the selection criteria are being female rape survivors – either a girl or a woman. For women, the informants are principally single and married rape survivors. They have been also grouped into rape survivors who got children born from rape and those who did not. The way of categorising them depended on the type of data needed to be analysed. For married rape survivors, there was no issue to get their consent only – without considering their husbands consent-. Among the primary children are those born from rape. However, only those who are aware of their status of being born under such a condition would participate in the research activities.

The third group of primary actors – the perpetrators – who participated in the research activities were those who live in the same community with their rape victims. This is to measure the level of rape survivors' safety and develop intervention to transform their relationships for the sake of their social cohesion. These category of rape perpetrators do not need to be those who have taken, kept others rape survivors to jungle. They had to be those who have been prosecuted and freed from the prison, or who have been sued by community-based mediators or through the traditional mechanism of justice within the community. This means I could have two major groups of perpetrators because the collection of data does not have to deal with forensic evidence of rape. Therefore, I planned to involve perpetrators who have acknowledged their status (for example, those who have served a prison sentence and been released from prison but are still living together in the same area as the victims). The second category of perpetrators are those who have not been sued by any jurisdictional institutions but, instead, through a cordial arrangement between the victim and the victim's family to solve the problem through community-based mediation (or other organisations), are living in the same environment with a victim. These criteria permit them to feel free to give their consent and to attend the interview session.

The types of relationships existing between victims and perpetrators, and between direct and indirect victims, is asymmetric. Thus, the research activities took that into account for good management of the process towards the generation and implementation of the solutions. The secondary actors are family members affected by the issue of rape, such as parents, friends, siblings, and partners of victims, because of their proximity to either or both the victims and the perpetrators. The interested actors are leaders, traditional leaders, and community-based mediators, and those involved in traditional mechanisms of

justice, especially because of their power, authority, and mission to reconcile and cohere community. The intervening actors will be chosen during my fieldwork as this category is those who have power or influence on the primary and secondary actors. Those actors are important because of their influence to change the positions of primary actors from negative to positive ways of social change. The research design for adults is focused on three main points, which are: ethical considerations, instruments, and the procedure of action research for all categories (children and adults).

4.3.5 Research methodology and participatory action data collection plan

The methodology I have used in this research is qualitative, with interviews, focus-groups, and observation as tools. The adoption of qualitative methodology is because this study will deal with human feelings, essential in terms of comprehending the issue of rape against social cohesion. The procedure for gathering qualitative data is divided into two main stages. The first stage refers to the exploration of the issue of rape and will last three months. The second stage relates to the generation of knowledge to be able to find solutions; it should last at least nine months. Those stages include the action, the research, and the participants as the main components of the research activities. From these, data has come from four different sources:

- Children born from rape – Data from this group has been collected using observation, in-depth interviews, a focus group, and through game story
- Survivors of rape – Data from this group has been collected using focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and observation
- Perpetrators – Data from this group will be collected using focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and observation
- Traditional leaders and community-based mediators – Data from this group has been collected using focus groups and observation.

4.4 Data collection

I applied in-depth interview, focus group and observation to get data.

Table 4:1 Stages of Collecting Data

Interview Diagnosis Phase							
Rape survivors with children born out of rape	Rape survivors without children born out of rape	Perpetrators	Children	Children's' friends	Step-fathers	Literacy centre facilitators	Community leaders
21	10	5	20	-	2 step-fathers participated out of nine targeted		10
Interview for evaluation							

21	10	5		6	1	-	4
Focus groups implementation of the intervention							
21	10	4	20	6	-	8	10
Family talks: 3							
Focus group for evaluation							
21	10	4					

Interviews have been done in two stages: individual interviews to get participant narratives about rape, and individual interviews to evaluate the impact of the intervention on the targeted change. Two focus groups have been done as well to confront truth revealed during individual interviews, and to plan the intervention. The second part of the focus group was to collect an evaluation of the intervention. In each stage of data collection, I received new information on the way forward.

4.4.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are a form of conversation with a purpose (Simons 2009). They are a powerful method of generating description and interpretation of people as ethnographer Malinowski stressed the importance of talking to people in order to get their point of view (Yeo *et al.* 2014). When using in-depth qualitative interviewing, researchers talk to those who have knowledge of or experience with the problem of interest. Through such interviews, researchers explore in detail the experiences, motives, and opinions of others and learn to see the world from perspectives other than their own (Yeo *et al.* 2014). That exploration is done either traditionally or online to generate data. In this study, the traditional face-to-face interview has proved better than the online interview because of the disadvantage that the online and telephone interviews present, such as the loss of body language, facial expression, and so on. Nevertheless, the online interviews have been done to maintain contact between the interviewees and me as a follow up on the intervention outcomes.

The in-depth interview followed some rules for the success of the process, data generation, and the analysis. Those features include: the flexibility of the interview structure to allow interviewees to cover the topics and focus on that; the interaction between researcher and interviewee; getting below the surface by exploring the factors that underpin participants' answers, which is an important analytical element of qualitative research; the generation of new knowledge, recommendations, and suggested solutions. Assessment of the interviewees' language is possible through audio recording (Yeo *et al.* 2014). To be sure that the interviews are of and acceptable quality, I carefully chose the location of the interview so that it would be convenient, comfortable, and safe for the interviewees. I also used a respectful tone so that questions were a conversation rather than an inquisition.

Hence, I conducted interviews with several groups such as two categories of rape survivors. One was of 10 rape survivors who did not get pregnant from rape, and another was of 21 rape survivors who either had children born from rape or who do not have children. I also interviewed 21 children born from rape from the same rape survivors. I interviewed five perpetrators who live in the same community

with their rape survivors some of whom have, and some do not have children as result of rape. In-depth interview principles as well as the stages of interview activities as presented in Chapter One have been respected. Interviews were done separately and on different days for each group to provide conformability, and to avoid provoking secondary trauma and clashes between rape survivors and their perpetrators, for instance, and to protect ethical principles.

Regarding the sample size, there was modification between the planned size and the size of sample obtained, those who participated in the inquiry throughout the process from interview, focus group, attended the intervention, except literacy centres facilitators who were involved just at the stage of intervention. The sample varied for many reasons such as the quality of the respondents needed, availability of the respondents which affected the settings as well (Kalonge sub-villages: Fendula, Cibinda, Caminunu and Cifunze have been considered as final settings), need of supplementary respondents on the implementing activities' stages, etc. the following table shows the difference. Sample have been also modified due to a specific need, for instance, children born from rape suggestions were to meet their stepfather for further mediation and reconciliation process to stop or reduce the intensity of child maltreatment.

Table 4:2 Sample size modification

No	Respondents	Former sample size	Current sample size
1	Rape survivors having children from rape	Six to nine per village for five villages An average of 30-45 victims	21 victims chosen randomly from the four sub-villages
2	Children born from rape	Six to eight per village for five villages An average of 30-40	21 children born from rape and children of same mothers as rape survivors participating in the inquiry
3	Rape survivors who did not get children from rape. Living or not in the same community with their sex offenders	Three to four victims and perpetrators per village An average of 15-20	10 rape survivors among whom are those living in the same community with perpetrators who participated in this inquiry
4	Sex perpetrators		Five perpetrators living in the same locations with their victims
5	Traditional/community leaders	Two to three per village An average of 10-15	10 community leaders among whom are leaders from local Civil Society Organizations and traditional law-keepers
6	Children born from raped friends	Not planned but included in the inquiry	Five children born from raped friends
7	Stepfathers	Not planned but included in the inquiry	Four out of nine planned to meet
8	Peace community	Not planned but included in the inquiry	Five community leaders who accepted to work with the researcher to co-ordinate the research process <i>in situ</i>
9	Training/literacy centre facilitators	Not planned but included in the inquiry	Six facilitators
	Total sample	Average of 85 to 120 planned	A total of 87 participated in the inquiry

Table 4:3 Characteristics of respondents

Types of respondents		Ages at time of rape, and year it occurred [age/year]	Period since rape occurred (year/month) up to present ³⁴	Matrimonial status at time rape occurred	Current matrimonial status	Period between change of matrimonial status
Victims without child	Rape frequencies					
1		13/2016	3 years	Single	Single	--
2		17/2014	4 years	Single	Married Divorced, remarried	Nine months
3	Raped twice	17 and 21/ in 2014 and in 2018	Four and 11 months; 11 months ago,	Married	Divorced	--
4	Raped twice	22 and 29/2011 and 2019	Seven and three months ago	Married	Widow; husband killed	
5		52/ in 2019	Four months	Married	Married	
6		27/ in 2018	1 year	Married	Married	
7	Raped twice	20 and 23/ in 2015 and in 2018	Four and one year ago	Married	Married	
8		15/ in 2016	Three years	Single	Single	
9	Raped twice	14 and 19/ in 2012 and in 2017	Seven and three yrs. ago	Single	Single	
10	Raped twice	14 and 18/ in 2015 and in 2019	Four and six months ago	Single	Single	
Victim having children out of rape						
1		16/in 2000	18 years	Married	Separated/reunited/quiet	
2		13/ in 2002	16 years	Single	Married	Six years
3		19/in 2002	16 years	Married	Widow	
4		32/in 2006	12 years	Married	Married	
5		33/in 2005	14 years	Married	Separated	
6	Raped twice	16 and 17/in 2008 and in 2009	11 and 10 years ago	Married	Widow	
7		20/in 2003	15 years	Married	Separated	
8		14/in 2004	14 years	Single	Single	
9		28/in 2005	13 years	Married	Widow	
10		18/in 2000	12 years	Single	Divorced	
11		27/in 2004	14 years	Married	Widow	

³⁴ Present means the time they participated in the inquiry

12		15/in 2004	14 years	Single	Separated	
13		13/in 2003	15 years	Single	Single	
14		16/in 2007	12 years	Married	Divorced	
15		19/in 2006	12 years	Married	Divorced	
16		37/in 2006	12 years	Married	Widow	
17	Raped twice	40 And 53/in 2005 and in 2018	13 and 6 months ago	Married	Separated Quiet	
18		21 in 2006	12 years	Married	Divorced	
19		17 in 2005	13 years	Married	Divorced	
20		29 in 2004	14 years	Married	Married	
21		45 in 2005	13 years	Married	Widow	
Rape perpetrators						
Matrimonial status of perpetrators' victims						
	Single	28 years old in 2015	Three	Married	Married	
	Married	45 in 2018	One	Married	Married	
	Single	16 in 2018	One	Single	Single	
	Married	52 in 2016	Three	Married	Married	
	Single	27 in 2010	Eight	Single	Single	
Children born from rape		Ages at time of interviews				
		12 - 17 years				

The ages of rape survivors vary between 13 years for the youngest and 52 years for the oldest ones at the time the rape occurred. Those with children born from rape have traumatic and weak intra-personal and inter-personal relationships, and weak cohesiveness in their community. The time varies from 13 years ago to 19 years ago, including the pregnancy period of one year. The frequency of matrimonial change from single to married as a sign of acceptance and trust is weak as well. Only two single ladies were married out of 10, while 12 married rape survivors are divorced or separated from their husbands out of 21 after the rape occurred. Sadly, seven rape survivors experienced rape twice, with each rape occurring some years after the first. The age of children born from rape at the time of the inquiry varied between 12 to 17 years old.

The perpetrators' marital status at the time of the rape is mixed. There were both single and married perpetrators. There were married perpetrators who raped married ladies and single girls, and single perpetrators who raped single ladies.

4.4.2 Focus Groups

The discussion groups for the research emerged from the in-depth interviewees that formed the primary focus groups from which I explored the purpose of my study. “The interactive nature of data found in a group discussion enables this method to generate more insights on the research issues than a series of in-depth interviews with the same number of participants” (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011: 13). The researcher’s aim was to collect information with the interaction aspect being the heart of the group discussion:

Participants listen, reflect on what is said and, in light of this, consider their own standpoint further.... Participants ask questions of each other, seek clarification, comment on what they have heard and prompt others to reveal more. As the discussion progresses (backwards, and forwards, round and round), individual responses become sharpened and refined, and move to a deeper and more considered level (Finch, Lewis and Turley 2014: 212).

I used group discussion to encourage participants to exchange their experiences with one another. The participants, whether rape survivors, children born from rape or perpetrators, shared their views and experiences about rape, and generated relevant and/or common ideas for solutions.

Focus groups are relevant in social enquiry because of their multiple advantages. They provide data from a group much more quickly and often at less cost; they allow direct interaction with respondents; and they provide rich and large amounts of data in the informant’s own words. This made the process easy to collect data from children, for instance, as it was easy to understand (Stewart and Shamdasani 2015). Focus groups were a relevant and primary data collection tool for gathering information particularly from children born from rape.

Group discussions followed the structure of the discussion guide under the “funnel design of the discussion guide” model involving the introduction that provided cognition; broad opening questions that encourage rapport; the specific questions that provide data; the closing questions for closure; and the post-discussion questions that provide additional information (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). This structure was accompanied by observation to enhance the success of the process and content. Observation is used here as a companion to either the in-depth interview or the focus group discussion.

The main questions focused on how their experiences of rape survivors have been, perpetrators, children born of rape in their communities. From the main question, follow up questions were asked to get more insights whether on their living conditions using terms from the dimensions of social cohesion or on the evaluation of the interventions. The main questions used were such as: How do you experience rape in your family and community? How do you handle it? How has the knowledge gained from this training, family dialogues, and community awareness, affected your life? These questions have provided ways of planning the intervention and evaluating its impact further.

4.4.3 Observation

Observation has been a central method throughout the history of qualitative enquiry, especially in ethnographic study (McNaughton Nicholls, Mills and Kotecha 2014). Although observation is relevant for qualitative research, and central to ethnographic study, I did not use observation as a central tool of my research enquiry, as my study is a case study and not an ethnographic one. My research activities needed more interaction between interviewees and among the participants themselves, rather than observation. As the researcher, I used observation as a relevant companion method as mentioned above.

The observation started from the time I entered the fieldwork until I left the field nine months later. Through a systematic observation, it helped to record people's attitudes, behaviours, actions, interactions, and expressions (facial and body language), and to watch, listen, and question. Observations indicated if I was welcomed, who was anxious, who were the key players in the informal structure, and whether there were any unspoken rules. These informal observations contributed to interpret the ethos and to prove how important they were, while also interpreting the meaning and importance of the data, as Simons (2009) asserts. What was important was to decide what, when, and whom to observe, and how to record the observations (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). Thus, my observation has been focused on two dimensions: the practice and the theory; the activities in the field, and the literature. In other words, the environment in which research has been done, the collecting of the information, the behaviour and the interaction of the participants thus link the experience in the field with the literature.

Even though observation was not the central instrument but, rather, a companion, it still played a relevant role in data collection and analysis. The advantages of observation are that it provides: a broad 'picture' of the site; a sense of the setting gained non-verbally; a rich description relevant for further analysis and interpretation; a window to discover norms and values which underpins the interaction between people through their communication in the field; and a check of the accuracy and validity of the information from in-depth interviews, for instance (Simons 2009).

4.5 Evaluation of the inquiry

This inquiry used participatory approaches of evaluation composed of three main paradigms which are participatory research, participatory action research and participatory evaluation. I used mixed approaches, resorting to those three, but limited to selective aspects of them to be specific in my evaluation process. To frame my evaluation process and stages, I used participatory research to add to knowledge in a scholarly and/or professional field. I used participatory action research to study and change a specific community, group, or team to increase the understanding of the local issue/problem and to shape the design of a new initiative. And I used participatory evaluation to assess the

effectiveness of the intervention (Bergold and Thomas 2012) that I would apply either during or after the implementation.

I used certain questions so that the evaluation stage meets the criteria. As such, the traditional classic questions based on why³⁵, what³⁶, how³⁷, who³⁸, for whom³⁹ were not used. This is because participatory evaluation questions differ from the traditional ones. I used self-assessment, stakeholder's evaluation including storytelling, and brainstorming on the intervention's strengths and weaknesses. Those questions would allow me to get the results of this inquiry in terms of the impact of the research on the subjects. To appreciate the intervention, some follow up questions such as, 'What is your experience of being engaged yourself through the process of attitude change?' were to be asked to get the impacts of participants as well as the one of the interventions, and what shall be done to complete the process if this was not enough? This will be asked for further recommendations and initiations to be taken by other researchers which can be considered as further areas of research.

4.6 Data analysis

There are different approaches to analyse data, especially qualitative data. Marriam mentions ethnographic analysis⁴⁰, narrative analysis⁴¹, phenomenological analysis⁴², content analysis⁴³, discourse analysis⁴⁴, framework analysis⁴⁵ and constant comparative method⁴⁶(Kawulich 2015), and the case study (Tight 2017; Yin 2009). The case study is the one that I used throughout the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. It included four types of case study data analysis:

The first is the categorical aggregation. Here, the researcher seeks a collection of instances from data, hoping that issues and relevant meanings will emerge. In direct interpretation, on the other hand, for the case study, the researcher establishes patterns and looks for correspondence between two or more categories. This correspondence might take the form of a table, possibly a 2x2 table, showing the relationship between two categories. Yin (2009) advances a cross-case synthesis as an analytic

³⁵ Why the evaluation is being done?

³⁶ What is being evaluated?

³⁷ How is evaluation done?

³⁸ Who is doing the evaluating?

³⁹ For whom evaluation is being done?

⁴⁰ Involves identifying categories related to a culture's economy, demographics, and human life particularly health care issues, family, education, and the environment.

⁴¹ Related to social context of the narrative which varies according to the culture

⁴² It includes an epochal approach

⁴³ Aims to categorize verbal and behavioural data for the sake of classification, summarised at two levels: describe and interpret.

⁴⁴ Analyse how people express themselves about their daily social life

⁴⁵ This follows the normal stage of data analysis such as familiarisation (read and transcribe), identifying themes, coding, charting, mapping and interpreting

⁴⁶ Assigns codes that reflect the conceptual relationships

technique. Naturalistic generalization analyses the data so that people can learn from the case, either for themselves or to apply to a population of cases (Creswell 2013).

Those types of case study analysis can be combined to analyse a situation. It all depends on the aim of the study and the way data appears to serve the purpose of the study. In my study, I have combined the last and the first approaches, that is, the naturalistic generalization and the categorical aggregation. Thus, I employed the method of thematic qualitative data analysis (QDA) as Sutton and Austin (2015) report, with themes as the heart of the QDA, as Creswell (2013: 180-200) also well details. QDA is a general procedure in qualitative research including a range of activities such as data management (Buseto, Wick and Gumbinger 2020); reading and memorising⁴⁷ (summarize where you are in describing, classifying, and interpreting data into codes and themes; interpreting data; representing and visualizing the data). This is the procedure for the analysis of my study.

In detail, managing the analysis of data started with the collection of texts, voice and video records, and images from the field. Data have been organized from manuscripts to computer files to get an appropriate unified text to analyse manually and by computer, as well as translating them from Swahili and Shi to French, and from French to English.

After organizing the data, the initial process was to explore the database to get a sense of the whole. For that, I read the data many times to grasp the interviews, taking notes on the basic idea that appears at first glance to see clearly what the interviewees said. This is a re-observation of sorts that provided the initial categories or themes from the field work notes.

The following stage described, classified, and interpreted data into codes and themes. The point was to form categories or codes that emerged from interviewees' ideas and express their exact words. This is dimension of information is at the heart of qualitative data analysis. From there, I developed themes and provided interpretation in light of my own views or views from literature perspectives. (Kawulich 2015) provides the guideline on the characteristics of coding data which should: reflect the purpose of the research, be exhaustive, mutually exclusive, sensitive to category content, and conceptually congruent.

Given that codes must be listed in terms of themes as mentioned above, I have developed a short list of tentative codes, that is "lean coding", with five or six categories, and then expanded it to 25-30 and combine themes, as Creswell (2013) recommends. This has helped to get sub-themes and sub-sub-themes, to segment them, and to report the frequency of occurrence. Codes were considered as emergent categories, coming from several sources. Some rules observed were: Dismantling a dichotomy,

⁴⁷ Memos are ways of summarizing where you are during your analysis, and potential interpretations you may have about your data.

exposing it as a false distinction (public/private, nature/culture); examining silences, what was not said; attending to disruptions and contradictions, places where a text failed to make sense or did not continue; focusing on the element that was most alien or peculiar in the text (to find the limits of what is conceivable or permissible); interpreting metaphors as a rich source of multiple meanings; separating group-specific and more general sources of bias by ‘reconstructing’ the text by substituting its main elements (Creswell 2013).

The above process helped to fill gaps to bridge the sense and meaning of collected data linked to the interpretation. Interpretation is a process that begins with the development of the codes. It involves making sense of data, that is ‘lessons learned’ (Guba, 1985). I had then to link the sense found to the broad existing literature developed by other scholars. The interpretation represents and visualizes data, by representing what was found in the text in a figure and table to give a vivid and visual image of the information.

Computer software can help to manage large data for better analysis. Some important applications are hyper Transcribe, hyper Research, and Nvivo. Although these software tools have some advantages in saving considerable time and work that data analysis requires (Bazeley 2007), they were not used to analyse the current data. Instead, I have used manual matrix of data collected to extract the most relevant information and capture the global view of participants.

Data presentation and discussion were analysed through an analytical framework constituted by the theoretical framework and concepts emerging from the data. The following table can summarise the link between the three main terms that served to analysed data.

Table 4:4 Conceptual, theoretical, and analytical frameworks’ content

Conceptual frameworks	Analytic framework	Theoretical perspectives
Loosely associated concepts	Identification of concepts in the data	Tightly explained concepts
Often once-off	Maybe once-off or used and extended by other researchers – essential for comparative studies	Adopted by an extensive group of researchers over a period
Used to describe potential relationships	Description of concepts evident in the data	Used to explain and predict relationships

Source: (Grant and Osanloo 2014)

In this study, the analytical framework considered terms from the two main theories of conflict transformation and social cohesion as well as emerging concepts from the data such as attitude, behaviour, etc.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the overall research design and methodology. The blueprint of this study is participatory action research (PAR) underpinned by an action research philosophy which model is “plan, act, observe and reflect”. Focusing on action and research, PAR is participant and people-centred research comprising four categories of actors which are the primary, the secondary, the interested, and the influential. The research activities encourage participants to find ways of generating their own solutions to solve their problems or address the issue. The blueprint of this study is underpinned by the transformative paradigm as the worldview of this study. Aimed at individuals rather than organizations, the transformative paradigm includes the PAR and tries to address the issue of asymmetric power in a relationship, domination, and social action for the sake of change.

The methodology used was qualitative, and included in-depth interviews, focus-groups and observation as tools. Those tools will be applied to all categories of actors (children and adults, rape survivors and perpetrators). Therefore, the combination of qualitative methods and the participatory action research model was intended to provide a good design and process to explore solutions to the issue of a war-torn local community shattered by widespread rape of women in the DR Congo.

Data presentation and the discussion have been done under the analytical framework composed by the theory of conflict transformation and the pillars of conflict transformation practices as well as social cohesion dimensions. The framework has also considered the new concepts emerging throughout the presentation of data.

INTRODUCTION TO FIELDWORK:

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter, theories of social cohesion under the socioecological model and conflict transformation which contributed to organise and guide the collection of data, provide the analytical framework for the study. It combined two factors, the basic vocabulary of concepts or conceptual framework and theoretical framework or terms that may be used to construct the kinds of causal explanations expected of a theory (Grant and Osanloo 2014, Coral and Bokelmann 2017, Kivunja 2018). The analytical framework of the presentation and the discussion of this study is based on the terms, themes of the dimensions of social cohesion, conflict transformation theory and practices. The main dimensions that have been applied are a feeling of belonging, solidarity or support, safety as well as trust which is a cross-cutting term explaining both theories which envisioned a framework to find creative and sustainable solutions to constructive change in the quality of relationships. I focused on two levels of relationships: the personal and relational in order to influence changes at the structural and cultural levels, these levels also cutting across both social cohesion under socio-ecological model and conflict transformation.

Many concepts have emerged from social cohesion dimensions and conflict transformation practices but the most important have been used to present and discuss the study. Among the concepts are groups, the traditional concepts that are linked to social cohesion dimensions, and conflict transformation practices and those emerged throughout the presentation of data. The traditional concepts include a feeling of belonging, including a feeling of self, feeling from the living environment, safety and insecurity. Solidarity or support, interaction with the purpose to examine and explain the level of exclusion, rejection, as well as trust, which is all about feeling, belief and expectation. In trust, concepts such as hope, relational trust, interdependence and dependence, support, self-confidence, risk, and vulnerability have been applied. The re-establishment of relationships, social reintegration, social integration, cultural influence are concepts used to explain process toward strategy for change based on the quality of relationships determining levels of cohesion. Among the main concepts emerged throughout the presentation of data are attitude and behaviour, traumatic relationships, self-healing. This framework has been enough to explain the phenomenon of rape, which involves rape survivors, children born from rape and rape perpetrators on one side and community leaders, traditional leaders, traditional law-keepers on the other. By using participatory action research, this ended up with an intervention which is action-oriented, and an attitudinal change towards social cohesion.

Although I applied similar terms from social cohesion dimensions and conflict transformation practices to all the categories of main respondents who were rape survivors, rape perpetrators, and children born from rape, the concept differed from one respondent to another. Community leaders who were the

primary peripheral respondents had different topics compared to the main respondents. Community leaders, traditional law-keepers' terms and concepts were mostly based on the cultural perspective.

A feeling of belonging is the key theme that was applied to all the main responders. This theme is linked to the levels of conflict transformation (individual, relational, cultural, and structural) but only the three first were used in relation to the feeling of belonging. The first level is the individual, personal perception of the primary responders regarding their own involvement in the rape issue, the circumstances surrounding that involvement, and the location and environment where they currently reside. The second level is relational, the one of security and safety for the primary respondents, including the quality of their interactions with others (relatives and the community). The third level is the one of identity, self, and social identity for the primary respondents, which is the outcome of the interaction between the two levels, the mixed feelings of individual and relational aspects. The feeling of belonging theme has also been applied specifically to the relationship between rape survivors who have had children born from rape and their own children born from rape, the feeling obtained from the effects of their interactions with other people's attitude and behavior towards their children.

The third main theme was trust, as one of the indicators of the dimensions of social cohesion and conflict transformation practices used at the relationship and individual levels between abused and abusers. This has been applied to perpetrators of rape, rape survivors who resided in the same neighborhood or community and to children born from rape and their abusers living in the same area. Sub-themes developed within this issue, included the interdependence and dependence between rape survivors and their abusers; between children born after rape and their abusers; and community efforts to change relationships between them. Other sub-themes that have been developed and applied to those categories of primary respondents include solidarity, support, benefit, risk, and vulnerability examined to re-establish relationships, possibility and process toward relationships change.

The final theme, which was present across all key respondent categories, was the approaches to social reintegration. Since all three key themes aim to result in social reintegration as the foundation of their cohesiveness, creating or re-creating the mechanism of social reintegration remained the shared responsibility among the main role players. This has made it possible to plan interventions to bring about their change. Results of the data's findings have influenced the interventions that have been applied. This is the basis for the variety of initiatives taken by the study's key participants and respondents to restore social cohesion. These initiatives attempted to repair the interpersonal and relational bonds among main components themselves and between them and their community. Interventions were carried out primarily through three activities: training, family dialogue, talk combined with community awareness involving community leaders and custom law-keepers, and the creation of literacy centres.

Traditional leaders and community leaders, both men and women, played an important role in ensuring, promoting, and protecting the community's cohesiveness, which was necessary to make and complete the process of restoring social cohesion. Their applicability has been shown in the explanations they gave regarding the cultural management of the rape issue. The management of rape survivors and rape perpetrators, children born from rape in their social re-integration, cultural approaches, solutions for social re-integration, and the restoration of the ties between the primary components were therefore created as sub-themes.

The presentation of results and the discussion are contained in each chapter. The collection of data has been generated through three phases which are: the diagnosis of the problem, the intervention implementation, and the evaluation of the result. I presented the fieldwork results under both simple and complex layering. Simple layering presents a story told in sequence from the initial story, connected to other stories; however, “complex layering reflects on the emotional, feeling dimensions and consequences between body and self over time and links personal emotions with societal reactions and structural limitations” (Brbich 2004). This is completed by the metaphor approaches inserted into the tellers’ stories. As an inductive method, the discussion has been presented as a comparison to existing literature.

The structure of the following presentation and discussion of data comprise three categories of chapters: on rape survivors, children born from rape, and perpetrators - including the intervention of the research. There are six chapters, sub-divided as follows:

- three chapters regarding rape survivors, focus on rape incidences, its root causes, how it affected survivors and the feeling obtained as well as challenges arising from the protective role of men, circumstances in which rape survivors have been captured and taken to jungle to be raped, and way they escaped, returned from the jungle, their early social reintegration; their late and current situation of social reintegration in the community. The chapters on rape survivors concern a binomial subdivision categorising rape survivor according to the need of analysis, those having children born as result of rape and those who did not become pregnant from rape, single and married rape survivors, those who live in the same community with their rape perpetrators and those living alone without their perpetrators. (Chapters five - seven).
- Chapter on children born from rape (Chapter eight).
- The third category, that of rape perpetrators, including their experience of rape and their relationships to their rape survivors who are living in the same community (Chapter nine).
- The last category of chapters is based on the interventions performed toward the cohesiveness of participants and that of their community (Chapter ten).

Summary of data presentation and discussion of the study and their structure



Data presentation:

To quote the narratives of respondents, I used codes throughout the presentation of data. The table of codes is found in Appendix I. The table of code is composed by the following elements: Pseudonym, type of technique collection of data, category of respondent, date, and place. Each code is arranged in the following order:

- Category of respondents: Code as follows: Rape Survivor coded as **RS**; Perpetrator coded as **P**; Children born from rape coded as **CH**; Community Leaders coded as **CL**; Female Community Leaders coded as **FCL**; Social Worker coded as **SW**; Victims' family coded as **VF**.
- Type of techniques of data collection: Interview is coded as **I**; Focus Group coded as **FG**.
- Date: May coded as **M**, June coded as **Jn**, September coded as **S**, August coded as **A**, July **Jl**, December coded as **(D)**.
- Pseudonym: Pseudonyms are coded according to the number listed in the table starting from 1.
- Place: Kalonge. The place is not included in the code as all narratives are from Kalonge. For instance, the first interview of Rape survivors done in December is coded as followed **RSID1**.

CHAPTER FIVE

FEMALES' RAPE EXPERIENCE FROM CAPTURE OPERATIONS TO ESCAPE IN KALONGE COMMUNITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights factors that motivated perpetrators to commit the act of rape, strategies applied and circumstances in which women and girls were captured to be taken to the jungle and raped. Reactions of females are clearly described throughout the way to jungle, in the jungle where they have experienced a series of rape, and their efforts to escape from the perpetrators, armed groups, or militia camp sites. The poor quality of life in jungle as well as dangerous opportunities to escape from the jungle is presented. Differences in rape practices and reasons underlying that difference have been explained by victims who have experienced more than one rape and from different types of rape perpetrators (local militias and foreign rebels). The discussion following the presentation of this data emphasise the protection motivation theory based on rape incidence. This explains the motivation guiding men's reluctance and the challenging protective role of men in wartime, the difference between protection from a father and from a husband, as well as the reaction of victims, their self-protection strategies.

The presentation and its discussion are done under the ambit of the conflict transformation theory using the two first lenses. As stated by Lederach and Maiese (2009: 8), conflict transformation can be viewed through three lenses in one frame: "A lens to see an immediate situation, a lens to see beyond the immediate problems and view the deeper relationship patterns that form the context of the conflict and a lens that helps to envision a framework to find creative and sustainable solutions to social change". The first lens determines the episode, the expression of the conflict, the immediate situation. This is rooted in a context connecting the present to the past. The episode serves as a window to investigate life and relationships, to capture and understand the content of the issue, and to see patterns of relationships which influence the immediate situation, the epicentre that produces the energy of conflict. That first lens permits access to the epicentre of the conflict, which is the second lens. Thus, chapter Five is explained considering the two lenses.

Rape in wartime is a war crime and a crime against humanity. I specified the two concepts to be used clearly. The primary difference is due to the length of time, short-term and long-term⁴⁸. I used in this chapter the term victim, as it is considered as a war crime in which narrative appeared to be vivid, telling the experience closer to the time it happened. However, throughout this study, I use the concept rape survivors, this is due to the mix of both periods, short and long-terms as well as the effects of what was experienced.

5.2 Capture circumstances and reaction from men and women

5.2.1 Factors driving capture of women for rape

Two major factors which have motivated perpetrators to capture females in the community from their families are male reluctance to protect women and their passivity in acting to prevent the capture.

5.2.1.1 Capture strategies challenging masculine protective role

When rape survivors were asked about the attitude of men when they were captured, their responses reveal that capture strategies applied by armed groups and militias exposed male dominance ambiguity through reluctance and passivity in protecting females. To achieve their purpose, armies, rebels, and militias applied three approaches: peaceful capture, no resistance capture, and criminal capture. Among 31 females captured, 17 (55%) were taken peacefully. One factor motivating peaceful capture is the isolation aspect. The isolation can be seen in terms of place, number of victims and time that rape occurred. Victims narrated their experiences of being caught in several ways.

“He took me far away from the village in the jungle where even if someone screams, no one will hear”, ...“On my way to Bunyakiri village in the jungle, I met militias Raiya Mutomboki who raped me and took all my money for business” (RSID1).

“Hutu rebels found us in a house where we were hiding from them and took us to the jungle within their campsite. It was where they raped us”(RSID2).

“FDLR met me on the river’s beach where I was bathing. They took me to the jungle and raped me” (RSID3).

“We were in the farm. On our way back, we stopped at a river to bath. Suddenly, interamwen caught us, men and women, and took us to their camp. My husband was taken somewhere else; I don’t know where” (RSID4).

“FDLR caught us from our house during the night and took us to jungle” (RSID5).

“Me and my daughter were coming from Bukavu for business. On our way back, FARDC captured us, took us in the bush and raped us” (RSID6).

A peaceful way of catching victims is the most astute means for perpetrators to act in a very quick and professional manner. They take advantage of the environment, and any other aspect that naturally

⁴⁸ Term victim typically refers to someone who has recently experienced a sexual assault; additionally, this word is commonly used when discussing a crime or when referencing the criminal justice system. The term survivor often refers to an individual who is going or has gone through the recovery process; additionally, this word is used when discussing the short and long-term effects of sexual violence. (Sexual Assault Kit Initiative. 2015. Victim or survivor, terminology from investigation through prosecution. RTI international: Carolina)

provides opportunity for their operation. Apart from the opportunistic strategy, familiarity and closeness with armies, rebels or militias was used by perpetrators as an advantage to rape. Some victims report how closeness with rebels made them victim of rape.

“FDLR used to come to my house to ask for help (food, fix the radio, etc.). At that time, FDLR and Mai-Mai were collaborating. Mai-Mai were the ones who were guiding, showing FDLR houses where they could make their criminalities against people. My husband used to fix radios. One of FDLR came to ask my husband to help him fix his radio and give him my chicken, my husband refused. That was the reason they raped me” (RSID7).

If the FDRL were not from the area, they used local militias as guides and bridges to get in touch with local populations and to get whatever they needed, whether by committing a crime or peacefully.

Perpetrator malignity against women was another way of peacefully trapping rape victims. This was done in wartime by civilians who took advantage of the chaos of war. The perpetrator convinced the women that they were safe and took advantage of committing the crime peacefully. Consequently, victims were caught trusting their sex offenders’ cleverness:

“During that time of war, a married man suggested that he marry me. He used that strategy to rape me” (RSID8).

It was only after the act had been consummated that the victim realized that the abuser tricked her. Acquaintance between perpetrators and victims has caught some women in a trap. As one victim reported:

“I was leaving to my sister’s place in Bunyakiri village. One day, the policeman, bodyguard of my sister’s husband followed me to field and raped me there” (RSID9).

This rape from acquaintance does not depend on the force of the sex offender but is rather facilitated by the proximity of both, the victim’s blind trust against abuser-premeditated action. Also, men bully women, perceiving them as too weak to resist a perpetrator’s violence.

“On our way to the field, we were criticizing armies and rebels’ wickedness. As soon as I reached the field, I saw 2 rebels appearing in front of me telling me everything that I was gossiping against them. Hearing that, I couldn’t resist them. (I did understand that I’ve been betrayed by my fellow). They took me to their camp, started intimidating me. The first one raped me. The second raped me as well” (RSID9).

... “On our way to Bunyakiri village for business we met RM. We were 7 women and 5 men. RM asked us 1000FC⁴⁹ from each of us. Three of us paid that 1000FC each. For the rest we asked men to lend us, but they told us that they did not have money - though they had it. They freed men and raped us as we lacked that 1000FC” (RSID10).

The bully abusers’ strategy is to purposely set up an alibi to trap victims, encouraged by other men’s complicity due to male reluctance to rescue women in order to protect themselves against the abusers’ crime. They take advantage of any issue that makes the victim feel indebted vis-à-vis the abuser, making

⁴⁹ 1000 FC is the equivalent of 0.5\$

them feel guilty of wrongdoing to peacefully give themselves to compensate the fake wrong by being raped. In this case, perpetrators put themselves in the position of having a right to violate and rape. Justifying in this way their actions. The presence of other men did not prevent them from achieving their goal.

Rape involving those two categories of perpetrators - armies and civilians - generally involve a psychological aspect to trap victims, and occurs in both wartime and post-conflict periods. There is a very slight difference here between peacetime and wartime rape. What gives perpetrators an advantage is a chaotic, uncontrolled situation, and their capacity to convince their victims, whether by malignity or taking advantage of the favourable environment to commit the crime. The overall strategy to catch and rape victims is to isolate them from their normal environment and make them feel weak and indebted to justify their rape, breaking their resistance in a peaceful way.

The second strategic capture is the no resistance capture. This particular capture uses some favouring factors such as the general passivity of relatives and the community, and flight of supposed protectors and the lack of protection. The no resistance capture is a strategy of catching victims in front of people who do not react to defend the victims, contrary to the first peaceful strategy, which was aimed at catching victims in an isolated environment. General passivity from relatives and the community provides great opportunities to perpetrators to accomplish their goal against girls and women.

“From my house, newly married, at my first giving birth, while my baby was six months old, Hutu took me to the jungle to rape me” (RSID11).

“FDLR came to our area, they took 3 girls to the jungle. In our way to the jungle, they released one of us. We thought they will release us as well, but they took us up to their camp. We walked three days to reach the campsite” (RSID12).

“We were together with my parents and siblings. FDLR came and took me and my sister to the jungle. On our way to the jungle, my sister ran away from them” (RSID13).

Neither relatives, community or husbands were able to defend girls and women in some rape capture situations. The flight of supposed protectors was mostly that of husbands as response to the attack on their wives. As reported by a victim:

“when FDLR got to our house, my husband ran away and abandoned me and the children alone. FDLR took me to the jungle, near Ninja”. (RSID14).

The third strategic capture is criminal strategic capture, typical of wartime like the second strategic capture type. Criminal strategic capture is a very skilled strategy used by perpetrators in wartime to catch victims. It is a constrained capture using deep and extreme physical, psychological, and emotional suffering to constrain victims and everyone surrounding the victims to catch victims and facilitate rape.

“Interahamwen were collecting girls in different families to take them to the jungle. Under intimidation, threatening to kill us, men were bound and couldn’t rescue us. Hutu took me in the presence of my brothers and father” (RSID14).

“They asked us to choose between death and life. I chose to be raped in order to live. Those who refused to be raped were immediately killed” (RSID15).

Perpetrators were purposely creating a traumatic situation which squeezed victims into choosing rape as the only alternative in order to live. This served the perpetrator by preparing the space of gaining power, confidence, and dominance of the arena of capture and rape. Another strategy to subjugate victim to be raped is to strip the victim of every support and to make the victim miserable by looting, burning, stealing etc. in order to control and fragilize her for rape, as reported a victim:

“They burnt my house” (RSID16); “I went to Bitale village to buy beans for my business. On our way back, at Mugaba river, young men and 2 old men intimidated us and took us to the bush. They stole all our money and everything that we had. Then they raped us” (RSID17).

The use of extreme traumatic physical violence to fragilize victims is narrated:

“Three FDRL rebels attacked us at home. They bound my husband’s legs and arms, took my two boys behind the house, and killed them. They raped my brother-in-law’s wife for defending me. My husband passed away some months later because of the psychological shock and wounds” (RSID18), ... “They found me in my house. They took 8 men of the same family and killed all of them and my husband was among those 8. FDLR took me to the jungle in their camp after killing my husband” (RSID19),

... “My husband was the chief of the village of Misisi. One day around midnight, FDLR knocked to the door, forcing us to open. When my husband went to open, they shot him, he passed away immediately. They took me to the jungle” (RSID20),

... “FDLR killed my husband. They took me and my daughter to the jungle” (RSID21),

... “Me my son and my daughter went to the field to buy charcoal. Suddenly, we saw a group of people wearing uniforms. They started intimidating us. My son ran and climbed a tree to hide in order to see what will happen to me and my daughter. When a militia started raping me, he screamed. One of the militias shot at him, he fell from the tree and died” (RSID22).

“During the night, I dreamed people came to my house and took me away. When I heard suddenly people knocking on our door and they asked us to open. My husband went to open. Mai-Mai shot directly at him, and he died right there. They took me and my daughter of 4 years old to the jungle” (RSID23).

Murder was the most-used criminal strategy to weaken strong men’s resistance to rebels and militias and to get their prey. This extreme strategy was applied where perpetrators met or expected resistance from other men trying to protect their females. The criminal capture strategy was mixed with extreme torture, which was psychological, physical, or even material, like looting and burning houses, etc. This did not only traumatize victims but also all persons witnessing the crime, from children and family members to the rest of the community.

Thus, risk factors driving victims’ capture varied according to the level of victims’ resistance and that of people surrounding them. The intensity of criminality and its increase equalled the level of male resistance whether in the family or in the community. The more the community is resistant to criminals and acts to protect females, the higher the magnitude of the crime; the closer the victims’ bond to a male opponent is, the more the strategy applied to that case is cruelly stronger. For instance, criminal strategy was more often applied to married women than single girls; in other words, husbands were more

frequently murdered than the parents of girls' victims. This strategic capture has created a new male attitude which is male passivity to protecting and defending women during capture operations.

5.2.1.2 Justification of male passivity during capture operations

Many victims as well as some community leaders blamed men's attitudes during capture operations in their community.

"No one defended me" (RSID24), ... "My husband did nothing to defend me" (RSID25),

... "During that period things were hard and worse because of the psychosis that interahamwen caused. They were killing men at any time. Men were there but couldn't do anything" (CLFGD), ...

"At the time of war, men were not able to defend themselves or their relatives. We weren't protected by our men or by our army in the community. For example, there was a man who wanted to defend his wife; a FDLR shot him immediately and he passed away" (RSID26), ...

"Assassination, and murder of men created psychosis in the community and weakened men to defend themselves and their wives" (RSID27),

... "After the killing of my husband, I couldn't have someone to defend me. They took me to the jungle for rape" (RSID28).

Husbands were the first victims of death targeted before women, with their wives becoming victims of rape. As narrated, women blamed their husbands for not protecting them or defending them, while acknowledging obstacles preventing their husbands from doing so such as the psychosis that perpetrators created purposely to catch victims. Murder as extreme violence paralysed husbands and made them avoid protecting their wives. Protection of wives equalled husbands' death. On the other hand, perpetrators' treatment of husbands versus parents or victims' relatives was clearly different, to the extent that husbands were more cruelly treated than parents, who sometimes had occasion to negotiate for their relatives and girls to be released. Thus, extreme violence was the highest strategy for bringing male resistance down, by spreading psychosis in the community to impose their will and win the battle. Those who were captured from families have different narratives compared to wives' narratives:

"My parents negotiated for FDLR to release me, but they didn't agree. They took me to the jungle" (RSID29), ...

"At home, my mother negotiated with FDLR to leave me. She even suggested giving them all our cows. They refused; the only thing that they wanted was to take me" (RSID30), ...

"They kidnapped me in the presence of my parents and siblings. Men were bound and did nothing to defend us while interahamwen were capturing us" (RSID31).

Victims acknowledged the parents' vain efforts to defend their girls. The most outstanding fact is that no parent, no mother, no father has been murdered trying to defend or protect his/her daughter or siblings, according to our respondents' narrative. However, during wartime and in the immediate post-conflict period, rape by civilian men was different from that of rebels and militias or any army. Rape by civilians does not include murder or torture preceding the capture operation. On the contrary, civilian

opportunistic perpetrators were caught by people from the community to punish the crime. As narrated both victim and civilian perpetrator,

“The woman who rescued me as I was crying, caught my rapist, took him to the village and reported the issue to other men. Then men took him to the police. That’s how he was arrested and sent to prison” (RSID32).

There was the same affirmation from the civil perpetrator who was caught by another woman:

“There were rooms in that bar where we were sitting with the lady. Another lady who knows us, when she saw us together inside the bar room, went to alert the victim’s in-law family, telling them that she saw us coming from the room of that bar. That’s how her in-law family came to catch me. They beat me up to the point of death. They put me in a room where they were beating me, torturing me before they took me to the police station” (PIM1),

... “When they noticed that their daughter was in my room, they came and started beating me to death” (PIM2).

This shows that civilians were able to catch opportunistic civilian perpetrators. Women in the community have been first to be vigilant checking on their fellow women against opportunistic civilian rape or against any hurt, as they are aware of their vulnerability and lack of protection. Community leaders also acknowledged that catching civilian opportunistic rapists either during wartime or in the early post-conflict time, was easier than catching armies. *“However, for rape, which is committed by civilians in the community, people can intervene to protect women”* (CLFGD). Civilian perpetrators are less hazardous than armies, which encourages community members to intervene to protect females.

A distinction must be made between a capture operation done by civilians and that of armies, militias, or rebels. The intensity of hurt is less in civilian capture operations than in operations done by non-civilians. With non-civilians, the possibility of protecting and defending girls and women was not guaranteed, which clearly provides an explanation of men’s behaviour justifying their passive attitude. Community leaders’ justification of men’s passivity is as follows:

“Women raped by FDLR, militias, and armies or militaries were defended by no one. They were abandoned by the entire community. We know three cases of men who were willing to protect their wives; they ended up being shot and passed away for trying to defend their wives from rape” (CLFGD).

From this we can see reasons for men’s attitudes in avoiding protecting their females. The reason that men were purposely not defending their wives and relatives is because for every man, bravery was sanctioned by murder and assassination. Many explanations were provided by community leaders to explain men’s passive attitudes, justified by sociocultural belief and experience. Apart from men’s fear of cruel death, where women and girls were used as trap to get men, in addition, men were aware of a cultural strategy to get men in wartime as narrated by traditional community leaders and local associations leaders:

“There is an adage in our tribe Shi saying ‘endulu y’o mukazi, n’omwana erhafumwa!’ In Swahili this can be translated as *ma lalamiko ya mwanamuke na ya mtoto haiponyeshake mwanaume*. This means in English: ‘tears and crying of wife and child does not let the husband and father alive.’ In other words, when your wife

and your child cry because they are in danger, or are menaced, man does not bear with that cry. He cannot keep quiet or remain indifferent. He must react as a man to save his wife and child” (CLFGD),

... “That’s why the malign people used that way to get men. Because they know that, if they provoke men by making their wives or their children cry, they will for sure easily get the husband or father. Therefore, wife and child are used like a bait, a decoy to get the husband and father” (CLFGD).

. In a focus group, community leaders narrated that being aware of this protective principle which determines a sense of masculinity, perpetrators have taken advantage of this Shi belief of men’s resistance and bravery to defend women. The protective principle has turned into a trap. On the other side, men being aware of the perpetrators’ trap become fragile, avoiding protecting their female and escaping the malignity of the enemy by sacrificing women to rape.

“Men have understood that trap, that is why they were no longer defending their wives and children from the enemies. Since wives and children have been taken to the jungle for rape or for any other issue, men were no longer reacting. The only reaction that remained was escaping, avoiding the enemy trap by running away to save their own lives” (CLFGD).

Thus, men’s fear of death and awareness of the enemy’s trap has led them to abandon women. In traditional society, community life is determined by a male presence. Men’s intervention and protection become very selective and limited to confronting civilian perpetrators only since this category is less dangerous to men’s safety. Cultural belief is used to purposely emasculate men, preventing them rescuing women.

Male parents and husbands have mostly failed to overcome psychosis (caused by killing, murder, assassination, looting, intense torture, terror to subdue people in the community, etc.). But this does not mean that there were no men who sacrificed themselves for their relatives’ protection. In this victim narrative we can easily see that some men have tried to be protective despite the cultural belief weighing upon them and the advantage taken by the army perpetrators’ threat of cruelty:

“Hearing FDLR coming to our house, my husband said to me ‘I know that those rebels are looking for you. Let me open the window so you may escape then I will go and open the door for them.’ He did so. Unfortunately, they caught me from my hideaway and caught both of us then took us to the jungle with them” (RSID1).

Evidence of some rare brave men who overcome cultural belief and its effects means there could be some exceptions to the male personal interest that challenges cultural belief to protect women against rape, although the result for such men seems to be cruel.

Factors driving women’s and girls’ capture for rape in wartime are many, as shown above, but men known as female protectors have been challenged by the cruel strategy of armies in capturing females, reinforced by sociocultural belief. Apart from the individual effort of some men rare men to protect their females, most men have been relying on that belief, avoiding therefore to protect women.

5.2.2 Rape survivors' reaction differentiation: Ambiguous bravery beyond rape

Against men's passive attitude, women have learnt to react against perpetrators' plans. However, the environment in which rape occurred remained the key factor that affected female resistance. Rape survivors' attitude vis-à-vis perpetrators differed according to the environment in which rape occurred.

5.2.2.1 Complex resistance to rape in rape survivors' living environment

Most rape occurring in female living environments is perpetrated by civilian rapists known by the victim or other opportunistic military attackers which makes their resistance complex. In the face of imminent rape, the first instinct of a woman is to defend herself against the perpetrator. There are two scenarios to consider for rape to occur: malign and violent approaches. As will be displayed further, malign rape is perpetrated mostly by acquaintances using psychological mechanisms to trap women. However, violent rape is perpetrated by strangers. In this study, this kind of imminent stranger rape is done to those who have previously experienced rape. The victim reported,

"I fought with the rebel who entered in my house to rape me, I bit his sex. But despite the fighting, he raped me as the people from the community delayed rescuing me" (RSID2).

The victim's self-defence seemed to be high even though the victim failed to prevent the rape. Community reaction showed great support to the victim, despite the delay, in the form of punishment of the perpetrator.

"People from my village caught him, destroyed the military camp of that rebel and his fellows. Destructive retaliation against the rapist motivated by emotion and fulfilment of applying severe collective punishment against the rapist was a great satisfaction. Later, the rapist passed away a few months ago from the bite he had on his sex that I did to him" (RSID3).

This is a severe collective punishment against a rapist, starting with the victim's self-defence in fighting to protect herself, followed by the community wrecking of the military camp as punishment. This collective punishment has given lessons to the rest of military group. However, there is an increase in victims' silence, which blocks support from community. A victim reported her experience:

"From the first experience of rape, I didn't report the second one. I kept quiet as the previous rape was a traumatising and stigmatizing experience. It's better to keep quiet if a victim is raped where there is no one who sees or if other people can't be aware of the issue. It's a very bad experience of reporting rape" (RSID4).

Thus, in normal living environments, there are two scenarios: victims could either call for help and get support or keep quiet and lose support that could prevent rape. Rape survivors who have experienced rape do not all have the same reaction. Some resist and are prompt to seek help while others do prefer to avoid being stigmatised by the community, as rape is badly perceived. Furthermore, victim's reaction depends on the type of rapist, depending on whether he is a military or a civilian perpetrator. Rape by a military man means death and is perceived as dangerous and risky to the victim, yet rape by a civilian is likely considered hurting, but less dangerous - easy for the woman to defeat the abuser and protect

herself if possible. The image of perpetrator to victim in the end determines the rape survivors' position, reaction, and motivation to either resist or let rape occur.

5.2.2.2 Imminent rape out of normal environment: On the way to capture site

After being captured, victims realised two things that boosted their defensive energy: a rape would imminently occur, and there was no expectation of being rescued by their men. This fact triggered a transformative energy, changing women's attitude from dependency to self-defence. On their way to the perpetrators' campsite, the process started by a random selection of victims, which created frustration among them. This first stage made victims struggle to free themselves from perpetrators. Many victims narrated:

“On our way to the jungle, men were released but women were kept for rape” (RSID5), ... “Two of us were taken to the jungle” (RSID6),

... “Among those girls, some were chosen to be Hutu concubines, but others were released. I belonged to the group of concubines” (RSID7).

There was a sexist treatment as well. Victims were selected according to their gender first, then according to their importance for perpetrators' needs. Those who were released were the ones appeared useless to the perpetrators. The fact of being kept released energy to fight for their freedom, as nothing could save them from the perpetrators' wickedness if not their self-effort.

“When they released some of us, I started crying, holding those who were released in order to go back home with them, but I couldn't make it. Perpetrators started shooting up to dissuade and force us to follow them. We ended up by following them. We walked from 11 pm to 2 pm of the following day to get to the jungle” (RSID8), ...

“We fought to be released but we couldn't as they shot up to constrain us to follow them” (RSID9).

Even though women and girls showed how brave they were, fighting for self-release, this did not work because of the terror that perpetrators created, constraining victims, and subduing them. Women's bravery vanished because of the perpetrators' determination to take them to the jungle for rape. Men and women were all exposed to that crucial choice, constrained to choose between life and death. Perpetrators used the same cruel strategy during victim capture operations to weaken their resistance to being raped. Terror and psychosis were created to constrain victims to rape. Hence, victims were caught in between life and death. In addition, perpetrators confronted men with women, challenging the level of gender resistance to the protection principle.

“On our way to jungle, FDLR grouped us into two groups of men and women. They asked men who were captured together with their wives: what do you want us to do between releasing your wives and killing you or taking them to jungle to help us and releasing you.....”(RSID10).

In the face of a of crucial decision, men appeared to be more reluctant than women. Instead of rescuing women, they seem to be ready to sacrifice them to rape. Victims narrated how men, reacted to respond to perpetrators:

“Men kept quiet. They didn’t say anything. Women chose to release their husbands and be taken to the jungle. After making that choice, they then released our husbands without any torture, and we went to the jungle (RSID11). ...

At the time of making that decision, we couldn’t tell ourselves the kind of life we will be going through. It was later in the jungle that we realised that we saved our husbands lives and that they were not ready to do so for us” (RSID12).

Women’s bravery in saving and protecting men seemed to be done automatically, compared to men’s reluctance to do the same for women. However, the fact that women understood only later the meaning of their decision to sacrifice themselves for men, made them uncomfortable and they realised the mistake they had made of shifting the traditional protective role.

Women appeared to be strong, energetic to fight, ready to protect themselves against predatory abusers while they were outside their living normal environment. Women’s strength to spontaneously respond as such was triggered by factors such as lacking support, male protection passivity and fear of imminent rape. Thus, disappointment in men’s passive attitude boosted women’s sense of self-protection, and changed women’s and girls’ minds, to protect themselves where men are not ready to sacrifice for women. Despite being frightened by perpetrators’ extreme violence, women seemed to be more tenacious than men in that they offered themselves for men’s liberty.

5.2.3 Rape experience in jungled capture site

Rape survivors were asked to tell of their experience of rape by armed groups or militias while in the jungle. After succeeding in taking rape survivors to their campsites, perpetrators instructed them on the procedure – the rules of rape – that they must abide by to make rape sessions “successful”, whether for perpetrators or for rape survivors.

5.2.3.1 Rape process in the jungle

The first stage of rape activity is the “integration session to rape life in the jungle”, followed by rape sessions, and initiation to rape life. There were many sessions to integrate a victim into the new environment of rape life, such as first contact management, initiation to new practices, and instructions to respect the new rape life. The first contact between rapist and victims in the jungle is a great victory celebration of the perpetrators who have won the capture operations battle of conquering victims’ relatives and the victims themselves, as a victim narrated: *“the time we got there, rebels started rejoicing by singing and make noises of joy”* (RSID13). The perpetrators’ joy is the expression of their satisfaction despite the bitter and traumatizing nature of the victims’ feelings. The following stage is the allocation of tasks and selection of victims by perpetrators. Rape survivors reported,

“They then started selecting girls according to their needs. After asking the educational background of each victim, educated girls oversaw health care as some of perpetrators were not educated to read the name of medicines. Some of us oversaw cooking food and some others for sex” (RSID14). ...

After the allocation of victims, perpetrators instructed victims about their integration to a new life mode, the ideology of life in the campsite, and sanctions for disobedient victims.

“Rebels instructed us about how we should save our life against other rebels. Once we are attacked, you must run away with your partner from enemy shot. This is to avoid being caught by the enemy. If during the escapement from the enemies you realize that they are about to catch you, your partner will kill you first then kill himself later” (RSID15),

... “If you try to escape, we will either kill you or punish you to death” (RSID16), ...

“The victim does not have right of choosing either the number of rapists or the frequency of rape”, ... “She does not have the right to claim or complain” (RSID17).

The overall instruction ranged from benign to extreme, sometimes applying military rule. For instance, punishment was given for any action against the perpetrator; especially the temptation to escape was equal to death. All these restrictions aimed to dehumanize the victims, working on their mind first to constrain their will. As such, victims did not have the right to live as normal human beings. To face the challenge properly, old victims had to advise new victims on how to behave.

“Ancient victims instructing us about ways of behaviour to save our lives. They told us, you should accept to adapt to the situation, and encourage yourselves” (RSID18).

Total submission to the perpetrator to make them feel accepted by victims was the first rule to overcome the new rape reality. Women set up feminine solidarity to rescue each other from death. However, this differed from one camp to another. In some other camps, victims were raped as soon as they reached the camp before any other instructions as reported above.

After the integrative session comes rape sessions. Rape sessions were the most unbearable period of a victim's life. Most of these sessions were introduced to victims by an embarrassment of choice, followed by cruel rape before any other optional rape. They had to consent themselves for rape for it to go smoothly. However, each camp had its own rules of rape. Some camps had private victims allocated to the leader of the perpetrators' group or allocated to each perpetrator when there were enough victims for all of them. But in the case of victim scarcity, a victim was raped by any perpetrator. As victims did not have the right to complain, a victim was raped by more than one or many perpetrators at a time. In a series of rapes, many rape survivors narrated,

“They asked us to choose between life and death. Life means rape and death is the sanction related to the refusal of being raped. We chose to live and being raped instead of death. Those who refused to be raped were immediately shot. They passed away” (RSID19).

There were many criminal and unhuman acts against victims that perpetrators committed purposely to constrain them to be raped.

I spent two days in the jungle being raped nights and days, permanently and as much as they could rape me” (RSID23 until my womb came out of my sex. They continued to rape me up to 4 months” (RSID20),...

“I was regularly raped by one man”,... I've been raped the all four days I spent in the camp” (RSID21)...

“I was regularly raped by two FDLR and got pregnant”....“I was mainly and regularly raped by two FDLR. But any FDLR had right).

Young men and two old men intimidated to kill us. They took us in the bush. I was raped by two men, but a young girl from our team was raped by eight men and passed away after 2 weeks because of intense rape and the lack of health care” (RSID24).

Victims have experienced traumatic serial rape which did not differ from death apart from the breath they could keep, which gradually made rape as a choice to live equal to death due to rape’s suffering and aftermath. The sacrality of life meant nothing to perpetrators. Rape was not only done serially but also in an inhuman manner. Victims reported,

“They started raping us in an abnormal and unmoral position, binding us, putting us in a reversed position, legs up and head down. They called that position *kwaskwasa* (a popular Congolese music, song)” (RSID25)...

“As soon as we arrived in the camp, I was raped by two rebels ... They used inhuman, unusual positions to rape us. I finally got used to being raped. Because instead of death I chose rape” (RSID26).

In the face of rape, perpetrators’ sense of humanity lessened. Animality dominated humanity. Consequently, victims were turned into prey to be caught and destroyed. The fact that some victims got used to rape does not mean they enjoyed it, as we will see later, but the sense of life preservation made them transcend and normalize the abnormal. Therefore, they used their resilient capacity to overcome the cruel humiliating situation.

Moreover, perpetrators made rape sessions more traumatizing, not only for the victims but also for their relatives and people surrounding them, causing them to suffer from rape directly or indirectly. In this case, public rape, rape between family members or rape of mother and daughter by the same perpetrators must be included in a wide range of public trauma disturbing society rules, regulations, and morals. Perpetrators did not care about the environment where it would occur. It was used whether in public or in a hidden place like the jungle. Victims narrated the following facts:

“We were raped, me and my daughter together in the same camp, and got all pregnant from the same perpetrators. We gave birth there in their camp. Unfortunately, my daughter died in that jungle. I came back home with two babies” (RSID27)....

“When my son saw rebels intimidating us and they started raping us, he cried and screamed. A rebel shot directly on him and he died. I collapsed, fainted when they shot my son. But those rapists kept on raping me under that state of fainting. On top, the same person who raped me, deflowered my daughter while raping her” (RSID28).....

“Me and my daughter were raped by the same perpetrators. Then, they killed my daughter” (RSID29)...

“Up to six men were raping me one after another. They were doing it in the presence of my daughter. It was very hard for me to stand and handle the situation in front of my daughter” (RSID30)...

.. “Being raped by FDLR in front of your children, that’s what caused other effects like the murder of people who defended me, especially my children as themselves and no one could bear such shame and abomination” (RSID31).

Public rape has caused enormous alteration of social norms and disturbance in the community. Public rape, rape in front of relatives and rape of daughter and mother by the same perpetrators has extended

its destruction from individuals to relations up the social network. It has made victims not deal with their own trauma, but with their relational wounds, reciprocally affecting them and the rest of the community due to social norm disturbance affecting the normal belief in and functions of society.

Intense, regular, and permanent rape, serial rape, long-lasting criminal rape, extreme rape resulting in death, cruel, , unusual, and inhuman usage of rape practices, and taboos make rape still hard to handle as victims were deeply traumatised, disturbing all levels of relationships and lives. However, differences in rape sessions' practices among rapists should be examined. This will help to get a clear picture of perpetrators differentiations in attitude, behaviour, and motives for such rape practices.

5.2.3.2 Differences in rape practices: views under the rape survivors' lens

While telling of their experience of rape, survivors who were raped by perpetrators from different armed factions, especially by foreign armed groups and local militias, had additional experiences. Around 60% of female witnesses reported being raped by foreign armed groups, followed by local militias with around 27% of rape survivors. Other unidentified armed groups were around 13%, civilians were around 6%, government security forces (police) around 3% and army also around 3%. Thus, I will display rape practices from the two major categories, which covered 87% of perpetrators, to see differences in rape practices against local victims between local militias and foreign rebels. The experience comes from 7 rape survivors (or 22.5%) of 31 who participated in this research. They were either raped twice randomly or chosen by military factions purposely as they were used as their pies? A difference is seen in rape practices and motivation for rape, as rape survivors tell it.

5.2.3.2.1 Rape practices

Rape experiences differed between local militias and foreign rebels in many ways, such as practices, motivation for rape and victims' feelings from perpetrators' rape practices. Rape practices characteristic of local militias have been depicted by victims as a tolerated inhuman, countable practice. Rape survivors narrated,

“Raiya Mutomboki (RM) were raping us twice per day, during the night and early in the morning” (RSID30) “I spent one week only with RM in the jungle. I was raped by one RM only” (RSID31)....

“the way that RM were doing sex with us was a way of convincing us that we are their wives and they were doing intercourse with us as if they could do it to their wives for us in turn to do it well” (RSID32).....

“We called it rape because it was against our will, but they were doing it like a normal man can have intercourse with his girl-friend or wife” (RSID1).

Victims of local militias expressed rape from that source as “normal intercourse” even though militias were doing it against their will. This is because of the consideration that perpetrators showed for victims, the manner of performing intercourse being equal to that of a normal partner, and the period that victims were kept in the jungle. The comparison made by victims depicting rape by local militias from their

experience shows how close this rape is to normal intercourse. This comparison made victims endure the practice despite against their will. In the case of resistance, local militias used a soft means to constrain victims through intimidation, pretending to murder victims but never doing so. Victims reported “... for RM to rape us, they were intimidating us, constraining us to be flexible to be raped. For that, they were using a knife, pretending to hurt us in case we resisted to be raped” (RSID2). This local militias’ rape practice is very different from the foreign rebels’ one.

Rape survivors raped by foreign rebels portrayed their rape practices as a criminal, uncountable inhuman rape. Victims narrated the manner rapes were committed by foreign rebels,

“With FDLR, there is no peace, no rest, to rape us. They were raping us all the time, days and nights. They can even rape you ten times per day. The interval was the one of less than 2 hours” (RSID3)

“We spent two weeks there. They were raping us as they wanted. I was raped by many rapists, they were doing it at any time, days and nights” (RSID4)....

“I didn’t have time to rest, or to sleep throughout those two weeks because of rape” (RSID5)...

“Each FDLR asked me to take the position he wanted to rape me, different from the previous one. If the first one was raping me standing up, the other one will ask me to slip down, the following will ask me to squat for him to rape me squatted, etc” (RSID6).....

“When he was raping me, he could do it for more than one hour without a break, no stop” (RSID7)....

“On week one, they were binding us to a stake or to a tree, and widening our legs, they were leaving us naked and raping us to that tree or stake. It was only after one week that they started raping us without being bound on a tree or stake” (RSID8)....

.. “I’ve noticed that, they were warning each other because as soon as the first rapist is done, another one came, and so on. The least number of rapes per day I’ve experienced was 3 times. That day at least I will rest. Means 3 times, 3 men and at least 3 hours per day. The normal daily frequency was not less than 5 times or 5 hours of rape” (RSID9).

“After raping us, they were beating us. FDLR were insulting us too much. They were saying that Congolese are stupid (*bichuchu*⁵⁰),

They have a right to death. Because of those insults, we feared approaching them. One of our sisters passed away as she couldn’t bear with their way of raping. They killed her as she was refusing sometime to be raped. They introduced a stick into her vagina and pushed it up to her neck. She passed away like that” (RSID10).....

“The routine was, in the morning, we have to do sport with them. After running, they started raping us, then went to loot alongside with us. We were going with them to carry their goods looted” (RSID11).

“FDLR sexual practices of rape were wicked, criminal, and nefarious. They were binding us to a stick, widened legs and arms then started raping us. Or they put a tissue in our mouth, widened our legs on the ground then raped us. FDLR are nefarious and criminals. After raping me, I was feeling like my sex will fall down because of pain” (RSID12)....

“FDLR could rape in public, in front of everybody” (RSID13).

As the narrative shows, rape from foreign rebels was an intensive, criminal, hurting rape. Rape is here an instant and permanent activity, as the interval between rape sessions is closer, separated one from

⁵⁰ Bichuchu from Swahili language is the last part of sugar cane, which is not testy, meaning useless person.

another by some hours only in a constant manner, nights, and days. Rape frequencies and numbers of rapists were uncountable, and rape was committed in unusual, inhuman, and strange positions which are demanding and unbearable. Not only was rape unbearable physically because of those factors mentioned, but also psychologically violent and extremely painful, and intense suffering triggered the death of many victims. This maltreatment shows how rape by foreign rebels has gone beyond any human consideration. Since they made rape so painful, to make victims more receptive to rape and increase suffering, foreign rebels used to stimulate victim's arousal using tradition herbal potions to incite them more to offer themselves to the deed. Some victims narrated,

“For them to stimulate us to have sex regularly, they were giving us a portion of jungle herbs to drink. They were drinking it as well.... Those jungle herbs were arousing us in order to have sex every time with them. We were feeling that pleasure to do sex. But after doing it many times, my sex was inflated, my back was paining extremely, and we were getting old doing sex” (RSID14).....

The stimulus potion was not helping victims to relax; on the contrary it was increasing their suffering after each session satisfying the abusers. In addition, abusers warned victims of a punishment of death against any resistance to rape, which fragilized victims in advance.

Victims reported, *“When FDLR took us to the jungle, the first thing they asked us is to choose between death and life or between rape or death. We were obliged to choose rape for us to live”* (RSID15).

As indicated, rape practices are different from one group to another. The overall narrative shows that practices of foreign rebels are more criminal, without any consideration with regards to victims as human beings. But from both sides, the victims' only requirement is to allow perpetrators to satisfy their lust. It is important to know what the motivation is for each of these rape practices.

5.2.3.2.2 Reasons for rape

As rape practices differed from one group of offenders to another one, perpetrators' motivations for rape differed as well. Victims who have been raped by both foreign rebels and local militias can provide rape motivation of both. For local militias, victims' narration shows that rape has been perpetrated by local militias to firstly satisfy male arousal.

“RM can rape you 3 times by day regarding his arousal and need” (RSID16).....

Satisfaction of lust is the primary motivation for militias to rape women. For this reason, rape has been seen by victims as a normal intercourse and lacking cruelty. The fact that perpetrators were taking care of victims, making them relax, shows how they were protecting them for rape as they needed victims to offer them much better sexual service. If the above motive was the reason for local militias to rape women, foreign rebels seemed to rape purposely for criminal reasons. Victims narrated,

“They do it with too much energy to hurt you with the intention to kill you. You can tell yourself that they are doing it just to kill or hurt you by the way they are acting against you. While they are raping you, they will tell you words like 'wait, you will see today, I will show you', etc” (RSID17)...

.. “If you try to complain, they punish you. The punishment was rape for punishment; this means they will rape you more and more just to punish you or kill you for resisting them” (RSID18).

Foreign rebels’ rape for punishment was the most dominant motivation against victims which caused extreme pain, suffering and even death. Sexual cruelty expressed how wicked was the motive of foreign rebels. Compared to local militias who usually raping to satisfy their sexual arousal, foreign rebels, on top of satisfying their sexual lust, were raping to hurt, and exhibiting extreme violence towards victims. Rape survivors’ impressions vis-à-vis those two categories of behaviour against them can talk more about motives for rape.

5.2.3.2.3 Feelings of victims from perpetrators’ behaviour

Although the feedback of the sense of death experienced by victims as a result of local militias' and foreign rebels' rape actions supports their explanation regarding the motivations of sex offenders, this must be viewed differently depending on whether the offenders were foreign rebels or local militias. In contrast to foreign insurgents, local militias could make victims feel safer.

Many factors made victims feel safe with local militias rape, despite being done against their will, some reasons such as protection from rape by militias, communication between them and the perpetrators, and the consideration seen from offenders’ behaviour have ensured that safety. Victims narrated,

“It was only because we feared them that we were preventing ourselves to feel free with them. Especially as they took us to the jungle by force, against our will and our marriages were destroyed. Otherwise, we felt secured” (RSID19).

Safety granted by militias made victims’ worry decreased. This is due to the communication between perpetrators and victims. Victims emphasised the issue of common language, which seemed to be very important for their safety.

“We felt a bit safe because of sharing the same language with RM. RM were speaking in a language that we could get and understand what they are saying. The fact that we could understand the language was ensuring us of not being afraid of the unknown intentions of RM” (RSID20)...

“As they were convincing us to behave like their wives, that gave us the opportunity of cossetting them for them to think that we are convinced. Then we used that way to escape from them” (RSID21).

Communication was the most important key factor for victims’ safety, and a way for them to plan their liberation, as they could know perpetrators’ plans for or against them. Knowing perpetrators plans allowed them to schedule and plan their escape. Furthermore, rape with respect from offenders made them feel comfortable even though it was against their will, as they reported:

“They were taking us to the jungle, put us apart to rape us” (RSID22)....

“They were not raping us in front of our children or family members” (RSID23)..... “there was no hurting rape” (RSID24)... “

after that rape, I went to the hospital to be cured in an ambulance as it was not severe like Hutu rape” (RSID25).

The lack of humiliation reinforced victims' confidence to manage their rape sessions, which could have a positive effect on their psychological status and result in less trauma. In contrast, victims' feelings from foreign rebels were different. Two factors made victims feel uncomfortable with foreign rebels: forcing sexual arousal through traditional herbs and lack of communication.

“Even if they were giving us those liquids, potion to drink for arousal, we were not happy at all” (RSID27).....

“we were drinking it and doing it as we were afraid of being killed. That was the reason that I couldn't appreciate those herbal potions even though it was arousing pleasure” (RSID28).

The fact of using herbal potions for victims seemed to increase rape suffering and misogyny sentiment against women. Foreign rebels were satisfied by victims' suffering, which made them increase pain by using those arousal potions. Despite the pleasure procured by the potion, victims' feeling was one of dealing with criminal, wicked perpetrators.

“FDLR did not rape normally. After losing all your strength because of rape, they will beat you up again and insult you” (RSID29).....

“we came back home skinny because of that series of rape” (RSID30)...

..“I think they were doing it in a hurting manner just to take revenge for their lives lost already in advance in that jungle, the fact that they don't have any hope for life” (RSID31).

Also, for victims, rape suffering and increase of pain were used by rebels to take revenge against victims. Being unable to revenge their suffering on their enemies, the displaced aggression was transferred to victims. This could explain the criminal attitude towards victims. The issue of communication made victims feel unsafe, as they could not communicate with the perpetrators.

“FDLR were speaking in the language that we couldn't understand any more. We couldn't know anything about what they are thinking about us. Even when you want to be killed, it's better to know that, I'm about to be killed. But not with FDLR. They will kill you without warning you. That was scaring us” (RSID32).

The foreign rebels' silence caused by the language barrier made victims uncomfortable and more traumatized, feeling they were facing death at any time. This increased fear in their lives, not knowing what was planned for or against them. The fear of decisions unknown to them made them feel death in advance. The overall feeling of victims towards perpetrators is based on their guarantee of life after rape sessions. With local militias, there is hope of life after rape sessions, but with foreign rebels, nothing can ensure life after rape. The feeling of death was permanent in the face of foreign rebels, increasing rape survivors' fear. Thus, scenarios of rape differ from one category of perpetrator to another in many aspects, such as intention, motives of rape, consideration of victims, rape practices, victims' safety and life guarantees after rape – even though they are all rapists. These factors determined all differences between perpetrator behaviours, and both perpetrators and victims were living in a scenario of constraining to rape vs overcoming rape death.

5.2.3.3 Weak quality of life in the jungle

Quality of life in the campsites in the jungle was traumatizing. While rape sessions were the main activity, every aspect facilitating life in the jungle remained challenging. Besides rape activity, victims were facing other stresses such as food scarcity, terror, health risks, instability, and disturbance of social belief, as I will present it later. The quality of food and the way in which perpetrators offered foods to victims increased the level of stress and trauma, weakening their health situation, as reported by victims:

“We were eating mud mixed with sugar for even two weeks” (RSID1), ...

“We were eating mud mixed with sugar. Bamboos were our pots”, “we spent one week without eating. From the second week, they started giving us food, but we were paying back at the cost of serial rape. It was costing us a series of rapes” (RSID2).

Not only was the quality of the food a health risk, but life was also very unstable as they needed to protect themselves from other rebel groups or government army attacks; as they reported, “*we were running away from enemies together with FDLR*” (RSID3). They lived with complex emotions, not knowing their future in the jungle. Perpetrators’ camps became a place for victims to question social norms, moral values, and beliefs. As victims narrated,

“My husband was the only man that I sexually knew apart from those bandits” (RSID4),...

“up to six men one after another were raping me in the presence of my daughter. It was very hard for me to bear and handle the situation” (RSID5)....

, “they were raping us me and my daughter all together” (RSID6),....

“they caught me and my daughter who was only 10 years old. They raped us” (RSID7).

Victims were confused when their socialization values, based on sexual life, purity of married woman, their faithfulness to their husbands, etc. were challenged after being raped by those who were not their partners. This disturbed their social norms and beliefs and increased guilt at violating social norms. Such abominations were hard for mothers to handle as they do believe in the consequences of such socially believed deviance. Also, statements like “*I was already married....*” (RSID8), “*I was married and got eight children*” (RSID9), “*I was a virgin when they caught me for rape... I got my first menstruation in the jungle*” (RSID10), etc. show how morally disturbed the victims were, integrating a new socially distorted life.

This raises the issue of age and period of life affected by rape. Most of the victims were raped at a young age when some were virgin, innocent girls starting a sexual life by trauma. Some others as newly married, saw their marriage joy brutally interrupted; young mothers having left and abandoned their young children, broke their attachment; mothers of many children were abandoning their children at their own risk of life failure. During the period they spent in the jungle, they could not stop thinking about their relatives, children, husbands, etc. as a victim reported: “*the most worrying thing at the time I was in their camp was about my husband. I couldn’t stop thinking about him and his reaction while he will see me*” (RSID11). For them, time spent in the jungle made them question their future, their relational and social lives destroyed, distorted, and altered. Being permanently terrified by facing death,

witnessing murder of their fellow victims, series of rapes going through from one to multiple perpetrators at a time etc., some even ended up normalizing the new life to overcome the suffering. However, the general trend to overcome the traumatic life experience in the jungle was forcibly to escape.

5.2.4 Rape survivors' escape

The last stage of capture operations is the escape of victims. Victims tried to escape at every stage of capture from their home environment, on their way to the jungle and during the time spent in the jungle. There were two sorts of escaping, final escape (death) and real-life escape (freed alive).

5.2.4.1 Final heroic escape

Escaping by death is the firm conscious decision of victims agreeing to die instead of being raped. A victim reported,

“They asked us to choose between life for rape and death for rape refusal. We chose to live and be raped instead of death. Those who refused to be raped were immediately shot” (RSID12).

The choice made by victims depends on the perception of life of each victim. Those who refused to be raped and instead chose death were brave enough to face it as for them rape means death already. But those who perceived rape as unequal to, less than death, chose rape instead of death. Some victims were murdered because of their weak physical condition: *“On our way to their campsite, one of us was shot and died as she got tired”* (RSID13). Some others passed away due to the extreme suffering of rape:

“Me and my daughter spent more than one year in the jungle being raped. We got pregnant and gave birth. As she couldn't bear with rape suffering, she passed away” (RSID14)....

“Being raped by eight men, she passed away after two weeks” (RSID15).

Others were murdered for violating perpetrators' rules as victims mentioned above. Braving death was the most difficult decision but made successfully by those who consciously took that decision instead of being raped. For these women, rape seems to be against the sacristy of life. This is to say, rape and death are equal: raping a woman equalled murdering her. The three ways of murdering victims created a kind of psychosis in women which fragilized their resistance to perpetrators' criminal acts.

5.2.4.2 Live heroic escape

Those who escaped alive succeeded in many ways, depending on each group or individual strategy. The most important factor was the resilience capacity of each victim and group of victims in overcoming fear of death, even if some were released by the will of perpetrators. Criteria for release by perpetrators were whether a victim did not fit their needs, or a victim had become useless for rape. Victims narrated,

“FDLR decided to keep some girls but release others” (RSID16),....

“I was freed by perpetrators. Fortunately, I was found by my children in the bush near our village while they were searching for me. They met me in the bush and took me to the hospital immediately as my womb came out of my sex” (RSID17)....

“After the death of my daughter in the jungle, they released me with two babies that me and my daughter got from FDLR” (RSID18).

Giving birth and sickness were among the factors that made perpetrators feel uncomfortable keeping victims in their camp, as they were no longer relevant for rape. Apart from this peaceful freedom done under perpetrators’ authorisation, others fled from perpetrators using any occasion allowing them to escape, whether individually or in a group. Many victims succeeded in escaping alone despite the dangerous journey to leave the jungle: *“I told other women that I’m going to fetch water to the river. Then I took that opportunity to escape”* (RSID19). Many others succeeded to escape randomly, without any plan, but tempted to escape as soon as they got the opportunity. Some others could only escape in group.

“We all decided to escape together acknowledging and endorsing the risk of being killed once we could be caught” (RSID20)...

“Three days later, they sent us to fetch water at the river, we took that opportunity to escape” (RSID21)...

“I suggested to my fellow victims to run away on our way to fetch water. They refused for they were afraid. But finally, we decided to escape later. We ran away the day they went to loot” (RSID22)....

“we escaped during a battle” (RSID23).

Victims’ complicity encouraged the escape of those who were frightened. They were encouraging each other to brave death despite the challenge of both the escape death risk and the wild jungle environment risk in reaching their village. There was the possibility of being caught – not by the same group of perpetrators who were abusing them, but by another new group of perpetrators, as the time to reach the village was quite long: from two days to one week. Victims narrated,

“A victim was caught while trying to escape. She was beaten to death until she started bleeding from everywhere though she was a three-month-pregnant girl. They isolated her in a shelter. I was terrified by that worse treatment.... three days later, I went to negotiate for the rebels to release the victim. They did it after five days of punishment. The seventh day, we planned to escape taking advantage of the time they went to fight with another group of rebels. We took one week to get home” (RSID24).

Terror from abusers was used to frighten victims and discourage them from escaping. Thus, most rape escapes began with a relaxation of rape sessions. As rape sessions went from very severe to less severe, that was the moment victims used to escape from perpetrators.

5.3 Protection motivation theory based on rape incidence

The overall attitude and behaviour of men and female rape survivors depends on the issue of protection: protection against rape, the preservation, sacredness, and purity of lives in the face of criminality committed by armed factions. In wartime, there was no predominant gender to whom the monopoly of protection belonged. Each gender was worried about their safety, fearing crime and death. The

Protection Motivation Theory (PMT) clarifies their attitude. There was a protective attitude of men towards armed factions, and rape survivors towards perpetrators, resorting either to natural protective reflexes or cognitive protective attitudes and community attitudes.

5.3.1 Protective motivation guiding men's and rape survivors' attitudes

Founded by Rogers, PMT postulates that “motivation to protect oneself from danger is a function of four cognitive beliefs, (i) the threat is severe; (ii) one is personally vulnerable to the threat; (iii) the coping response is effective in averting the threat; and (iv) one has the ability to perform the coping response” (Plotnikoff and Trinh 2010: 28). The PMT highlights individuals' reasonable arguments that motivate them to resort to self-protection, limiting individuals to protect others or one group in order to protect another group of individuals. Findings generated on women and girls capture operations demonstrated how severe the threat was in terms of murder and assassinations (of whoever could prevent armed factions from catching women and girls) as well as the vulnerability of both men, and women to criminal strategic captures. This leads to the coping response of PMT in criminal strategic capture of rape victims applied by antagonists and the ability to perform protective responses challenging capture.

In fact, PMT correlates two crucial attitude components, fear of crime and response to safety, based on the intensity of the noxiousness of the depicted events, their probable occurrence and the efficacy of a protective response (Rogers 1975). According to Rogers, cited by Clubb and Hinkle (2015), individuals struggling with fear of experiencing criminality have a particular attitude which motivates them to seek protection. The protection motivation theory has three stages which individuals go through to get to the final decision of acting for their protection: source of information, coping mediating process and the coping modes. These stages summarize how and why individuals respond behaviourally to emotive and cognitive assessments of perceived victimization risk.

The environment in which an individual lives surrounded by family members, neighbours, police, etc. (verbal persuasion), observers or bystanders (observational learning) is the first source of intrapersonal information as argued by Rogers (Clubb and Hinkle 2015). The intrapersonal source comes from the fact of either experiencing or witnessing crime (prior or vicarious victimization). From the sources of information individuals apply protective measures, using either avoidance or defence in attempting to address worries about their crime. Hence, response to protection is displayed under two options, adaptive and maladaptive responses. An adaptive response lies in the engagement of the potential victims to act, while a maladaptive response lies in individual passivity to engage through protective processes. While in maladaptive engagement an individual's threat appraisal process allows individuals to evaluate the risks of the potential threat, the adaptive response process, or coping appraisal process, allows individuals to evaluate potential responses that could protect them from a given threat (Clubb and Hinkle 2015). The summation of both threat and coping appraisal processes produce protection

motivation, leading to a final decision, which act can be isolated, once, multiple or repeated (called coding modes).

Due to rape offenders' severe threat and intense criminality used for strategic capture of women, at the beginning of the operations men were using adaptive responses to engage in female protection. As participants witnessed, the first reflex of protection was to defend women and girls to prevent armed factions capturing them for rape. However, this reactive protective measure was mostly led by the reflex, natural way of responding to a rape threat.

5.3.1.1 Natural protective reflex

Humans have reflexes to protect them from danger. Reflexes are unconscious, automatic and do not require the brain to act. When faced with any risk, human beings' reactive protection mechanism, which is instinct, does not use intelligence to defend against any threat. Defined as an automatic and involuntary muscular response to an internal or external stimulus, mediated by neuronal pathways, often defensive in nature (Wallwork *et al.* 2017), reflex is a sudden, unexpected defensive stimulus in the human body.

This natural protective stimulus has led men to protect females and families against criminal rapists, preventing them from capturing their relatives. Acting under reflex did not last as the cognitive mechanism of defence; the stimulus of defence was quickly inhibited because of the severity of crimes. The reason for this is that the defensive attitude to protect has been natural, not planned and unconscious. The natural protective reflex mechanisms seem to be weaker due to the severity of threat from armed factions making men in the community isolate instead of acting to defend. This attitude is justified by the classification of natural protective attitudes provided by Gillespie (2020). To handle clashes, the unconscious defensive tactics used by some people are expressed in seven different mechanisms which include:

denial (pushing discomforting thoughts out of experience); isolation (minimizing associative connections to unacceptable or dangerous ideas);

displacement (redirecting emotion at a more acceptable target); reaction formation (covering up an unacceptable impulse by behaving in the opposite manner); and

repression (suppressing impulses that are not personally or socially acceptable) Gillespie (2020:12).

With regards to men in Kalonge chieftaincy, natural defensive tactics depended on each man's personality. Those who had confidence in their ability to deal effectively with the threat, approached it with calm (Riskind and Maddux 1993). This is the case of men who started isolating their wives, hiding them from rapists, and showed themselves to confront perpetrators. However, others who had serious doubts about their coping skills anticipated the threat applying affective stimulation (Riskind and Maddux 1993). For instance, fear led numbers of men to higher defensive action. At the beginning of

rape capture operations of victims of rape in wartime, men were strongly defending their women and girls. Men's reflexes worked highly as the first impulse was to confirm the positive image of themselves as protector of the family, community, and society. Motivated by self-affirmation, which is one the way to maintain favourable self-image to confirm one's core values, attributes, and actions, [a] way of securing [a] sense of being competent, good, and self-determined in the face of life's challenges, (Nelson *et al.* 2014), male proudness motivated them to defend their females against rape capture operations from enemies, rebels and militias. However, the more they showed how strongly they could resist to protect their females, the more their opponents were developing strategies to capture females at any cost, resorting to criminal means to get to females in the community. To achieve their goal, rapists started killing men, as findings provide evidence.

As noticed, a defensive attitude can be applied under two mechanisms, unconscious and cognitive, to resist disruption. The fact that the reflexive attitude to defend women did not resist or discourage perpetrators' determination, perpetrators have taken advantage of the weak natural defensive mechanisms of men, the non-dissuasive technique to protect women, by applying severe criminal mechanisms to fragilize them in order to get women. Due to the fact that the natural reflex can also be triggered under cognitive control (Sambo and Lannetti 2013), men have understood the perpetrators' strategy which uses some cultural principles to trap them. As such, the natural protective stimulus has been quickly thwarted and automatically replaced by a cognitive defensive attitude reverting to sociocultural norms.

5.3.1.2 Cognitive protective mechanism related to social norms

If the adaptive response encouraged men to engage in a protective attitude to defend women, after experiencing criminal threats through murder and assassination of men to capture women, men activated the cognitive reflex, based on sociocultural norms, to understand perpetrators' criminal mechanisms so that they could adopt their defensive attitude. They resorted to a maladaptive response that considers the risk of engaging in a protective response which did not previously help. For instance, the cultural principle stipulates that "men do not bear to see children's and wives' tears, they always combat against the offenders" or "what kills a man is the tear of his child and wife"⁵¹, which means treating wives as equal to catch the husbands as I will demonstrate later. Therefore, women were used as lures by rapists to catch men. Since perpetrators and men used the same cultural technique to respectively trap men and avoid being trapped, this made them feel justification to protect themselves against murder using cultural norms to justify abandoning protecting women against threat.

⁵¹ Shi tribe's traditional quote.

In each society there is way in which elders used to trap and manage violence, conflict and intergroup threats in the community. When there was a potential situation that would lead to intergroup harm, there was a mechanism to detect intentional harm and anticipate solutions. (Neuberg, Kenrick and Schaller 2011). To react to an intentional trap, the attacked group, by precaution, is able to identify trap features and anticipate the intentional harm planned by escaping or removing the implied threat (Neuberg, Kenrick and Schaller 2011). This cultural belief has activated men's cognitive reflex to escape criminal mechanisms from perpetrators who intended to catch women, by fragilizing men first through assassination, murder, extreme torture etc.

From the findings, culturally men are protective to the extent that the cry of wives and children automatically activates their protective reflex in a defensive attitude to respond to the cry, especially when this has been provoked by an enemy or antagonist group. Being aware of the cultural defensive attitude that men would engage in to protect their loved ones, perpetrators used the same alert of the cries of women and children as a lure to get men, cruelly traumatize them first, then catch women for rape.

Socio-cultural defensive norms have turned into cruel traps discouraging men from engaging in any adaptive response to protect their relatives. Men's defensive attitudes have changed into self-protection, abandoning women and girls. For men in the community, defending their wives was what gave them the confidence of self-affirmation. Protecting, not letting wives and children down, is what is a man, a good man, and gives sense to their self-integrity as man. However, not fulfilling their responsibility make their self-integrity questionable. The failure to protect women during wartime has challenged the male protective role due to the socio-cultural norms that triggered the failure. The male protective role should therefore be contextualized to provide standard functions specific to each circumstance. The protective reflex seems to be unstable, and self-integrity depends on what it means to men's and others' perceptions (Sherman and Cohen 2006).

5.3.2 Male protective function challenged by war

Globally and in African traditions, gender is defined according to role and functions in society (Ngubane 2010). Traditionally, men have been granted the protective role functions over women, family, and society. Much of the current debate confirms protective roles granted to men in society. Feminist debate on the protective role of men has been broadly argued in diverse ways, especially since Stiehm (1982) allocates social roles to men and women, arguing that only men are allowed to use force and protect while women are supposed to be protected. The evolution of the debate has shown that differences should be made in their roles regarding the specific period of performing their role in peacetime, normal time and war- or critical time. Scholars who do not consider difference between peace and war times in gender roles, see masculinity, male dominance, and the search for male superiority over women in gender-based relationship interactions as a protective mechanism. In this way, men harass women to

exclude them and maintain their superiority (MacKinnon 1987) to express their greatness, domesticate, tame, or control women to well manage their protection. Other scholars see the male as protector of the family and society (Young 2003). In focuses on gender relations, masculinity is praised as a risk-taking attitude (Men Engage 2015b), loving and self-sacrificing, watching, taking precautions against families threats, and being ready to fight and sacrifice for their loved ones (Young 2003). However, masculinity as protection has shown its limits, since scholars who support the protective function of masculinity globally do not distinguish circumstances that challenge the protection mechanism assigned to men.

The ecological perspective of gender suggests that gender roles are created by interaction between individuals, communities and environments (Blackstone 2003). In this regard, protective masculinity has to be framed in order to clearly assess its relevance and challenge, due to the fact that men's attitudes would change according to the circumstances and environment in which the threat occurs. Zut (1985) is among the rare scholars who splits the protective role as distinct from normal time to wartime, but in a stereotyped way. His position, which lays on wartime men a protective role, has attracted scholars' attention to expand and dig further into men's protective role.

Men more than women accept the gender-specific sex roles which are related to wartime and war dynamics, e.g., men as warrior, aggressor, protectors, and women as passive, protected, emotional and peaceful beings (Zut 1985: 7).

This is a stereotype argument of gender roles that comes out of Zut's research findings while analysing issues of war and security, based on a wartime protective role that sees men as warriors or protectors whereas women are caretakers and protected. If in peacetime men can be victims of women (Durfee 2011), losing their protective masculine sense, in wartime protection depends on the circumstance and environment in which the threat occurs. Taking a middle-ground position, the result of my research shows that the protective role must be balanced and nuanced according to the circumstances. Protection reflex is first a natural impulse used unconsciously or cognitively, equal in every human being, although social construction has assigned the protective role to men over women.

Passivity that men chose during strategic criminal capture of women as rape victims has proven that women are not always protected by men when attacked (Stiehm 1982). Men being unable to protect women being captured is justified by the natural reflex of self-protection, socio-cultural norms, etc. which have challenged the traditional constructive idea of assigning a protective function to masculinity. Men have been more "selfish-protective", fearing death, as experienced by those who tried to protect their loved ones. Thus, the praise of male risk-taking and self-sacrificing must be balanced by factors that activate cognitive and natural reflexes differing from peacetime to wartime. A distinction should be made also between male parent and male husband protectors in wartime.

5.3.3 Wartime protective challenge differential between parental and conjugal relationships

The use of sexual violence against females during wartime is the result of a patriarchal ideology which aims to dishonour other men as women are portrayed as men's honour. Therefore, the failure to protect women equals the failure of men and the rest of the community. Ahmada and Avoineb (2018: 89) write about the degree of honour for women, diminished in instances of sexual violence. Generally, scholars used to divide masculinity regarding protection into "good man" versus "bad man". The "good man" self-sacrifices to protect his women, while the "bad man" selfishly aggresses, invades the lord's property, and sexually conquers his women. "Bad men" are depicted by feminists as aggressors and sexual predators (Young 2003). In this regard, expecting a sexual predator to capture women inside the lord's property becomes a matter of danger that awakes the good man to watch out to protect his women. The "good man" protective attitude is therefore reinforced when danger looms, such as in wartime where "bad men" tend to dominate through sexual conquest of women, as argued by Carol Pateman, who interpreted Hobbes cited by (Young 2003) while arguing on the desire to protect.

A closer look at our findings indicates that among men targeted by predators to sexually subdue women and demonstrate their power to dominate and humiliate men of the community, predators' threats and attitudes differed between attacking male parents and male husbands. Predators are more likely to attack husbands than they are to attack male parents to capture rape victims. The perpetrators' severity level depended on the level of male victims' resistance in protecting their wives and daughters. On the other hand, male victims of rapists' criminality were behaving to protect their masculine image and responsibility, which intensified the perpetrators' criminal attack. This is to be understood under the "utilitarianism" ethic, where the central attitude lies in the answer to the thought, "What ought a person to do?" (Duignan and West 2020: 2). The attitude of both fathers and husbands was the answer to what they should do as father or as husband.

5.3.3.1 Fathers' challenging motivational attitude to protect their daughters

Fathers have a natural (Arrow 2006) and legal obligation (Russell 2014) to protect their children. Unfortunately, in crisis time, this responsibility turns out to be harmful to fathers. Fathers' motivations to protect their daughters from being captured for rape has influenced rapists' attitudes. To capture rape victims, rape perpetrators have attacked fathers in a soft way, without causing much physical violence to fathers. The explanation that I brought out to justify fathers' attitudes is an association of two aspects: the answer to a utilitarian ethical response based on what a father ought to do, especially in a critical situation where their daughters are in danger of rape, and the attitude of a father to other men wishing to get his daughter legally.

According to the utilitarianism ethic, which is described as the answer to how a person ought to act so as to maximize happiness and minimize pain (Duignan and West 2020), as fathers, the only attitude to

take is the one of maximizing happiness by succeeding in protecting their daughters from rape harm in order to minimize pain that could occur from the capture of their daughter. However, some sociopsychological aspects have softened fathers' protective attitudes. Daughters are seen as property to be given to the husband's family (Barker and Ricardo 2005) and the nature of a father in general to other men regarding his daughter's relationships is considered as in-law. This has influenced fathers' attitudes. For instance, the nature of the father in front of his in-laws is one of offering. Fathers' attitude to rapists would be one of offering their daughters to their sons- in-law for a nuptial issue bonding them for good. However, in this case, confrontation between fathers and perpetrators clashes on the wrongdoing of rapists to forcibly attempt to get their daughters for an abusive purpose. Utilitarianism makes the rightness or wrongness of an action dependent upon the motive of the agent. Also, it is possible for the right thing to be done from a bad motive, attenuating the praise or blame of whether the action was right or wrong (Duignan and West 2020). Due to the fact that the consequences of the action are what determines if the action was wrong or right (Driver 2014), fathers are seen to fail in protecting their daughters and are wrapped in disgrace, but meanwhile benefit from the perpetrators' favour in not being harmed. The utilitarianism ethic makes us think on the satisfaction of each actor: fathers who insist on protecting their female children, and rapists who insist on getting daughters. The motive of both is to satisfy their objective in which success creates happiness only if this comes to be accomplished. In peaceful circumstances, a perpetrator would be considered as the in-law, searching for a wife from his parents- in-law, but here, the perpetrator is considered a "destroyer-in-law". The clash produces consequences which make perpetrators soft to react against fathers' resistance, providing concomitant opportunities to fathers to negotiate for the release of their daughters or to convince perpetrators to abandon their capture process.

5.3.3.2 Conjugal challenge to protect wives from rape perpetrators

Reaching legal majority, girls stop being under their fathers' responsibility (Marcus 2017). Those who are married shift to being under their husbands' responsibility where family and marriage are equal institutions, although marriage is depicted as a complex and diverse social, cultural, religious, and legal institution (Mazurana, Marshak and Spears 2019). Husbands' responsibilities have turned into obligations which are tied tight, not loose: "with rope, not with rubber", involving duty and strong demand, centred especially on sexual fidelity (FitzGibbon 2002). Unfortunately, findings have shown that the harder husbands tried to fulfil obligations such as protecting their wives against harm, the worse the perpetrators attacked them to break them and get their wives as rape victims.

Husbands have demonstrated their protective attitude by resisting perpetrators, preventing them from capturing their wives and thus defending their masculinity. However, this resistance resulted in criminal reactions from perpetrators. The nature of husbands as possessors, and receivers from their fathers-in-law has influenced their attitude. Perpetrators and husbands are considered as rivals battling for a

common prey. This attitude of both husbands and perpetrators can be understood as the opposite of the utilitarianism ethic, that is, egoism. According to Duignan and West (2020: 2), egoism “is the view that each person should pursue his or her own self-interest, even at the expense of others, and to any ethical theory that regards some actions (or types of action) as right or wrong independently of their consequences”. The fulfilment of husbands’ obligations characterised by the faithfulness bond, has made the battle tougher between husbands and sex offenders. Therefore, the only way to remove women from their husbands was to commit murder, a dissuasive technique to win the battle.

Hence, rape perpetrators’ attitude to capturing women and girls has differed according to the nature of the “owner” of a female: either he is father or husband, giver, or donor-receiver. These situations where the husbands are possessors, not givers and where fathers are givers have influenced rape perpetrators to act in certain ways in achieving their goals, since negotiating with a giver differs from negotiating with a possessor, and force must be used to achieve the latter goal. Rape perpetrators’ reactions therefore depended on the nature of their opponents which could grant fathers and husbands opportunity and time to negotiate with them or not. Those challenges have caused both fathers and husbands to resist rape perpetrators and meanwhile has encouraged women and girls to battle themselves to protect their lives and if possible, protect themselves against rape.

5.3.4 Rape survivors’ self-affirmation to self-protection

Wartime adversity, and women’s and girls’ disappointment at waiting to be protected by men has encouraged self-affirmation (Groves and Groves 1944). It has produced in women and girls whose protection expectation from men fell short, self-affirmation that brought out the courage and energy to confront rape and all its aftermath. Being forcibly exposed to death due to the lack of male protection, victims have learnt to use their natural and cognitive protective reflexes to manage capture and overcome the worst from rape. As Groves and Groves (1944: 28) argue,

“it is apparent that one of the most important effects of the war has been both to increase this desire for independence in the emotional feeling of being self-important and self-controlled, and to provide extraordinary opportunity for the establishment of the self-direction so deeply craved”.

Also, disappointment at men’s passive attitude, at their failure to protect victims, has revolutionized victims’ attitudes. They have discovered their ability to overcome rape challenges. Facing disappointment “assumed to originate from a comparison between the factual decision outcome and a counterfactual outcome that might have been *had another state of the world occurred*” (Zeelenberg et al. 2000: 529) which seems to be a mistake (Tzieropoulos et al. 2011), not relying on men has produced many advantages to women and girls who have succeeded to manage the adversity:

- Genuine management of criminal capture: There was no female death during capture operations among female respondents, no loss of life as witnessed by participants to this research.

- Defeat of rape perpetrators: Death occurred by victims' choice. Victims who lost their lives, mostly decided to do so since they radically refused to be raped and preferred death, either while escaping by their rape refusal decision.
- Brave to defend men: While being captured together with men, women sacrificed themselves to be raped as a ransom to free men.
- Use of wisdom to confront rape disaster: Coaching by senior victims in the campsite, and women's solidarity helped them escape the worse of rape.

Disappointment was the feeling that made women and girls use natural and cognitive protective reflexes to come out of a rape crisis. Disappointment does not only have negative effects but includes positive ones as well. It awakes the victim's mind and creates motivation to react to avoid a relapse of the emotion. It creates opportunity for growth and it makes the victims stronger (Personal Excellence 2009). Theoretically, as a primary course of decision, disappointment is among emotions that play a role in decision-making (Zeelenberg et al. 2000) and in giving a feeling of social responsibility (Johnson and Connelly 2014). Women have demonstrated their bravery and capability of transcending and normalizing abnormal rape issues by either protecting men by choosing to be taken to the jungle and raped, exchanging their suffering for the release of men who were taken together with them into the jungle, or by showing solidarity among victims as a social responsibility in order to overcome adversity. The result of disappointment management has led to fewer cases of women's and girls' murder as survivors' priority was self-preservation. For instance, strategic criminal capture affected women differently compared to men in the community. During strategic criminal capture operations, more men were murdered than women and girls, although women and girls were targeted for rape.

5.3.5 Perpetrators' revenge in wartime: misogyny and lust satisfaction

Comparison of the types of rape offenders has led me to understand and relate each type of offender to a characteristic of attitude toward rape. Throughout my research, rape survivors' groups were composed of rape victims of Congolese rebels and militias, and foreign rebels. In this section, I will present attitudes of both types of rebels regarding rape practices against females, as rape survivors have depicted them.

Foreign rape perpetrators were depicted by victims as criminal, and great destroyers of female lives which I portray as a misogynistic attitude towards rape victims. Misogyny is defined as hatred of women or girls, expressed as disgust, intolerance or entrenched prejudice, serving to legitimate women's oppression (Ussher 2016). Misogynist beliefs and practices are conceptualised by some as "a potential in all men", called out by "particular circumstances" (Jukes 1993). However, some academics acknowledge the feeling as existing in both genders, male and female, both male-to-female and female-to-male (Moxon 2018). In this study, I am not concerned about transgender misogyny, hatred against trans women, "emotional disgust toward individuals who do not conform to society's gender expectations" (Arayasirikul 2019: 1419), but rather on the concept of misogyny as it relates to the

relationship between men and women: the hatred of men for women. Advances in literature have provided contradictory debate on the existence of misogynistic feeling. This concept is subjected to discussion among academics, but there exists support for both philogyny and misandry, the antitheses of misogyny (Moxon 2018). Nowadays, in social psychology and other literatures, the understanding and acknowledgement of misogyny is no longer under debate.

Misogyny can be expressed through attitude, discourse, and behaviour (Jane 2018) and is mostly spread through media, the internet, and social networks. The advance of technology has increased the spread of misogynistic attitudes and makes them persistent (Banet-Weiser and Miltner 2016; Ging and Siapera 2018). On the other hand, misogyny is manifested through religious and cultural beliefs which represent women as dangerous, defiled, or polluting; hostile folklore and jokes; the sexualisation and objectification of women through art, film, literature, the mass media and pornography; hostility towards women in positions of power; sexual violence and domestic despotism; female genital surgery and foot-binding; and the visceral horror held towards women's secretions, including menstrual taboos and phobias (Jeffreys 2005; Gilmore 2009). This is well known in normal time, in peacetime. However, our findings demonstrate that misogynistic attitudes in peacetime should be distinguished from those in wartime to capture the full meaning of misogynistic attitudes.

Foreign rebels' criminality against women during wartime in the community of Kalonge has led me to think about the "normal" form of misogyny and the intense form of it. The intense form of misogyny is seen in wartime when women are raped, not to satisfy lust, but raped criminally to strongly express a specific message. Misogyny and war have nothing to do with patriarchy. If in peacetime scholars see misogyny coming from a perspective of male superiority, where violence against women is fuelled by gender and power relations, referring to a strong prejudice against women, an ideology that legitimises and maintains women's subordination (Buiten 2007), then in wartime, it is a very sexist attitude to take revenge on women for military disappointment.

Being foreign rebels in a community that does not appreciate their presence due to crimes committed, feeling lost in a jungle where their future is not clear, the lack of hope of recovering or returning to their normal lives, the desperation of perpetrators' lives where their last expectation remains death, has led foreign rebels to take revenge in advance for the feeling of lives lost by committing criminal harm, and made them displace their pain upon women through criminal rape. Due to the level of rape intensity, and the suffering inflicted (purposely destroying survivors' vaginas, etc.), rape survivors have clearly distinguished and identified hate crime from foreign rebels as compared to rape by local, national rebels and militias, whose rape practices are been depicted as motivated by lust but done against women's will. Hate crimes, are typically violent and motivated against race, religion and sexual orientation. (Adebjörk and Romare 2020). In the case of our study, for the fact of being a woman, or a girl, females have paid the price of war. The source of the misogynistic criminal attitude varies according to the

perpetrator's purpose in committing the hate crime as mentioned above. In the Kalonge community, this is a xenophobic, hostile, anti-social attitude against women of an enemy community especially as foreign perpetrators do not share the same nationality, tribe, or culture. This aspect has increased survivors' suffering.

War atrocities committed on women and girls by men, especially military, rebels, and militias, has changed perceptions of gender-based violence witnessed in normal times into misogyny. Many countries with similar war issues, like Afghanistan, have experienced misogyny related to war atrocities on women and girls, creating new forms of violence induced by successive armed conflicts (Ahmada and Avoineb 2018).

5.4 Conclusion

Capture operations which is the starting point for the journey from community to jungle is a strategy that perpetrators have used to get victims from their home villages to keep them for rape in the jungle. Many strategies have been used to capture victims, such as a peaceful strategy (where there was no resistance opposing perpetrators in getting victims, such as flight of men and abandonment of girls and women by their men), isolated areas, or in a mixed group selecting women for rape. However, where there is resistance, the strategy to catch victims becomes crueller to constrain men to give up protecting women. Thus, murder and extreme torture were used to dissuade men from protecting their females. To make it more successful, perpetrators took advantage of social norms to trap men. For this reason, men could not expose themselves to death for the sake of protecting women.

After winning the battle of catching females due to male failure, the second scenario of perpetrators' capture was to keep victims and maintain them for rape. The central activity was cruel rape sessions. Suffering from rape was increased by many other issues such as food scarcity, unsafe frightening environments, disturbance of belief in social values, permanent death risk, etc. Given that rape was committed by different categories of perpetrators, their treatment mode differed from one category to another. The two major categories were foreign rebels and local militias. Foreign rebels' rape treatment seemed to be crueller than that of local militias which seemed to be a "tolerated inhuman" mode. Finally, for victims to escape, this was demanding a crucial decision to be taken between death and life as the only sanction once trapped to escape from rape perpetrators was the death of the victim. The successful escapement of those reached their village was the heroic act they endeavoured to accomplish.

From my data, protection of women and girls in wartime seems to be challenging the established knowledge, practices and custom which assign a protective role to men. Men who were supposed to play the protective role either to save their females or their community from enemies, attackers, or armed factions were defeated in many ways. They were the first victims of crime before in the Kalonge chieftaincy community, due to the high resistance that they displayed to protect women, girls, and the

community. Hence, fragilizing them was the first mechanism that armed factions utilized. To react to armed factions in the community, male protection has been gradually applied in decrescendo style, from protecting women and the community to individual men protection of women and girls, then self-protection. Protection mechanisms applied by both men and women against rape went from natural reflexes of protection to reasonable responses which are explained by protection motivation theory which explains response towards crime and fear. This has been somewhat distorted by cultural norms on the protection of females in the community.

CHAPTER SIX

RAPE SURVIVORS' FEELING OF BELONGING IN EARLIER SOCIAL REINTEGRATION PROCESS

6.1 Introduction

Issue of social reintegration of rape survivors is explained by a combination of the two theories of conflict transformation and social cohesiveness. If in the previous chapter, the two conflict transformation theories were used to understand the immediate situation and beyond its from their capture up to their escapement from the jungle, in this chapter, the second and third conflict transformation theories have been applied to see beyond the immediate situation in short-term from the return of rape survivors from jungle up to some weeks later. The problem is therefore explained using the dimensions of social cohesiveness. At this earlier stage, I emphasised on the two dimensions what were really needed from rape survivors, feeling of belonging, and support.

This chapter is one of two that explain how rape survivors felt and are still feeling a sense of belonging throughout the three stages of their social reintegration. Each stage, phase of their social reintegration has its own experience related to the dimensions of social cohesion which are presented gradually. The earlier stage is connecting the first day after rape occurred up to around two weeks from their return from the jungle to the community.

The categorisation of rape survivors done in this chapter is between single and married rape survivors, not between rape survivors having children born from rape and those who did not (see Chapter 7). This is because after a few days, the problem of rape-related pregnancies still hidden. The emphasis is more on the feeling they obtained from the first contact, the first confrontation between them and their relatives and the community. The chapter includes attitude toward rape survivors, and reason underlying external attitude and act toward them as well as rape survivors oneself feelings. The community attitudes and weak institutional implication. The discussion is based on the ambiguous support to their early stage of social reintegration affecting their feeling of belonging.

In fact, a sense of belonging based on the attachment is expressed by three levels of feelings which are intrapersonal, relational, and structural. The intrapersonal or personal level determines positive or negative feelings of oneself. It includes the feelings of self-esteem, happiness, being comfortable in a situation, and being in a right and suitable place. The second level, the relational level, is a feeling of security or safety due to other persons or the situation or environment in which the person is living as well as the actions that put the person in touch with others. This is the level of safety and protection,

being able to interact, interdependency, harmony, attraction, being a member of a group, and building engagement or commitment for the purpose of change. The third level, the structural level, is in this study limited to the community level where the individual feels belonging in terms of identity. This is the level of self-identity, including self- and common identity, which can go up to the feeling of citizenship which mixes individual, relational, and structural levels. These three levels constituted our measure to analyse rape survivors' cohesiveness in their community from the feeling of belonging, dimension of social cohesion. They link the individual in a bottom-up direction, with a bond from individual to national which passes through the community bond.

Peter, Peter and Catapan (2015:96) present the three levels otherwise:

The first level explores the notion of belonging by examining social positions, identification processes, emotional bonds, and ethical and political values. On the second level, it is possible to focus on belonging policies and how they integrate into various plans and projects of individuals that live in society, for example, citizenship right and participatory actions. This level shows the status right in a belonging group. The third level presents belonging mechanics structure in political, cultural, social, and religious projects comprising certain characteristics of an individual.

The distinction between Peter, Peter and Catapan and the categorization of the three levels of sense of belonging in this study is in the method of categorization, not in the substance. The national level was not included in my study. I gave more thought to the personal, interpersonal, and community levels. Here, "belonging" refers to the emotions that rape survivors experienced as a result of the intrapersonal and interpersonal effects of the rape, which affected their relational emotions in their living environment, their safety.

6.2 Rape survivors' early sense of belonging disturbed after rape incidence and their escape from the Jungle

Their first period of contact after being raped and after escaping rape in the jungle seems to be a new reality of life to which they must adapt in order to reintegrate into society. They should consider their own views about themselves and on other people, and vice-versa. This is done to mend the ties that the rape appears to have shattered. Many factors influenced their attitude based on the feeling of belonging while reintegrating into their community and referred to the damage caused by rape and its effect, on their psychology and behaviour. More than single rape survivors, married rape survivors, in addition to their family members, friends, and other people in the community, had to deal with attitudes from many other social groups like husbands and families-in-law.

6.2.1 Relatives' attitudes towards rape survivors

Attitudes toward rape survivors ranged from those of relatives and husbands to those of the community have been confusing as they have been a mixt of negative and positive attitudes and behaviours.

Responding to questions about how family members, husbands and the community welcomed them after rape incidence, kind of treatment they received, and how men started treating them, rape survivors' narratives have revealed people's attitude and behaviour towards them. Contrary to married rape survivors whose narratives were directed largely toward their husbands and in-laws, most single rape survivors' stories focused on their relationships with their family and other people in the community. If some of them have experienced negative attitudes and behaviours affecting them physically, psychologically, emotionally, and relationally, some other have benefitted of positive attitudes from their relatives, husbands and some community members which constituted a good starting point, support for their social reintegration process.

6.2.1.1 Attitudes toward single rape survivors

I describe the attitude toward single rape survivors from their family members as varied. Although some rape survivors have happy initial encounters with their family when they returned from the bush following the sexual incident, others encountered significant obstacles. For those who experienced positive interaction, relatives and friends considered them as heroes. They testified how parents, siblings, and relatives were delighted to see them coming back home alive. In their narrative, they reported that they got a warm welcome from their families, as parents and family members were also affected by their absence, and desperate to get news from them.

“At home, my family was so delighted to see me coming back home again”. “Everybody in the family was delighted” (RSIJ1)....

“My parents were already thin as they missed me. People were telling them that I passed away I lost weight as well. They started giving me food, clothes, etc. (RSIJ2).

My parents, family and neighbour welcomed me very well. My father took care of me. When local militias heard that there is a new rape survivor in the area, they came to fetch me again to go with them to their camp. During that heated discussion, my father suggested giving them cows for them to leave me, but they refused. As my father could not allow them to take me, they arrested me and him together to their camp. Two days later, my family went to report to the king of the village in order to intervene to release us. The king wrote a letter to those Mai-Mai and said: 'those are my people; I command you to free them'. That's how they released us” (RSIJ3).

In that suffering, my older brother went to collect me from that policeman's house, took care of me and my children. Up to present, I'm living in my family” (RSIJ4).

Family members played a significant role for the first contact after victims' escape from jungle rape sessions. They offered a strong support to their daughters to lighten their suffering and make them feel comfortable in the family. They took care of their health and other needs as well as providing emotional, relational, and physical supports. The presence of rape survivors among families was not only to their own benefit but also a relief to their relatives. Because of their sensitivity to survivors' suffering, they have also influenced community support for rape survivors as we will see it late.

However, not all of them had the chance to be protected by their relatives. Some family's reactions and attitudes increased the burden of suffering. Rape survivors narrated that they could not obtain support and protection from their parents and family members during the critical time that they needed their families' support:

"At home they didn't well welcome me. They wanted to chase me away from the family"... "I was forced to stay at home" (RSIJ5)

.... "Despite the worse treatment they submitted me to" (RSIJ9)....

"Back home, my family chased me away as for them, I have become a FDLR, a Hutu wife" (RSIJ10)....

[When I] reached home, my family chased me away, accusing me of being a Hutu wife" (RSIJ11).

Some families blamed their daughters for being raped, though they were incapable of protecting them while they were being captured by perpetrators. Those families used harsh rejection, blame, and bad treatment in order to discourage victims from staying in their family. However, despite families' negative attitudes, some victims were strong and their families subsequently accepted them. Behaving as such, they convinced their families to accept them even though the families were still not ready to do so. Some of those who were taken to jungle virgin suffered from the humiliation, mockery of losing their virginity. This negative attitude which affects rape survivors' lives make them feel the losers of their feminine values, their dignity, making them feel unvalued and disempowered, therefore not deserving of good treatment.

Rape survivors feel as though they have lost their feminine ideals and dignity as a result of this negative attitude towards the loss of virginity, which also makes them feel disempowered and unworthy of kind treatment. They narrated: "*Both men and girls were mocking me as I'm no longer a virgin. Telling me that my pride was my virginity, now I mean, I worth nothing*" (RSIJ21). Virginity for a woman provides pride and confidence. The question remains, is female virginity a source of pride for her or for others? Furthermore, it was not only men who demonstrated a negative attitude to the loss of virginity, but also women against other women, a point of concern and of further study.

6.2.1.2 Attitudes toward married rape survivors

Married rape survivors had to face the attitudes of their husbands as well as those of their in-laws. Even though husbands' attitudes differed between support and rejection, the overall trend of husbands' attitudes seemed to be dominated by the rejection of their wives. Two husbands of 15 married rape survivors (at the time rape occurred) were exceptions in that they supported their wives and one family in-law of the 15 was supportive. However, many factors have driven the dominant negative trend of rejection such as blame, accusations, banishment, and extreme hate up to the murder of a child born from rape, tell the quality of relationship between rape survivors and their husbands, intensified by the involvement of in-laws interfering in couple's attitudes.

a. Husbands and in-laws' negative attitudes and behaviours against rape survivors

Husbands manifested hate and indifference to their wives and went so far as to abandon their own families.

“Back home, my husband didn't welcome me. He was very reluctant and uncomfortable to see me” (RSIJ12)....

“After his family's advice, we separated. I went back to my parents' place, in my family as well” (RSIJ13)

“When I reached home, my husband didn't even welcome me. Even when I gave birth to that child from rape, he didn't care about the child. He ended up by quitting me” (RSIJ14)...

“When he saw me back home, he stood up, left and quitted home” (RSIJ15).

The easiest way for husbands to manage the emotional, relational, and social crisis was to dump their wives, quit them. In this way, not only couples split apart, but families as well. Some husbands had direct reactions against their wives. They preferred to blame and punish their wives instead of abandoning them in a soft manner. Rape survivors reported how their husbands treated them:

“He told me, 'I'm done with you. I must marry another woman. We won't have any more intercourse, no sharing bed'” (RSIJ16)....

“My husband hated me. Since, he has been insulting me, threatened to divorce, chasing me away” (RSIJ17)...

“Back home, my husband refused to welcome me and the child I gave birth to from perpetrators.” (RSIJ18)...

“Before I came back home, my husband sold our house, the children were kept in my in-law's family” (RSIJ19)

“He told me, 'You are the one who brought your boyfriend's rebels to assault us. You have become FDLR's wife. You are already infected by HIV/AIDS' (RSIJ20) “You are the one who is responsible for my decision of getting remarried”. ... “He started insulting and undermining me, naming me Hutu's wife, etc.” (RSIJ21)....

“My husband did not bear with me. He was criticising me everywhere... other men were criticizing him as well for his wrongdoing” (RSIJ5)

“My husband didn't stop insulting me. neighbours were gossiping about me, naming me and my children 'Nya Lubala', people from the jungle” (RSIJ22),....

“Back home, my husband beat me and chased me away....” (RSIJ23).

... “I'm afraid of my husband. He used to beat me any time. I was terrified by my husband” (RSIJ16)...

Husbands had various ways of attacking their wives who were already traumatised by rape. Instead of gaining support from their husbands, some rape survivors had their trauma increased through psychological violence and rejection. Not only did they miss support from their husbands, they were also punished by their husbands divorcing them.

As indirect victims of rape, husbands' family members were concerned by the issue of their daughter- or sisters in-law's rape. The involvement of in-laws affected rape survivors. Their attitudes made rape survivors uncomfortable, increasing their suffering psychologically, financially, emotionally, etc. using blame, psychological attack, false accusation, harsh rejection, and banishment from the in-law's family as their husbands. Rape survivors narrated:

“When I got home, my father in-law told me I should show him his son, my husband, a thing that I was not able to do” (RSIJ13)...

“I was traumatised, being asked to bring back the dead husband” (RSIJ1)...

“My desperation on losing my husband turned into a false accusation of conspiring with perpetrators to kill my own husband” (RSIJ2)...

“From the day I come back, they started undermining, and insulting me every time and everywhere. I felt put down” (RSIJ4)...

“The fact that I don’t have any news from my husband since we separated in the jungle...At home in my in-law’s family, they are blaming me, I feel very bad again and lost” (RSIJ6).

“After three months of searching without getting his son, my father and family in-law accused me of killing their brother as the bodies of other men were found. For them, rebels killed my husband to use me as their wife” (RSIJ1).

In-law families’ blame made their sisters and daughters in-laws feel guilty of their husbands’ deaths, accusing them of being responsible. Not only that they are traumatized by the rape and problems related to it, such as losing their husbands and other resources, which disrupted their lives on all levels, from the personal to the relational, rape survivors were forced to feel guilty for a wrong they did not do, which increased their anguish and sorrow and destroyed their hope for a better life. Some rape survivors assumed accountability in order to feel accepted again in their in-law's families. They ended up punishing rape survivors (wives) by excluding them from their in-law families using false accusations to justify their acts. The banishment was used as punishment and revenge for the loss of their late sons and brothers.

“They chased me and told me to search and bring back their brother. They chased me away from their family and house. I went to live at my brother’s place” (RSIJ2)

.... “My mother in-law deprived me of my children, went to rent somewhere else” (RSIJ3)

.... “Back home, my husband’s family stopped counting and considering me as being in their family” (RSIJ4).

Rape survivors suffered from in-law banishment preventing them from being counted as sisters’ in-law as they had been before the death of their late husbands, due to the rape, and furthermore, separated them from their children, which made rape survivors indeed feel excluded from their in-law families. In-law families applied harsh rejection as rape survivors reported,

“Back home, my in-laws constrained me to tell them about the loss of their son. I told them he was killed on our way to jungle.... When they heard that, they chased me away from their family” (RSIJ5)...

“After being chased away by my husband, I went to stay with my family's in-laws, but they ended up chasing me as well” (RSIJ6)...

The death of husbands made in-law families to exclude rape survivors from the family, which disconnected them from many resources, emotional, financial, etc., increasing their pain.

b. Reasons underlying husbands and in-laws’ negative attitudes towards rape survivors

Many factors triggered husbands and in-laws’ reactions against their wives: emotional, relational, psychological and socio relational. Husbands’ weak capacity to resist external interference in the couple’s relationship, mismanagement of the couple crisis, and cultural beliefs have caused and determined husbands and in-laws’ acts and attitudes towards their raped wives. Some husbands

emphasised on their intimate interest to blame their wives. The issue of marriage obligation, the faithfulness betrayed by rape was central to men's negative attitudes against their wives.

"He told me that I could better accept to die than being raped by RM" (RSIJ13).

"The first thing that my husband said to me the day I came back was 'where are you coming from? How did you spend all those days there with those rapists?' (RSIJ14).

For men who behaved against their wives, respecting faithfulness is more valuable than their wives' lives. Faithfulness determined husbands' attitudes, despite wives' suffering and hurt, since they care less about their wives' psychological and physical pain and relational alteration. Therefore, husbands' emotional attitudes were hatred, jealousy, shame for faithfulness failure, blame, justification, etc., as rape survivor narrated,

"He said, I will transmit sexual infections to him. The pregnancy I carried as well made him hate me" (RSIJ15).

"My husband hated me. Since, he has been insulting me, threatening to divorce, chasing me away" (RSIJ16).

"He accused me of being the reason that he should divorce me. Saying, 'You are the one who is responsible for my decision'" (RSIJ17).

Men's reactions were also influenced by relatives' advice. The interference of relatives in a couple in crisis incited the husbands to become unprotective and less caring. For husbands, relatives' advice was a priority in order to manage the rape crisis. The interference pressure provided through advice seemed to be stronger than the will and capacity of the husbands to oppose it. It affected the husbands morally and psychologically, and consequently led the couple and their family to split apart. In this case, the voice of husbands as well as the one of wives seemed to be unworthy to surpass and convince relatives' decisions. To satisfy relatives, victimization of rape survivors increased as they reported,

"From his relatives' advice, he finally dumped me and abandoned home. He went to Burega" (RSIJ18),

... "People advised him to divorce me. Because for them spending six months in the jungle, marriage has ceased already, it's over" (RSIJ19)

"While I was in the jungle, his friends and males from his family were advising him to reject me. Telling him 'There are many women out there. You can marry one. If you receive her again, you will be responsible for what will happen to you. That's how he rejected me" (RSIJ20).

Some other reactions were triggered by the traditional cultural beliefs that do not allow the husband to share the same household with a wife who has been raped by the same perpetrators as her biological daughter. As the rape survivors narrated,

"Back home, I explained to my husband that they raped me and my daughter. He chased us away, he sold out the house and quit" (RSIJ21)...

.. "In our culture, is a taboo for a mother and her own daughter to sleep with the same man, or to be raped by the same man. If the husband stays in the house he shouldn't touch anything from his wife even to light fire or smoke a cigarette from his wife's fire, otherwise he will die" (RSIJ22). ...

"It's forbidden for a man whose wife and daughter have been raped by the same man to stay in the same house, to drink water, to eat food to light a cigarette made by the wife" (RSIJ23).

Committing that taboo made the husband run away from the house to avoid his death thus protecting himself. Instead of living under such conditions, husbands preferred to leave the house and go away forever. Thus, cultural beliefs have played a great role in separating the family and split the couple apart forever. Husbands' negative attitudes have been influenced by many factors, from male perception of the issue (including cultural beliefs) to the protection of their social interests. They were squeezed between protecting their wives and/or satisfying external social pressure from their relatives and community, which ended up by sacrificing their own wives. Other men acted by experience from what had happened to their parents. Rape survivors reported, "his father left and abandoned his mother as well. So, there is nothing that astonished me from my husband's behaviour against me" (RSIJ29).

Those who overcame the disturbing attitudes kept their wives and protected them against their own ego and against social pressure. But families-in-law that kept wives' victims did it for the sake of children, who bridged survivors and families-in-law. Rape survivor narrated, "*I negotiated to stay with them as I've got many children from their late son*" (RSIJ30).... "*My father in-law built a cottage for me and my children*" (RSIJ31). For the sake of bringing up children, some in-laws were reluctant to reject their daughter-in-law even though their sons rejected them or had passed away.

c. Husbands and in-law's positive attitudes and acts

In some exceptional cases, some husbands, the two ones as mentioned above, manifested support for their wives despite resistance and opposition from other persons. Strong and brave husbands displayed their capacity to overcome a rape situation in order to maintain their relationship free from disturbance. As narrated some victims about their husband's resistance to the adversity:

"When he knew that I was pregnant, he told me to not be afraid because those FDLR could kill me as well as they did to our daughter. He told me, 'The fact that you are alive, let's keep and accept the situation as it is' (RSIJ29)....

"When I came back home, my husband welcomed me.... and everybody was delighted to see me again. it was a celebration at home even though it did not last" (RSIJ31).

Husbands supporting their wives made their couple and family stable. To do so, a husband had to be emotionally strong enough to help the survivor handle the situation and contribute to speed her trauma healing process.

Overall, husbands planned a way to separate from their wives as soon as they got back home, before knowing if their wives would be released and get home safe or not. The fact that some husbands reacted directly against their wives seemed to be an excuse for husbands to justify their acts against their wives. These justifications freed husbands from their lack of protection from being captured, as mentioned in the previous section. In this way, husbands' attitudes such as complete or harsh separation, abandonment, divorce, punishment and revenge, false accusation, justification for rejection and blame, indifference, and any kind of psychological violence, were exhibited by them, ignoring rape survivors'

trauma, hurt, pain, and need of support at a critical moment after rape. However, those who did not justify their actions made their wives emotionally stable. As a husband belongs to a family, there was interference from the husbands' family in couple issues or in the way married or widowed survivors from rape handled their crisis. In-laws' interference in rape victims' couples.

Exceptional in-laws also played a positive role toward their daughter in-law

"My father in-law was delighted to see me back home. He tried to show my husband how equal we are. He said, 'If it could be you my son who was taken to the jungle, I could thank God as well because you are still alive' (RSIJ12).

There were supportive in-law families which contributed to maintaining couple harmony and family unity. Wise interpellation of family helped to manage the issue without hurting rape survivors, even though they were rejected by their husbands. Families-in-law bridged split families and couples.

Husbands as well as in-laws played an ambiguous role vis-à-vis rape survivors, but most husbands as well as in-laws treated rape survivors in such a way that their feelings of trauma, pain, and any other facts related to rape were increased, sinking rape survivors' hopes of a better life. Many factors can explain husbands' attitudes toward their wives.

d. Married rape survivors' family members attitudes

There were some benefits from relatives, families' care. Married rape survivors who benefited from such care found their lives impacted in diverse aspects like personal, relational, intimate, financial aspects etc. surprisingly, both positive and negative attitudes from relatives have boosted rape survivors' new characteristics like independence, self-reliance, self-confidence, and strengthening their resilience capacity.

"My family encouraged me to come back home. I felt morally strong. They did it by compassion for me" (RSIJ7)...

"It's my family which took care of me. That's why I got married early, after only two years of divorcing my husbands" (RSIJ8)

"As my family built a cottage for me and my children, that allowed my husband to start coming to visit us even if it's a slow frequency of visit" (RSIJ9)...

"My parents, family and neighbours welcomed me very well. My father took care of me. Then seven years later, I got married" (RSIJ10).

Some rape survivors expressed how satisfied they are by the way in which their relatives, family cared for them. The first contact care matters a great deal as it has many advantages in stabilising rape survivors' personal and relational lives. This has facilitated their lives since it helps them to recover. The family's care was the first stage of reconciling couple that had split apart. Care from relatives valued rape survivors and helped them save their dignity. Valuing rape survivors contributed to many advantages, especially the socio-relational one.

“I was warmly welcomed by my neighbours after the rape crisis and after my husband chassed me away. Four days later after giving birth, another man proposed me to get married to him. When my previous husband heard that, he came to negotiate with me if I could go back to my marriage. I did so. Now I have two kids with him...”(RSIJ11).

For rape survivors, care from their families gave them value once more in front of their partners in the community. That value provided an opportunity for them to revive and stabilise their lives through marriage. Other rape survivors experienced a benefit from negative attitudes and acts of their relatives by improving the trend of their lives, not because of positive care, but by facing great challenges from negative attitudes that made them change their mindset. It has made them shift from family’s dependence to auto-reliance.

“Because of lacking care when I came back from the jungle, I was obliged to move from Bukavu residence to Kalonge village with some women who were doing business”... (RSIJ8).

“For me to protect my children as I was rejected, I had to battle to get married and I succeeded to do so. After two years, we had twins. They are 4 years old now”... (RSIJ20).

“For me to survive, I started carrying goods for me to get 1000FC⁵² for food as my husband dumped me and I did search and get support from other people” (RSIJ12).

Despite their health weakness, rape survivors who did not benefit from their families, relatives, husbands, or community’s assistance turned their suffering and rejection into positive decision to act to overcome their challenges. Thus, they showed how negative attitudes and behaviour against them can encourage and be transformed from excluded people to independent and self-reliant for their own protection and that of their offspring.

Thus, the first support from relatives, families, and the community to rape survivors after a rape crisis contributed to whether rape survivors’ personal and relational life was enhanced or weakened, depending on the way they approached them. Some rape survivors have improved their lives because of the strong support from their relatives and community, creating opportunities from their relational advantages. However, those who were rejected and did not benefit from family and community assistance have had their pain reinforced, since the first hope of relying on families was broken. Some have turned challenges into advantages that have transformed their lives, not only relationally but also touching other aspects of life like financial independence, self-protection, and strengthening solidarity among women.

6.2.2 Ambiguous community interference toward rape survivors: management of first contact

Following rape incidence, the first contacts with rape survivors both single and married appeared to be confronted to ambiguous attitude of the community, negative attitudes and positive acts. In fact, there

⁵² 1000FC (Congolese currency) equivalent to 0.5\$

was no general, no single and identical response to all rape survivors: attitudes are complex, involving many layers. Rape survivors described their experiences while getting in touch with people in their neighbourhood and the way this situation has been handled at the community setting. The first impression from community reaction was confusing as rape survivors could experience concomitantly both positive and negative attitude and behaviour from the community.

“Some people consoled me, but some other were criticising me” (RSIJ11)...

“Some felt pity for me, other undermined me. Some others hated me” (RSIJ12)...

“People from the community hate me as I was taken to jungle” (RSIJ13)... “People accused me of having HIV/AIDS. They were avoiding me to avoid being contaminated” (RSIJ14)...

“They attempted to chase me from the area as I was already pregnant from perpetrators” (RSIJ15)... “People were mocking me saying ‘Behold, that’s the Hutu wife who was taken to the jungle’” (RSIJ16)...

“People criticised me as the husband dumped and rejected me. Instead of helping me, they used to say ‘I’m not your husband to help you. He has dumped you; he is the one who is supposed to help you’ (RSIJ17)...

They were not easily helping me ... They did not tolerate me to get help from them” (RSIJ18)...

“People discouraged men to approach me telling them ‘She is not a wife who deserves to be married’ (RSIJ19), ... “Men said as I came from the jungle, no man will date or marry me” (RSIJ7)...

“They were telling me that ‘No one will marry her... “Men were saying who else can date me while my own husband has abandoned me?” (RSIJ10).... “Those who knew my rape issue incited my husband to get rid of and dump me” (RSIJ20).

Community responses gave both sympathetic and indifferent attitudes which were emotional support for some and psychological suffering for others. Sentiments like hate, wrongful accusation, rejection of the victims, and exclusion as community sanction, developed from the community’s bitter experience of the fatal rape crisis in which everyone has been victim somehow. The fact that rape survivors appeared to be symbolizing the crimes committed by rapists against their community, has an effect on their perception. Men are the primary triggers of attitudes that differ between different categories of individuals.

.... “I was considered as men’s enemy as I was raped by male enemies of the community... As such, I didn’t have the right to live in their community” (RSIJ6)....

“They were calling me *Interamwen*, concubine, (RSIJ9)...

Men’s attitudes towards rape survivors were like a contagion going from closer relatives to further members of the community. Generally, men considered rape survivors as their enemies and those of all the community, as they had been raped by their enemies. For this reason, rejection, exclusion, indifference, accusation, negative prediction, etc. were at the heart of men’s attitudes, expression and language justifying their attitudes. The incrimination of women as enemies of men and community was a justification for punishing and excluding rape survivors from the community, making them feel guilty of male wrongdoing, a way of modelling rape survivors’ mindsets.

Despite the dominant negative attitudes trend against rape survivors, community members were often supportive, attempting to play the role of mediator, trying to manage first contact shock between rape survivors and their families, in-law or biological, through negotiation and community self-care. As such, they were taking charge of the survivors’ reintegration process. For this, some used any fitting way for the whole community to feel comfortable with them. Community commitment was seen while negotiating with families

to reintegrate survivors into their families or into their in-laws' families. They have played the role of "punishment cancellation" to make rape survivors being accepted. Rape survivors narrated,

"In the community some people negotiated with my in-laws to take me back to their family" (RSIJ32)...

"They pleaded to reintegrate me into my in-law family for me to take care of my children, convincing them about my innocence, as I was guiltless from the death of my husband. They agreed to take me back" (RSIJ1)...

"My neighbours welcomed me and kept me to their home until when I gave birth" (RSIJ2).

Even though community members played an ambiguous role for and against victims at the same time, they contributed to bridging the gap between families and victims by wiping away victims' guilt and pleading for their innocence in order to allow rape survivors to feel comfortable at their first contact with their families.

6.2.3 Challenging institutional health care offered to rape survivors

Due to their poor health condition when they returned from the jungle, rape survivors had to receive medical assistance from institutions, but this has been limited for a number of reasons, including a lack of knowledge about the importance of health care, a lack of facilities in their environment and community, a lack of family support and financial resources, and a lack of motivation on the part of the rape survivors themselves to seek medical attention obstructed by the trauma caused by the rape incident. In this instance, there are two different types of rape survivors: those who received no medical attention and those who did get. Many rape survivors did not receive the required medical care, motivating some to use the traditional medical practices.

"I got no medical treatment as no one helped me to get medication" (RSIJ21)...

"I didn't go to hospital as I didn't know that I should get medical care" (RSIJ22)... "I didn't get any medical care. I only noticed that I was pregnant" (RSIJ23)...

"I didn't get any medical treatment as I did not care about it" (RSIJ1)...

"In my family, they told me that they don't have money to take me to the hospital" (RSIJ2)... "At that time people were looted almost every day. Because of that, they couldn't take me to

hospital. That's why I am still up to the present afraid for my physical health" (RSIJ3)...

"I didn't get any medical care. I was treated traditionally, with leaves from the bush" (RSIJ4)...

"But, after the second rape, I didn't go back again to hospital" (RSIJ5).

Rape survivors who did not get medical assistance have faced many issues. Some did not get it because of their families' poverty which prevented them from getting treated. As such, nothing could be done apart from resorting to traditional treatment, which was uncertain and risky to their health. Some were reluctant to get medical care as they ignored how relevant the assistance was for their health; this was especially true in the areas where there was no awareness, or a vulgarization of the importance of medical care after rape occurs. This is the reason some were surprised by the state of their health. Others consciously refused to get medical assistance because of the danger of the area and long distances to get to hospital. Rape survivors also were not willing to get treatment for emotional reasons.

“Back home, I found myself in a worse physical condition, unattractive” (RSIJ13)... “Because of shame and humiliation, I couldn’t search for medical assistance. I gave birth without any medical assistance” (RSIJ14)... “Felt alone as I went through many worse criticisms” (RSIJ15)

Some feelings affecting their decision comes from rape survivors’ emotions like shame conditioning their moods and reactions. They were angry, desperate, and disappointed by the rape experience, which made them completely indifferent to medical assistance. To get medical assistance, women’s solidarity played a great role, as most of them were encouraged by other women, whether from family or by encouragement between rape survivors themselves or from women community leaders, and if the accessibility to medical centres allowed them to be assisted.

“My maternal aunt took me to hospital. I got an ambulant treatment for 3 days” (RSIJ6)...

“I went to Panzi hospital in Bukavu and met Dr. Mukwege for treatment” (RSIJ7)...

“Nabintu, a survivor who benefited from Panzi hospital health care, took us to the hospital”. “My daughter was seriously sick from the rape issue. ... “I took her to Panzi hospital for treatment” (RSIJ8)...

“After being raped for the second time, I went back to hospital last year as I started leaking from my vagina” (RSIJ9).

Even though general attitudes were negative, some have been affected by a positive attitude from those who care about them, such as a medical doctor. Some rape survivors keep expressing their gratitude to the one who took care of them, “*God bless Dr. Mukwege. I could have died if he couldn’t assist me medically. He treated me. He saved me from death*” (RSIJ19). That feeling of gratitude positively affected rape survivors. Some of those who were assisted medically, were advised to terminate pregnancies got from rape, but none of respondents who attended our research agreed to do so. Their final decision was to keep their babies up to delivery as they narrated:

“Panzi medical doctors advised me to have an abortion. I refused to do it because of my Christian faith” (RSIJ10)...

“They respected my will and decision. They asked me to come back to collect my baby clothes when I would be about to give birth. I did so and got them” (RSIJ11)...

“The test showed that I was pregnant. Medical doctors advised me to abort but I refused” (RSIJ12).

Most of rape survivors flatly refused to abort because of their belief. As Christians, they could not allow it as for them that equalled to sin. Hence, medical doctors were encouraging them to respect their beliefs and keep their babies.

In addition, those who received medical assistance at hospitals such as Panzi benefited from a holistic treatment to heal them not only physically but also psychologically, and to train them on an economic activity (like making handcraft).. This served to prepare their socio-economic reintegration in their community.

“I learnt handmade stuffs, like baskets. The reward was to keep the handmade article if I succeeded to make it” (RSIJ13)...

“Back home, I didn’t continue making baskets due to the lack of money to keep the activity ongoing” (RSIJ14)...

“After being discharged from Panzi hospital, Panzi psychologists came here to my home to do a follow up on my health, three times” (RSIJ15).

The duration of medical assistance depended on the severity of the rape survivors' state, which went from ambulatory to being admitted to hospital for weeks to months. The long process of treatment allowed those who were in severe and critical health state to benefit from some socio-economic training as mentioned below. The supplementary training contributed to the healing process of victims after being discharged from the hospital. However, most of them failed to keep the activity going despite the follow-up that was done by social workers in their community. They have become unproductive and did not benefit from the training, as the activity was interrupted because of lacking means. Not only did the training not help them as much as expected, but also the relapse and repetitive rape against some made them permanently sick.

The first medical assistance was encouraged by women in the community. Women were at forefront of encouraging rape survivors to get medical assistance. In this way, they were contributing to their healing process, which made a difference between those who got medical assistance and those who did not; this second category, apart from the weak state of their health, were living under the stress of health uncertainty.

Hence, first contact between rape survivors, their family members and people in the community has produced unexpected reactions depending on each social group and individual. If some accepted survivors naturally, others were reluctant to welcome and accept rape survivors' reintegration into their social groups. Families have mostly been the platform for nurturing rape survivors, but most households have been reluctant to provide space for rape survivors' reintegration into their marriages. The general trend in all cases of family, household, and community shows that rape survivors have been rejected.

6.3 Ambiguous support offered to rape survivors in their early social reintegration

Process

The quality of support offered to rape survivors both married and single has determined their feeling of belonging early in their first stage of social reintegration process. Rape survivors' feelings of belonging in the early period following rape were disturbed by external attitudes towards them. Most single rape survivors got benefits from their biological families' care and of being accepted at the beginning of their social reintegration process but only a small number of married rape survivors was accepted by their biological families, husbands, and in-laws. Most married rape survivors were rejected by their husbands and in-laws. This has influence on their oneself feelings.

6.3.3 Families' and husbands' support to enhance rape survivors' feeling of belonging

6.3.3.1 Family effort to socially reintegrate rape survivors

The first contact of most single rape survivors and small number of married rape survivors after being held hostage in the jungle, has been the joyful moment of the family who considered their daughters or

relatives as heroes, except some rejection. It created much happiness for their family members who did not hesitate to welcome them, showing the meaning of family. This was the first emotional and psychological support for rape survivors. Fingerman and Bermann (2000: 5) state the “family milieu plays a central role in emotional and physical well-being across the lifespan”; it is a systemic bond that maintains family members together, providing support whether in good times or in hard crisis times. Some rape survivors’ families have played their role in welcoming and accepting their daughters after rape adversity. Family attitude has been justified by the rule that “what each person does affects every other person, and the chain is set off” (Christie-Seely 1985: 8). Families felt indebted, and responsible for fulfilling their obligations to care for and protect their daughters who are rape survivors. Even though they themselves were affected by what happened to their daughters, they did not reject them. Family problems result from the way family members relate to one another and not from the behaviour of one person. This is justified by the level of family resilience to face and deal with adversity.

Resilience is considered as an ability or trait, or as a process or outcome, depending on the scholar’s orientation. It is the ability to withdraw and rebound from disruptive life challenges (Walsh 2003a: 1). As trait, family resilience sees the protective factor as the primary key for the family to survive and rise from adversity. “This protective factor is found within the family, in the form of positive traits that can encourage families to rise out of the crisis” (Suryanto and Handoyo 2017: 43), with the family’s ability to encourage individual resilience a mechanism that leads to resilience (Gianesini 2011). Resilient families came out of the crisis, bounced back, and found a way forward to establish unwritten and spontaneous norms that encouraged rape survivors to start the new journey of being reaccepted. The process began with their family’s attitude of welcoming and accepting them back into their families after being challenged by rape crisis, even though not all the family was unanimous about their reacceptance. Patterson (2002: 352) argues that “to be considered family resilience, the outcome of interest should be at the family system level, where a minimum of two family members are involved; that is, it should represent the product of family relationship(s)”. Hence, although some rape survivors received less support from some family members for health care due to lacking opportunity to access modern health care, some mothers or female relatives resorted to traditional treatment to cure their loved one. This support produced emotional and psychological effects on rape survivors who felt from the beginning of their reacceptance process that they were welcome into their families. The strong willingness of some family members to overcome adversities was one of the antecedents of family resilience, as well as the two other sources, “the perceived sense of disequilibrium and the spirituality, religious beliefs or shared belief systems” (Oh and Chang 2014: 984). This aspect has made some families strong enough to bear the consequences of keeping rape survivors with them. These antecedents also played a great role in rape survivors’ lives, when they displayed a sense of individual resilience in the face of some family members’ reluctance, scepticism, and opposition to their reacceptance in the family after the adversity.

The fact that some rape survivors who were accepted back into their families benefitted from emotional and psychological assistance, boosted their sense of belonging, central to connecting them to their social network, will be developed further. Rape survivors have acknowledged the early benefit obtained from the positive attitude of their families in welcoming and accepting their social reintegration. For them, family functions played a great role in their lives at their first contact after rape adversity. The above family functions and the resilience of their families in accepting them have been emotional and psychological factors in relieving their pain and speeding restoration of their relationships and ended up by transforming rape survivors' narratives of themselves, the beginning of the post-traumatic growth process. Rape survivors being accepted into their families has been considered as a start-up process to connect them to other people in the extended family.

If most single rape survivors and minority of married rape survivors have at a certain level received the first care from their biological families, most married rape survivors have suffered their first contact reintegration.

6.3.3.2 Pathetic support to married rape survivors

Many couples clashed at their first encounter after rape. However, a minority of couples managed the shock of the first emotional encounter after rape crisis. Many married women were taken to the jungle for several weeks or months, being raped by rebels or militias. Back home, they had to face new challenges of being reaccepted by their husbands. The issue of honour was at the heart of couples confrontation.

Honour is perceived as multifaced, either related to an individual, a family or partner, gender, and so on. It is a cultural matter that differs from one culture to another. My opinion does not include arguments on honour culture (Nawata 2020) but is limited to honour as a masculine value in a patriarchal society. In social psychology, Cohen and colleagues like Rodriguez Mosquera (2013) pioneered research on honour, examining how honour influences emotions. In fact, in a gendered perspective on honour, relationship involves the importance of male and female sexual purity for honour. As argues Mosquera (2013), in many other cultures, female sexuality is viewed as an index of a male's relative honour. Perceived as male sexuality honour and male property, rape of women, especially of a married woman is seen as a betraying act towards their "owner" husbands; for single women, it is seen as tarnishing family honour which causes emotions motivating men to apply psychological violence against rape survivors, expressed through rejection. Confrontation of couples, between in-laws and their daughters' in-law trying to safeguard their reputation and the avoidance of shame of their families due to rape has produced the attitude of rejection towards rape survivors in their early encounters with their families and partners.

Unfortunately, emotionally, in-laws' families and partners applied aggression displacement from their enemies, the sex offenders that they were no longer able to confront, upon their wives and daughters' in-law. They vented their anger, but upon their daughters and wives, and trivialized the assault and made rape survivors feel mocked, humiliated, teased, and uncomfortable, not respecting their privacy. They expressed their outrage and shock by attacking rape survivors, treating them as source of shame. Married rape survivors felt accused, guilty of rape, and bearing the responsibility for the sex offence, therefore escalating their tension, and intensifying their trauma. Constrained to feel ashamed for either betraying their husbands or for tarnishing their family reputation, the effects lasted after the first contact. Some current literature has investigated and examined the extent to which "shame is a long lasting emotional consequence of sexual abuse" (Feiring and Taska 2005: 344). This shows how the effect of the chock of rape and of the first reactive rejective attitude of husbands and families have influenced the increase their trauma and reinforce lasting negative emotions, depending on the way the situation is handled.

Common challenge between married and single rape survivors: Some other attitudes have hindering rape survivors' acceptance. Wrong blame upon rape survivors which has activated unjustified guilt of rape survivors have wrongly guided husbands, partners, and families to reject their relatives. Most married women rape survivors and small number of single rape survivors were rejected early on their return from the jungle, the site of rape. They were blamed for being raped, an attitude that displays families' and partners' accusation due to their direct relationship which had been tarnished by rape. This attitude of shame-accusation, blame-guilt becomes therefore central, hindering efforts of family, relatives, and partners to accept rape survivors from their first encounter after rape occurred. From their narrative, the blame attitude displayed to them caused rejection of rape survivors as still being too weak to resist the decisions of their family, relatives or partners of getting rid of them. This is due to the relationship linking rape survivors to relatives, families, and husbands who are indirect rape victims, also affected by the rape incident, as argues Atkinson (2008: 2): "rape does not only affect the woman, but also her family, friends, and other loved ones". Thus, their reaction while meeting for the first time after rape occurred differs, and is mostly negative, turning into blame, for instance.

Blame is defined as "an intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging" (Bhuptani et al. 2019: 1227). Measured by the level of rape survivors' responsibility, blame tended to accuse them of being exposed purposely, and contributing by their attitude and actions to be raped or sexually assaulted. The blame and accusation did not consider the specific context in which rape occurred, wartime rape. They are primary based on antecedents that come from many sources, such as individual situational factors like the characteristics of the assault and victims being depicted as easily manipulated, investigated, less resistant, etc. (van der Bruggen and Grubb 2014). Societal and institutional antecedent factors, which refer to broader cultural influences such as gender roles, media, and rhetoric surrounding sexual assault, have contributed to an overall

environment promoting and increasing blame of rape survivors (Gravelin, Biernat and Bucher 2019). These factors are driven by the acceptance of a rape myth culture, perpetuated by the media, the criminal justice system, and “rape prevention” tips (Mantak 1995; Morrison et al. 2004; Campbell and Wasco 2005; Lonsway et al. 2009; Cherniawsky and Morrison 2020). The antecedents’ information on rape and sexual assault were not well adapted to the new context of wartime rape in which families were caught. The blame antecedents, under which lens rape survivors are seen and judged, is mostly adapted to peacetime. However, the current type of sexual assault that rape survivors go through in wartime, which contributed to the continued tendency to blame them, was ignored by families and partners, which led partners and families to threaten rape survivors.

Literature on sexual assault appears to also ignore the difference between peacetime and wartime rape. When scholars like Gravelin, Biernat and Bucher (2019) state the type of rape victim that is least likely to be blamed for their assault, they name victims of stranger rape. Yet, wartime sexual assault also can be classified as sexual assault committed by strangers. Lacking balance and differentiation in the context in which rape occurred, and the confusing influence of rape information antecedents as mentioned above, has made the acceptance of rape survivors challenging from the very beginning of their encounter after rape. Our findings displayed how the only judgement assigned to rape survivors was blame, despite their innocence, their resistance and the criminal approach used by perpetrators to capture them for rape as developed in previous chapter Five (such as psychological issues, terror that perpetrators inflicted on girls and women during war, tools used to constrain and submit victims to rape like guns, knife, etc.). Unfortunately, the influence of the antecedents did not help many partners and families change their perception from blaming attitudes to exemption of blame. Furthermore, partners and families did not consider their responsibility as protectors which would have made them fulfil their functions at the time their female relatives were in danger of rape or while being captured for rape. Instead, many families harshly rejected their daughters and partners who were victims of rape as their saw their reputation being tarnished by rape. Partners and families preferred protecting their honour and reputation, which seemed to be more important than granting space to their rape survivor relatives.

Hence, since their first contact with their partners, most married rape survivors faced resistance to being reaccepted into their families and households, which has influence upon people in the community to have an ambiguous attitude against or for them. Lacking the means to balance their blame and accusation, this has turned up against rape survivors overcharged by negative feelings of self-condemnation and guilt (Feiring and Taska 2005), increased by the interference of other people, such as in-laws.

6.3.3.3 Resilient husbands’ effort to support their wives rape survivors

The rare brave, resilient husbands that granted acceptance to their wives and kept them in marriages and households showed a strong ability to overcome the adversity and kept families united. In this

context, family functions can be understood under the circumplex model of marital and family systems based on family interaction. The Circumplex Model of Olson conceptualises flexibility, cohesion and communication skills as three central variables that define family interactions (Sanders, Bell and Adelaide 2011). Findings indicate that households who accepted married rape survivor women did so according to husbands' resistance to external threats to reject their wives. However, the level of cohesiveness as well as the flexibility of the husband was coupled to their level of resilience in managing the situation. Marital and family cohesiveness or togetherness is defined as the emotional bonding family members have towards one another, and under the circumplex model, it also means boundaries, coalitions, time, space, friends, decision-making, interests and recreation (Olson 2000). Husbands, indirect victims of rape, who displayed high level of cohesiveness, were emotionally strong enough to balance separateness and togetherness to find a mid-ground to protect their wives and offer them the emotional support that they needed at the time of their first encounter with their children and other family members. This support also showed how their husbands prepared themselves to be flexible to adapt themselves to the new situation, that their wives and all the family went through. Husbands made their family flexible to the situation and accepting of the situation and prepared to cope with it. As traditional leaders of families, husbands balanced also between stability and change to protect the cohesiveness of their family against any chaos that could occur to the family system, which attitude led to flexibility in relationship rules made possible by a higher level of consensus.

The individual level of resilience, the "capacity to maintain competent functioning in the face of major life stressors" (Kaplan *et al.* 1996: 158) of the father or the husband and his ability to lead and maintain cohesiveness through adversity influenced the entire family to shift from the chaos that rape crisis brought to the family towards or normalization of the situation (stable family). The balance and maintenance of the middle position between a stable and chaotic family can be seen as a consequence of family resilience, understood as acceptance of the situation, changed life perspectives, enhanced relationship qualities, reinforced resilient properties, and improved health-related outcomes (Oh and Chang 2014). Husbands' acceptance of the situation was a strong energy to stabilise their relationships with their rape survivor wives and maintain the togetherness of the entire family, was affected by their perception of the crisis and the way to handle it. Most husbands' first words to welcome rape survivor wives, for instance, were such as, "As you are alive, that is the most important thing I need"; "Let's keep our relationship away from this situation"; "Let us accept the situation and move on"; "Don't be afraid even though you got pregnant from FDRL. We will sort it out". These narratives from rape survivors prove the level of some husbands' resilience to cope with rape adversity which were encouraging attitudes that made rape survivors feel accepted.

Other married rape survivors who did not get the chance to be protected and accepted in their early period after rape crisis were protected by their in-laws, mostly fathers-in-law, who defended their right to be granted space in in-law families. In-laws' positive attitude in accepting their daughters-in-law had

a great impact on household harmony as it maintained couple, household, and family stability, and protected mother rape survivors with their children. Furthermore, it allowed the couple, victims of rape and the rest of the family to improve the quality of their relationship, avoiding falling into a chaotic situation of family separation, and therefore reinforcing family capacity to bounce back. Positive attitude of families and partners displayed in terms of acceptance, was the opening-up process, a key factor in rape survivors' reintegration, and their first stage to reconnecting with other people outside their families.

6.3.4 Rape survivors' responses to ambivalent support in early social reintegration process

There is a positive correlation between rape survivors' feelings and families' attitudes, husbands' attitudes – whether positive or negative, supportive or rejective. Those attitudes produced consequences for rape survivors from the very beginning of their encounter, their social reintegration process which is whether a transformative like posttraumatic growth process or a deteriorating process worsening their trauma healing process or disrupting their social reintegration process.

In fact, rape survivors, both married and single, who have benefited from the support of resilient families and resilient husbands saw themselves *re-interconnected* into the family system, gaining *confidence* to start their lives afresh, which impacted positively their *view* of life as different *resources* were also available to them. *Communication* and *collaboration* among family members and between partners contributed to *solving most of their problems* related to their social reintegration. From the literature, those six attributes are interrelated and embedded in families' patterns of function (Oh and Chang 2014). Nor did the first contact demonstrating positive attitudes to rape survivors grant them acceptance (which plays a large role to the beginning of their social reintegration process), but this was also one of the key components in their recovery and the process of healing trauma, as many could not benefit from medical assistance. In this regard, positive family care produced a positive impact on rape survivors.

Surprisingly for others, a rejective attitude to rape survivors boosted a transformative process towards self-initiative to start the process of social reintegration. Feeling unsupported by family members and husbands, the emptiness positively motivated some of them to care about themselves. Negative first contact impressions and negative attitudes towards them therefore caused them to rethink and understand their new lifestyle and to project a plan for a step forward. The change of their narrative from negative to positive, from confused to an understanding and reception of the situation to resume their lives, can be understood as the beginning of a post-traumatic growth process. This is a positive change after adversity, which process started from the belief that rape survivors had to convince themselves and as they were the only support for themselves. Theories like the Transformational Model (Tedeschi and Calhoun 2004) and Organismic Valuing (Joseph and Linley 2005) have demonstrated, with regards to rape survivors, that positive change could start within the 2 weeks following rape adversity, and its highest level of change can be seen within 12 months (Joseph and Butler 2010). This

could explain how it is possible that some rape survivors with low levels of depression from the early period after rape adversity have got into a positive change process boosted by a rejective attitude and also by the level of spirituality of rape survivors (Linley and Joseph 2004; Joseph 2009). If acceptance is among the key factors that lead to positive change and posttraumatic growth, our study shows that rejection has been proved to be among the key factors driving positive change

However, most rape survivors' respondents acknowledged being badly affected by blame and accusation that put responsibility for the rape onto them. This produced negative effects in their way of perceiving themselves from the very beginning of their social reintegration process into their families and communities. Yet, reaction differed from one rape survivor to another. For some, a bad attitude, and a feeling of rejection at the time they came from the rape sites intensified their fragility. For instance, blame put on girls who lost their virginity made them feel unvalued, and tarnished, and that their femininity had vanished; they therefore struggled to create an environment that could allow them to boost their energy toward social reintegration process. The first contact after rape was determining their future attitude and action to connect to their new lifestyle of rape survivors.

6.4 Conclusion

The first contact, the two first weeks following rape survivors' arrival in their families, household, community from the jungled capture site was a crucial moment that determined their position to start social reintegration process. This has been influenced by attitudes and acts from their relatives, families, husbands, in-laws, community. This was a challenging process for rape survivors due to the fact of interacting with their relatives who are same time indirect victims of rape. Being in such position and trying to handle family system functions were two factors that were clashing.

Despite the fact that the level of support, weak or strong, was determining the feeling of belonging for all, having at a certain level common issue, each category of rape survivors has its own challenges. If most single rape survivors were granted space to be welcome to their families, only a small number of married rape survivors got opportunity to get support from their biological families, supported also by a very small number of their husbands and in-laws. Those ones have benefitted from family care, resilient husband support which not only prepared them to confront the new lifestyle after rape, feel accepted and being factor of unifying family cohesiveness but also opened a way to enhancing, speeding their healing process up to getting through their posttraumatic growth process soon.

Most married rape survivors and small number of single rape survivors have experienced rejection and ambiguous attitudes from their families and community. Married rape survivors additionally have faced a great challenge from their husbands, and in-laws. Rape survivors have experienced displacement

aggression in their early stage of social reintegration from their relatives, family members, husbands, etc., Reason being, the protection of their honour tarnished by rape of their relatives has influence their attitude blaming rape survivors which in turn negatively affected their feelings. Negatively affected, they saw their lives and their first contact moment being disrupted by threat-like rejection.

Community has played an ambiguous role, concomitantly as mediator to support the acceptance of some rape survivors in their early first contact with their families and husbands, a unifying and stabilisation role that benefitted rape survivors, or increasing rape survivors pain affected by their negative attitudes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RAPE SURVIVORS' FEELINGS OF BELONGING IN THEIR LATER AND CURRENT SOCIAL REINTEGRATION PROCESSES

7.1 Introduction

This is the continuation of the conflict transformation theories' second lens applied to the preceding chapter, to which the third lens has been added in order to grasp and explain issues beyond the present situation. In this chapter, it is relevant to not only see beyond the immediate situation but from the deep understanding of the immediate and beyond the immediate situation, to connect the present to the past situation to envision possibility and alternative of devising creative solutions for change toward social cohesion (Lederach and Maiese 2009) (see the intervention on chapter Ten). In order to bring about positive change in the lives of rape survivors as well as in their social interactions, the problem is therefore explained using the dimensions of social cohesiveness. Dimensions of social cohesion theory employed here are sentiments of belonging, solidarity or support and safety including their sub-themes. Many more concepts that were utilised to understand the problem and develop future plans for the social reintegration process came from these phrases. Among those concepts there are attitude, and behaviours, the most relevant. Attitude refers to feelings, beliefs and reactions of an individual towards an event, phenomenon, objects or person (Olufemi 2012), and behaviour being one of the component of attitude.

This chapter is composed by two sections, the late experience, and the current experience of rape survivors towards their social reintegration process. The subsequent experience of rape survivors is categorised as occurring between the third week of their family's arrival and one year later, with the two-week issue being covered in the previous chapter Six. This is the normal period for the trauma healing process which goes from some weeks up to one year as Joseph and Butler (2010) assert, positive change could start within the 2 weeks following rape and reach a high level of change within 12 months, except in complex cases of rape. Given that these rape cases are complex and that the mothers of children involved face challenges, the late experience considers problems that the mothers rape survivors have faced for more than ten years. Confrontations in their interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions are at their peak during this time of their life. It was clear that more actors, including community leaders, must be involved in a thorough investigation of the issue because the indications of rape survivors' cohesiveness are still low after more than ten years. Based on their participation to

the trauma healing process and the progression of their social reintegration, the current experience is solution oriented.

The current chapter and the late feeling of belonging should be differentiated from the earlier and previous chapter. In terms of content of the stages and structures, the main difference between the two chapters (Six-earlier stage, and Seven-later and current stage) is time, the key factor. The problem has gained fresh understanding as time has progressed from the end of the earlier stage up to the current stage. For instance, the problem of pregnancy had not yet been well understood, and the effects had not yet been felt in the first two weeks following rape survivors' arrival from jungle. As time went on, the severity of the effects worsened steadily. Because this chapter is the continuation of stages, time expansion and new discoveries have drastically changed the structure of chapter Seven, making it distinct from the previous chapter Six, but connected to each other due to the commonality of the term share, the dimension of social cohesion applied to both chapters, feelings of belonging.

Whereas chapter six focused on how external attitudes and actions were primarily directed at rape survivors during their first two weeks, a time when they were building up a lot of stress, accumulating emotional chock experienced with fewer reactions, chapter Seven places more emphasis on how rape survivors' feelings are affected by external factors and how they reacted to them, as opposed to just how those external factors affect their feelings. In other words, while chapter seven revealed the feelings, sense of belonging and reactions of rape survivors themselves, chapter six has been structured as a latent formation of feelings of belonging that emerged later, therefore focused more on how rape survivors were subjected to external conditions that worsened their earlier social reintegration process without responding much to those external influences.

Feeling of belonging in the later social reintegration stage has been complexing because of the higher number of actors involved in their process of social reintegration and many issues around rape both old and emerging ones. To say more, the duration of the stage, the depth of actor engagement, the level or severity of the sense of belonging disrupted, and the response of rape survivors are the four primary factors that distinguish the two stages of rape survivors' social reintegration (the earlier and the later). The prior phase lasted for only two weeks. The latter stage lasts up to ten years or longer. The number of individuals involved in the process and the difficulties that arise also serve to distinguish the two stages. Rape survivors typically deal with their immediate family members and indirect victims like family members, neighbours, or friends in the early stage. The extent of actors, however, takes place on a wide scale in their later stages and can be divided into existing (family, in-laws, neighbours, community, etc.) and emerging actors (children born from rape and their abusers). Intensity of rape survivors' sense of belonging, which was in latent formation, accumulated at their earlier stage, are more manifested, pronounced in their later stage, influenced therefore by their complex configuration.

Rape survivors have now stated their opinions and responded to outside attitudes as they are judged and viewed through the prism of society as this has been developed throughout this chapter.

To make this appears clearly, categorization of rape survivors has been done under rape survivors having children born from rape and those who did not have them as a result of rape. This is because the birth of children born from rape and their grow started rising issues of their existence over time against themselves (see chapter 8) and against their mothers. This introduces into the chapter difficulties that are specific to rape survivors who have children born from rape and their offspring as well as issues that are common to all rape survivors in their late and current stage of social reintegration. The moms' efforts to recuperate from their trauma and reintegrate into society have been hampered by the presence of those kids. This categorisation is also justified because among single rape survivors there are also those who had children as result of rape.

Hence, the chapter outlines the common problems experienced by both rape survivors who have children born as result of rape and those who do not. They are all faced with the following realities: rape survivors' experiences of oneself feelings and that rape survivors have of living in their environment as rape survivors; the disruption of their interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships as a result of rape issues. Due to a lack of strong support or a lack of solidarity in their living environment, these have an impact on their safety and generate insecurity on many levels, including the physical, interpersonal, and economical. Additionally, specific concerns have been expressed on behalf of rape survivors whose children born from rape have suffered maltreatment, therefore affecting mothers' feeling of belonging, a burden for the mothers. This is expressed in terms of how children are mistreated because of their identity, gender, and traditional behaviours that discriminate against children born through rape. The ownership of their children who were born via rape, mothers' attachment, and the effort to ingrain them into their family kinship structure for their protection are just a few of the ways women have found ways to get through and find safety in the face of this hardship.

7.2 Rape survivors' feeling of belonging in their later social reintegration process

7.2.1 Rape survivors' feelings of self in their living environment

Feeling of self belongs to the first level of feeling of belonging as mentioned in the introductory part of chapter Six. Both those who have children born from rape and those who do not, they have acquired feelings that shape perspectives on themselves because they were involved in such event and feedback received from their living environment. This has made them reactive to external factors as from some weeks up to years, they have been going through the challenges.

7.2.1.1 Rape survivors' feelings of self

Rape survivors' feelings of self is a complex issue as they perceive themselves through the lens and perception of society, and rarely through their own feelings. If personal, relational, emotional, psychological, social, material, and financial suffering are for the majority the key factors that have protracted weak feelings and complicated rape survivors' attitudes to handling their steps toward social reintegration, other small number of rape survivors have turned them into opportunity to feel fit into their environment. When answering the questions "How can you tell yourself who you are after this incident? How do you feel being involved in such a situation?", most rape survivors referred to a poor quality of life after rape.

Negative feelings of self-wrecking rape survivors: Rape survivors see themselves as being in the last social class of society: The left behind, the left over:

"I feel as if I'm at the last rank of social classes. Because of rape, I lost my marriage and my previous husband keeps undermining me. When he sees me, he throws his saliva on me, ... there is lack of respect to me" (RSIJ1),

... "I feel I am at the last position in my community, without any value and utility" (RSIJ2),

... "*Ntako bwenene*⁵³! I'm nothing, and there is nothing I can do to change it. I've become a vagrant" (RSIJ3)...

"Nothing! I feel like someone who does not have any place to go to get refuge, a vagrant" (RSIJ4),

... "I feel like I'm nothing, means I'm like a dead person. I have no one to help me, a dead person is better because he is calm" (RSIJ5)...

"I hate myself, I'm the last on the earth as I've been abandoned and I'm still the caretaker of the burdens of every need of the house" (RSIJ6)

... "Nothing! Nothing at all! I feel as if I'm not on this earth. My husband does not care about me. He chases me away from his house every day. I have neither a farm nor a house... I don't have peace, a place to live, not stable, not a place to cultivate, all those things disturb me" (RSIJ7).

Rape survivors' self-perception is still weak. The fact of not being valued has made them classify themselves among the least considered in their community. This is due to external attitudes against them, making them feel that they have lost relevant values like respect, consideration, a sense of being useful, self-esteem, etc. Rape survivors blame this negative feeling on rape, if it has led to their lives being worse: "*I realise that rape was the beginning of all my suffering, an aggravation of a never-ending suffering*" (RSIJ7). Rape survivors pay attention to social relations, the lack of which was interpreted by them as not being valued. Survivors' self-hatred has many sources, like lack of support, which affected their personal feelings, intensified by external attitudes. It makes survivors isolated, feeling useless, as they are incapable of taking care of themselves and their dependants on their own, etc. The harsh feeling of rejection and marginalization reinforces their worry, frustration, and self-hatred from external attitudes against them. Not only did rape survivors have negative feelings at a relational, social level, but also personally: rape survivors' feelings determined their value and influenced perception of their identity.

"I feel being nothing. I ask myself if I'm a human being among others or not?" (RSIJ8)

... "I feel like I'm not a human being among others. I don't feel fitting to be in the human race" (RSIJ9)

⁵³ Ntako bwenene! From Shi this is translated as "nothing at all!"

... “I see as if a dead person is valued, I’m less than a dead person” (RSIJ10)... “I start realising that I’m another kind of human being because of my suffering linked to rape. A feeling of being another kind of human being” (RSIJ11)...

“I see myself very miserable compared to other women. I don’t see myself as a human being, as others” (RSIJ12).

At personal level, rape survivors see themselves as another version of themselves, different from a normal human being. This personal feeling is embedded in their mind, making them lose their identity, and confused in defining who exactly they are after rape, doubting their real nature as a human being and their femininity. Statements like, “I don’t see myself as a human being like others”, “less than a dead person”, and “not fitting to be in the human race” can tell how profoundly are affected in their own feelings. This alters their levels of self-trust and confidence and they become suspicious of other people: “*When I meet one group or people speaking, I think they are saying something about me, or criticising me*” (RSIJ12). The fact they think they are abnormal human beings, not fitting to be in the human race, makes them suspicious of other people’s presence, not trusting others. On top of this, a weak physical condition increases suspicion and lack of self-confidence, as victims reported: “*I was feeling very bad as I was smelling, and my sex was leaking. I became very pensive*”; “*I don’t have any problem apart from my vagina which is painful*” (RSIJ13). For them, the damaged physical condition of their genitals is very troublesome, upsetting and disturbing them.

Material and financial misery linked to rape made existential questions vivid to rape survivors who feel wrecked by the situation and overloaded by life’s burden.

“I don’t know how to consider myself because of the kind of life I’m living” (RSIJ13)...

“It’s happened that I even lose control and faint when I start thinking about that story. Faint and collapse. Since 2004 (14 years ago), I don’t yet feel good, comfortable. The last time that I fainted, it was recently, in 2018 [year of interview] when I was thinking about my life, my marriage suffering, my child’s questions about his father, his identity, etc. As I couldn’t bear with all those issues, I fainted” (RSIJ14)...

“I see myself under everybody in the world because of the misery” (RSIJ15).

Being put under pressure, incapable of mastering their miserable situation, rape survivors feel confused and deeply overloaded by the gravity of the suffering, which makes them feel out of control and that they are losing their minds. Meanwhile, they need emotional support, which seems to be another challenge.

“I feel very bad. If I spend two days only without being advised, small though it can be, whether from my mother, women leaders from my community, I don’t feel well, I become pensive etc.” (RSIJ16)

... “I’m sad all the time, I can’t be up and down to search for life. I’m no longer strong as I used to be before rape occurred for me to work for my life” (RSIJ17)

... “I don’t feel fitting living with other people alongside” ... “I’m always nervous. I feel ashamed because people are pointing their fingers at me. It’s grieving me” (RSIJ18)

... “I’m ashamed. I feel like I’m about to go mad, you can’t play with sex” (RSIJ19).

Emotionally, the survivors’ feeling is focused on rape blame, guilt and their minds triggering sadness, self-pity, pensiveness, isolation, hurt and regret, self-exclusion, vagrancy, and so on, which makes survivors feel that they are not fitting into their environment. They feel unempowered and gnawed by

rape aftermaths like health weakness, rejection by relatives and lack of their emotional care, and this weak emotional feeling is linked to psychological expression as survivors narrated:

“I feel like I’m foolish. I don’t feel happy” (RSIJ20)...

“Raving and dispersion of thoughts, unfortunately” (RSIJ21)... “I feel sick. My heart is grieving me” (RSIJ22)... “I continue being afraid” (RSIJ23)...

“I stopped approaching people and approach only other victims, the ones that I can identify with” (RSIJ24)

... “I’m ashamed, there is time I feel free but at another times I feel like Hutu are purchasing me and my thoughts will just be dispersed” (RSIJ25)...

“When they say something to vex me, keeping it in my mind makes me spend days without doing anything, even speaking to my own children. After calming down, progressively I restart speaking to my children again then to other people” (RSIJ26).

Psychologically, rape survivors keep on being trapped by thoughts which cause them to be socially paralyzed, unable to socialize and keep in touch with people. The main trend here is self-isolation and withdrawal, self-exclusion, loneliness, powerless and being easy vexed. To feel comfortable and respond to psychological suffering, rape survivors mostly gather among themselves, as they are facing the same issues. They try reciprocally to console one another to stabilize their ambivalent and unstable sentiments: a way of self and reciprocal protection among rape survivors. Thus, survivors’ feelings, considered as background to the social reintegration process, come from multiple and various sources. Negative emotions of rape survivors define who they see they are. This brings into consideration the emotional and psychological feelings which most of the time are triggered by relational feelings, obstructing survivors from feeling that they fit into their environment.

Negative feelings of self-turned into opportunity: Some survivors, however, were positive regarding rape aftermath, using it for better. It prepared them to step through the social reintegration process and motivated them to try to achieve it:

“I try to encourage myself compared to those who even lost they lives, passed away because of rape” (RSIJ27)

... “I can’t condemn myself because I didn’t want it to happen to me” (RSIJ28)...

“When I do listen, speak to other rape survivors, walk with them, going to the field, it helps me to destress myself and feel well. But when I stay alone, I start feeling bored, ashamed, undermined” (RSIJ29)...

“I will stay like this because I don’t know what to do. I can’t do anything. I can’t torture my heart because of critics. I can’t change anything. Yet, I can’t kill myself. I have accepted the fact that it has happened to me” (RSIJ30).

Survivors who overcome negative feelings often did this by self-motivation without any other external stimulus. Self-motivation mostly comes from overcoming the cruel challenges by considering life after rape as gifted; denial of feeling guilty from rape; claiming their innocence; not self-blaming; or by a strategic self-intervention oriented toward others which relieves survivors from trauma. However, others overcame negative feelings by being reluctant to accept their new lifestyle, acknowledging being

unable to change the reality for good. This category shows a high level of resilience and process through post-traumatic growth.

7.2.1.2 Rape survivors' reactive strategies and their challenges to fit into their living environment

Rape survivors have adopted some strategies to anticipate the worsening of painful feelings and to prepare themselves for their social reintegration, even though these do not exclude challenges encountered during the process. Rape survivors are aware of and affected by people's attitudes toward them. When they were questioned, "How do you feel about living in this location, especially your own family?", this was revealed and made clear. Rape survivors have displayed attitudes and behaviours that, in their opinion, could help them rediscover a sense of community in their surroundings. Some rape survivors adopted techniques including self-conviction of their exclusion, seclusion, or isolation, change of the surroundings or displacement, and the importance of marriage.

Narrative on strategies to self-effort to reintegrate their community talk more about their convictions regarding the attitudes and behaviours they are trying to adopt as a "second version" of themselves against their social exclusion. Self-conviction has motivated some of them to act anticipatively as narrated:

"I try to greet people when I'm walking, not because I want to do so, but as it helps to stabilise myself, my mind, concentrate myself on other persons to avoid being lost in my mind. I behave like that as my own strategy to reduce pressure, calm my mind and reduce pensiveness" (RSIJ31)...

"I think that this situation is normal. I try to normalise it in order to live in peace and calm myself down because there are people who make me cry; others help me. Hence, I rejoice with those who make me rejoice and cry when people make me cry" (RSIJ32).

Survivors believe that there is a personal pre-effort that should be made on their side to fit into their community. Greetings and normalization of rape issue have made some survivors prepared to confront their weak feeling of belonging. They did consider other human beings as the first hurdle to confront to get access to a social, relational space. This has double benefits for survivors, improving their process of healing trauma and contributing to their reintegration to avoid feelings of exclusion and marginalization. The fact of behaving as such does not have anything in common with accepting the condition in which they are living but is rather seen to be an alternative to a constrained self-effort fitting-in strategy.

For those who have considered their environment as traumatic, obstructing their self-effort to step into social reintegration process did prefer displacement or change of environment.

"I quit the house where I was captured by FDLR because the scenario of that story was most of the time coming back to my mind" (RSIJ1)...

“Here in Kalonge, I used to run away from people who were present the day I was taken to the jungle. I feel very bad seeing married women with their husbands as it reminds me of my deceased husband. I cry, blame rape or keep quiet” (RSIJ2)... “I can’t go any longer where I was living because of the fear. I tell myself, maybe those rapists will come back again to do the same” (RSIJ3)

... “I wish I could leave my area to avoid the nightmare of the rape scenario. I need to forget bad memories of this place. If someone could help me, I would appreciate it” (RSIJ4)

... “If I can find somewhere to go, I will leave my place to avoid them raping me again” (RSIJ5)...

“As I changed the place to live, I feel a bit free” (RSIJ6)...

“Because of the rape issue, I’ve become miserable. I feel like leaving this place and going somewhere else as I don’t feel free here” (RSIJ7).

Moving from the area where rape occurred to another new area to avoid keeping rape memories fresh seems crucial for some agoraphobic rape survivors. The belief is that the change of environment could contribute to their social reintegration in the community. Like greetings and normalisation of rape issue have benefits, displacement has been used as effort to try to forget bad memories, meanwhile contribute to healing the trauma process and preparing for social reintegration. This has also helped survivors meet and created new social networks free from rape memories and easily connected them to others instead of isolation themselves (soft exclusion).

Others testified the benefit of battling to get married over shame as a strategy to reintegrate their community. For them, this is a tool to wipe away their shame and guilt and a real preparation to their social reintegration and trauma relief.

“As I’m married, I don’t have any worry. I feel free and calm because people in the area don’t criticise me a lot. It’s okay” (RSIJ8)...

“Marriage helps me to forget a little bit the story of rape. I’ve become less pensive” (RSIJ9).

Marriage is a great approach for survivors to socially reintegrate into their community. This has an impact on speeding trauma healing as well as improving social relations, a therapy to trauma healing.

Thus, survivors believe that there is an auto-strategy to avoid community exclusion, whether harsh or soft exclusion or self-exclusion. Survivors have developed those self-strategies including self-distress, self-conviction to normalize the issue of rape, displacement to gain more confidence and stabilise the mind, marriage contributing to auto-healing, therapeutic strategy as it’s protecting survivors from critics, lack of respect as well as the constrained self-reintegration as a preparation to social reintegration. However, some rape survivors despite their self-effort strategies to feel fit into their living environment, they have faced many challenges that obstructed their effort to move forward through their reintegration. Some of the challenges laid on the persistence of trauma, loss of confidence, self-isolation, untrusted attitude against them.

Persistence trauma has been affecting their confidence.

... “My mind is not stable because of multiple worries, especially, my children’s lives” ... “I feel lost myself, without any position in my community” (RSIJ11)...

“I’m ashamed. I always think people criticise me when I meet them grouped” (RSIJ12)

... “When I meet a group of three or more people, I’m worried. I usually think they are criticising me” (RSIJ13)...

“Before, I was afraid. I was thinking that everybody is mocking me” (RSIJ14)

... “Sometimes during the night, I can’t sleep, I always suffer from insomnia, thinking about the rape scenario. When I’m eating, if I only remember the rape scenario, I feel afraid and lose my appetite” (RSIJ15)...

“I can’t stand with that story. I feel very bad, as if my heart is going to fall. My heart has grieved me” (RSIJ16)...

“Where I am, I don’t have any place to go and live” (RSIJ17).

Worries, negative critics, mockery, confusion, bad memories bouncing, loss of sleep and appetite, grieved heart, lost, etc. are words that express survivors’ trauma and frustrations which don’t allow them to feel free to engage in any adventure towards self-effort to social reintegration. It’s forcing them to soft-exclusion, isolation, made them feel less human and lose confidence.

“If I try to speak to someone about my situation, they reveal it and start criticising me from my story. It looks like speaking to people remind them of my story. That situation hurt me and bothers me too much ...In the area I’m living, sometime, my neighbours mock me and undermine me because they know that there is no one who can protect or defend me. In the community, I don’t feel well. They are undermining me as well” (RSIJ18)

Broken confidentiality of survivors when exposed to other people fragilizes, breaks, and puts them down, as privacy is still the core of the survivors’ healing process prior to self-effort toward the social reintegration process. This also affects the quality of their relationships in which survivors feel weak, unprotected, and exposed to marginalization in the area. As consequence, they have become frightened, frustrated, intensifying self-isolation, self-exclusion and other self-rejective attitudes.

Furthermore, self-isolation, emotional fragility of some comes from the lack of being trusted, depicted as immoral women. There is less trust between rape survivors and the rest of women who accuse survivors of being prostitutes, therefore dangerous to their husbands.

“I miss peace here in Kalonge because I don’t live properly here. If I approach a married man, his wife forbids him to talk to me. for that, people criticise me, saying that I’m a Hutu concubine” (RSIJ20)...

“Imagine when in the area, 3 or 4 people, households stop trusting and appreciating you, you can’t feel free to live” (RSIJ21)...

“I was ashamed as people were badly criticising me, saying that I’m HIV/AIDS-positive, people shouldn’t approach me as I will contaminate them in the village” (RSIJ22).

Due to a lack of women’s trust, survivors are arbitrarily accused of disturbing couples’ relationships and community health safety as they are treated as prostitutes, lacking sexual morality. False accusation, blame, mistrust reinforce rape survivors’ self-isolation attitude.

Those challenges made some survivors in turn blame themselves creating therefore a social distance between them and the rest of people in the community, a dislocation of the social link, harmed survivors’ efforts towards self-reintegration in their community.

7.2.2 Rape survivors' feelings as being involved in rape

Rape survivors have developed many negative feelings, ranging from intrapersonal feelings to those affecting, disrupting interpersonal relationships.

7.2.2.1 Intrapersonal feelings from rape

There are many feelings that emerged from the consequences of rape, like post-traumatic stress disorders, and those arising from other aspects, like a poor health situation, and the disfiguration of their identity. Most of the emotions which erupted from rape are still real and lasting in rape survivors' lives but are aggravated under the lens of society. Rape survivors continue suffering from emotional pain as they see themselves and evaluate the offence regarding the way they are, or how they will be perceived by others. This can explain the long-lasting effect of negative emotions such as self-hate and self-pity, feeling unvalued, ashamed, guilty, dirty, sad, pensive, hurt, humiliated, disrespected, undermined, isolated, pensive, having nightmares and trouble sleeping, general anxiety or depression, etc. Those emotions are likely to be experienced in the first weeks or months after rape (Nelson and Campbell-Ruggaard 2000). However, the fact that rape survivors' emotions continue, stretching on more than ten years, must make researchers think deeply about the reason underlying these protracted emotions.

Shame and guilt: Among these emotions from the rape are shame and guilt, while others arise afterwards. These feelings have two major sources, moral and societal norms, which can explain in part the lasting emotions of rape survivors. Shame and guilt can also produce a range of many other secondary feelings. Silfver-Kuhalampi (2008) clearly demonstrates the difference between guilt and shame and other feelings that come from them:

In phenomenological experiences, an ashamed person experiences “shrinking”, feels small, worthless, and powerless, whereas a guilty person experiences tension, remorse, and regret. Consequently, shame is a more painful emotion than guilt. Furthermore, an ashamed person is concerned with others' evaluation of self, but a guilty person is concerned with one's effect on others.[...] guilt and shame give rise to different motivations: a person feeling guilty is motivated to confess, apologize or repair, whereas an ashamed person feels a desire to hide, escape or “strike back”, to behave aggressively towards the person inducing shame ? (Silfver-Kuhalampi 2008:13)

Shame and guilt, which are among the main feelings of rape survivors, are complex concepts developed in several disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and philosophy, and are phenomena that include psychopathology, anger, empathy, self-esteem, ethics and morality. However, despite the confusion that has sometimes put them in the same category, shame and guilt, which are both self-conscious emotions (Silfver-Kuhalampi 2008; Gibson 2018), are still different from one another, as shame belongs to the category of affect-like emotion (an internal mental state), while guilt is a socio-legal state, an external objective condition which might be the fear of consequences, a remorse from which any affect may be associated through socialization and scripting (Elison 2005). Being a social construct, shame comes not only from the offence done to the victim, but its complexity involves the

antecedent background in which the victim associates the fact the consequences of which could lead to guilt. As findings have demonstrated, rape survivors shame emotions have been linked to their past memory and morality, and sex-based socialization embedded into culture affecting their belief. For instance, it is forbidden to have intercourse contrary to socio-cultural norms and being educated as such shapes rape survivors' emotions. Whether they were responsible for the act or not, the unwanted consequences of shame and guilt have characterized their feeling of themselves, lacking distinction between feeling ashamed or guilty due to the context and circumstances in which the rape occurred.

Even though shame and guilt, while felt unreasonably, are seen as a psychological disorder (Silfver-Kuhlampi 2008), rape survivors' guilt is more pronounced and normalized in their case than is shame. Guilt connected to regret of rape survivors for what happened to them is linked to the attitude of society. They are seen as morally transgressing the sexual socio-cultural norms of the society which judges them as deviants and having hurt other people. Guilt as a prosocial behaviour that rape survivors face "is often characterized as a moral emotion, one that is linked to the welfare of society and that stimulates people to think of how one's own behaviour influences the well-being of other people" (De Hooze, Nelissen and Breugelmans 2011: 463). According to the findings of this research, rape survivors worry about their families' reputation being tarnished due to rape turns into guilt. Hence, when imagining how others look at them due to the harm that they have experienced, guilt has secondary emotions such as isolation, reluctance to approach others, pity for themselves, up to self-hatred. Others who have experienced rape as their first intercourse experience, not only feel guilty about the issue, but the feeling generated is deeper as it causes them to have unrealistic and frightening beliefs about intimate relationships. This feeling is a backwards and forward movement that provokes, weakening and aggravating their emotional status and obstructing the trauma healing process for some, and the post-traumatic growth and social reintegration processes for others as I will develop in further sub-sections.

Feelings from weakness of health status: Rape survivors' health weakness intensified negative feelings that were disturbing them. Most rape survivors in rural areas did not get timely medical assistance or received none to prevent them from infectious diseases like Human Immunodeficiency Virus/AIDS, other sexually transmitted infections, and grave genital deteriorative destruction, such as fistulas, and other issues that aggravate their health status. Besides, lacking access to medical facilities that issue a J88⁵⁴ for court purposes, experiencing lasting emotions are issues that weakened rape survivors' mental and physiological health. Regarding mental health, symptoms typically increase in severity over the first three weeks, before a progressive decline over the next three months. For many victims, these feelings will resolve themselves within this period; however, for others, symptoms continue far longer.

⁵⁴ J88: J88 form is generated by the Department of Justice and is the accepted document in terms of legislation to be utilised to Courts as the preferred method of adducing evidence in a criminal matter with regard to the injuries a complainant sustained in, for example, a rape, assault or attempted murder case.

Rothbaum et al (1992), cited by Callender and Dartnall (2011), found that, of those who developed PTSD post-rape, at three months half were still suffering with the condition. Similarly, even with counselling, half of victims still suffered from stress after three months. Findings from my study indicate that most rape survivors who have children from rape are still experiencing negative emotions after more than 10 years, compared to those who did not get pregnant as a result of rape. Some are still experiencing physical weakness, like leaking vaginas, a bad smell from the vagina, and psychological disturbances including fainting, etc. due to the lack of medical care from the very beginning of the rape event up to the present. The fact that they experience lasting symptoms, has provoked, aggravated, and maintained other negative feelings and trauma, thus delaying their mental health healing process, and negative emotions that obstruct their post-traumatic growth make them feel disabled.

Disfigured identity feelings: Identity is given, created, or felt. It is dynamic and multidimensional, individual and pluralistic. Personal identity is how one defines who one is, mostly on the basis of age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, culture, language, ability, or socioeconomic status (Fearon 1999) and is divided into inner and outer identities. Some factors can be changed (like religion or socioeconomic status), expressing identity pluralism and dynamism even though Horowitz (2012: 3) argues that “identity is a conscious or intuitive sense of sameness over time”. Consciousness and intuition are among self-knowledge sources of self-representation which are interactions confronting biological (brain, genes) and social (heredity, socialization, etc.) forces (Suls and Wills 1991). These aspects form individuals’ personalities that lead to self-perception over time, influencing their identities for stability or instability. Self-perception using introspection gives individuals an image of self as they learn about themselves by observing their own behaviour, and the situation in which it occurs. According to the self-perception theory, people are most likely to acquire self-knowledge through observation of their own behaviour when their self-knowledge is weak, ambiguous, or difficult to interpret (Bem 1972).

A closer look at our data indicates that rape survivors felt their identities to be ambiguous and they have difficulty in interpreting to themselves what they have become. Narratives revealed how they have become another version of themselves due to the changes observed from their past. Present identities are disfigured, and their future identities are still not well perceived, but they rather keep projecting a version of themselves as being different from normal human beings. The personal feelings on their identities are internally embedded. The disfiguration of their femininity is aggravated by the results of their introspection on their altered situations after the rape offence. As asserted by Wilson and Kraft (1993), introspection about the *reasons* behind one’s attitudes, behaviours, and feelings is likely to produce inaccurate self-knowledge. “Self and identity theories converge in asserting that self and identity are mental constructs, that is, something represented in memory” (Oyserman, Elmore and Smith 2012: 9). Rape survivors are suffering from the same feeling of identifying themselves as normal, but have the same identity issues that disabled persons have, suffering from “the desire to be perceived as ‘normal’ in order to deal with various barriers” (Howard 2000: 380).

Rape survivors feel distressed by the so-called "another version of ourselves", the abnormal human being as narrated by those who suffer dysmorphophobia (Kihlstrom and Kihlstrom 1999). This is due to self-images of a defect, as well as the way they are perceived by others. In body dysmorphic disorder, a person's self-image diverges from the way in which he or she is perceived by other people (Kihlstrom and Kihlstrom 1999). The current literature on self and identity based on mental constructs emphasizes the relationship between physical and mental disabilities, in which defects affect a person's identity. In my study, rape survivors' narratives strongly emphasizing the "other version of themselves" proves how the self-representation, as well as physically weak health (as mentioned above) are caused by trauma from a severe rape issue that damaged the way they perceive themselves, aggravated by the way other people perceive them.

Social identity theory pioneered by Tajfel (Deaux and Martin 2003) suggests that groups are part of our identity and self-esteem. That is, rape survivors' self-identities are influenced by other people in society: their self-esteem is the product of social interaction. Fearon (1999: 26) claims that "quite often, we understand as personal identity those aspects of ourselves that form the basis for our self-esteem" which can be enhanced, and maintained (Vignoles 2017: 11) or not, and is provided by social identity (Howard 2000). In other words, self-esteem as part of self and identity comes from individual feeling as well as social interaction: it originates from the individual themselves to influence the attitude of others or comes from social interaction to affect individual feelings of self-esteem. However, the self-esteem of rape survivors being obstructed by negative self-representation has affected and hindered other self-feeling, such as self-trust, confidence and they become suspicious of other people, not trusting others and lacking self-confidence as consequence.

7.2.2.2 Relational consequences from rape feelings

Rape survivors' post-traumatic stress disorders have produced secondary consequences in their lives at intrapersonal and interpersonal levels. Self-identities and feelings that rape survivors have developed have produced both negative and positive consequences, depending on the self-representation of each rape survivor and the projection of their self-feeling while socially interacting.

7.2.2.2.1 Interpersonal consequences: Reluctance to socialize

The most dominant negative consequences observed in rape survivors and established from their narratives are that rape survivors' self-feelings have produced an inability to socialize, expressed through isolation, social withdrawal, and withdrawal into themselves. Self-obstruction to feeling fit for social interactions and exclusion are the most problematic and will be our focus (although encompassing other concepts). Representation of the term "exclusion" is always coupled with that of "inclusion" to be fully understood, although in the history of sociological thought, inclusion and exclusion have been differently studied. In the case of our study, the term exclusion is used to relate to membership in the

community where their participation and interactions have been hindered, obstructing them from a sense of belonging to their social group or community.

Exclusion has to be perceived in both directions, rejection from their social group vs self-rejection, social withdrawal vs withdrawal into oneself, as “isolation across situation and over time rises mostly from internal factors” (Rubin and Coplan 2004: 516). Emotions developed after the rape incident, as mentioned above, in terms of shame, guilt, and other feelings related to their affected health and disfigured identity as internal factors, are reasons underlying rape survivors’ self-exclusion, influencing social withdrawal attitudes, and reflecting the experience of solitude driven by peer rejection. They have purposely opted not to participate social output, avoiding inclusion by cooperation, which for them contrasts with their chosen position and self-exclusion. Their attitude is motivated by reasons (like staying isolated, being lonely) which seem to be a positive judicious decision keeping them from hurting their feelings. This affects their level of sociability and seeming to become unable to socialize although needing and expecting support to socialize.

Fakoya, McCorry and Donnelly (2020) emphasize that a societal system provides for persons and assigns them to positions in the framework in which they can act in keeping with expectations. A self-exclusion position does not allow survivors to benefit from society inclusion; rather it reinforces their loneliness. Loneliness is both emotional and social loneliness, which is the painful emotional experience of a discrepancy between actual and desired social contact, although social isolation is not necessarily synonymous with loneliness (Maria Elizabeth Loades et al. 2000). Social isolation reflects the experience of solitude that derives from peer rejection, as in being isolated (rejected) by the peer group (Asendorpf 1993) and has heavy psychosocial consequences for rape survivors as victims of self- and social isolation or exclusion.

Social exclusion and peer rejection are pervasive phenomena causing psychological harm, even if that may not be intended: “experiences of exclusion can have detrimental outcomes in terms of emotional and behavioural health” (Mulvey, Boswell and Zheng 2017: 71). It may also provoke other secondary social and individual attitudes, like the rise of internal motives understood in terms of anger (Li and Wong 2015), a decrease of prosocial behaviour and low self-esteem and both interpersonal and intergroup exclusion. Mostly the outcomes are negative and interconnected, such as social deficit producing the fact of being withdrawn, shyness, poor well-being, antisocial behaviour and much more; in intergroup exclusion, there are attitudes such as prejudice or bias including gender, culture, socioeconomic status, religion, etc. (Mulvey, Boswell and Zheng 2017). Prior to Mulvey and other socio-psychologists, a study done by Hutchison, Abrams and Christian (2007) revealed some ill effects of exclusion outcomes, including depression, negative affect, low self-esteem and psychological well-being; some perceive themselves as misfits, and score higher on self-report measures of depression and anxiety. Furthermore, lacking companionship and proper interactions with their family members,

having limited communication, etc. are risk factors causing their morbidity and mortality (Fakoya, McCorry and Donnelly 2020). “Several studies have shown that people who are excluded from desired relationships or groups feel a range of negative emotions, including sadness, disappointment, jealousy, anger and shame ... Being excluded also makes people more anxious, ... and reduces their life satisfaction, sense of meaningful existence and hope” (Hutchison, Abrams and Christian 2007: 31). Hence, the consequences of self- and social exclusion and isolation, worsened their sense of belonging and togetherness.

7.2.2.2.2 Rape survivors’ feeling amid their living environments: social anxiety

The results of the study indicate that rape survivors’ feelings amid their living environments are characterized by anxiety, social anxiety, and social phobia. Anxiety is a future-oriented feeling of dread or apprehension associated with the sense that events are both uncontrollable and unpredictable (Antony and Swinson 2008). Social anxiety occurs when people feel unconformable in social situations. Normally, this is a natural adaptive reflex preparing individuals to run away or fight off danger, but it can become abnormal when one feels danger while there is no danger. When fear and avoidance of social situations due to fears of others’ judgement, this becomes social anxiety disorder (Schneier and Goldmark 2015). In the community, rape survivors exhibited fear of being judged by others and avoided socializing for many reasons, such as mistrust, criticism, wrong accusations, lack of respect, disdain of other people against them. These attitudes have characterised rape survivors’ fearful social interactions. They have not only feared to be watched and judged by others, but also fear to be embarrassed or humiliated by their own actions that are not well perceived as having good intentions.

Social anxiety: There are three components of social anxiety: physical, cognitive and behavioural (Antony and Swinson 2008: 9), which cause trouble to rape survivors when socializing with other people as it distresses them and inhibits their ability to function and enjoy social interactions. Cognitively, people react to the belief and interpretation of particular events and situations, as argue Antony and Swinson (2008). From what they believe and know about rape as a deviation from social norms, survivors easily make themselves uncomfortable. For instance, judgemental statements like “If people are talking behind my back it means they are criticizing me and I deserve it”; “If someone doesn’t like me, it means I’m unlikable”; “People find me boring, stupid, lazy, incompetent, weak, a prostitute, no one trusts me, people do not respect me, I have lost my respect, people are untrustworthy, judgemental, nasty” etc. have incited rape survivors to develop physical and behavioural anxieties. Physically, feelings include dizziness or light-headedness, tearfulness, crying, poor concentration or forgetting what the person was trying to do, and feelings of unreality. Interaction between the three components of social anxiety produced typical behaviour expressing social phobia, where rape survivors are reluctant to socialize, avoiding social interaction and other people, leading to supplementary feelings like depression. Some literature has shown that:

given the impact of social anxiety on a person's functioning, it is no wonder that a substantial number of people with social anxiety disorder also experience depression. Severe social anxiety can lead to isolation, loneliness, and deep sadness. Social anxiety disorder can prevent a person from living up to his or her potential, which, in turn, can lead to feelings of hopelessness and depression”(Antony and Swinson 2008: 23).

Experiencing social anxiety, social phobia or social anxiety disorder (SAD) as consequences and continuation of rape survivors' PTSD, rape survivors find it difficult to identify when they are going through a PTSD crisis and when they are uncomfortable due to SAD. It is difficult to dissociate the two types of symptoms separately in their daily interactions with other people. Yet, if after more than 15 years most participating rape survivors who had children from rape were still having difficulty and getting confused separating symptoms from PTSD and those of SAD or social phobia, this is the evidence of persistent SAD which is not treated. For instance, the claim that they feel like going crazy when they are mocked, humiliated is physical social anxiety that increased due to the traumatic experience prior to the SAD experienced. This is confirmed in the literature: “SAD is characterized by persistent anxiety when exposed to observation or scrutiny by others and fear of acting in a way that will be embarrassing or humiliating” (Hidalgo, Barnett and Davidson 2001: 279). Unfortunately, the treatment to manage persistent SAD has had little success.

Overcoming social anxiety is a process that includes psychological strategies and medications that have shown their effectiveness in a small number of cases (Antony and Swinson 2008). Leichsenring et al. (2009: 36) states that “social phobia (SP) is a frequent, chronic, and severely impairing mental disorder. Although the available treatments proved to be beneficial for SP, the rates of treatment responders are not yet satisfactory”. Yet, being a highly psychiatric disorder associated with psychosocial handicaps and an increased risk for complications such as depression and suicidality, it still has low natural recovery following rape (Yoshinaga *et al.* 2016). In a very natural cognitive way, rape survivors felt how their relationship disturbance does not allow them to enjoy their relationships. From findings, rape survivors' narratives have demonstrated the need of filling the gap of social anxiety by trying to find a way of feeling social harmony, for example. To achieve this, some preferred to change their living environment. Moving from the anxious environment to a new environment where social interaction with unknown people would facilitate their integration and free them from social anxiety feelings. Avoiding facing anxiety from their living environment contributes to treating them for SAD, and is a natural way to self-treat, and achieve psychological and relational stability. The creation of a new social network free from SAD could connect them to others and avoid anxious lives. Hence, those who tried to overcome their social anxiety have passed through the normalization of the situation, not because they feel comfortable to do so, but because from their observation being anxious had become a protracted never-ending situation which consequently increased trauma. To get rid of that feeling, some decided to manage the situation and therefore move into a post-traumatic growth process.

7.2.2.2.3 Positive consequences: post-traumatic growth effort as a process towards social transformation

A few of the rape survivors who participated in my study, after going through traumatic experience of rape, and struggling for their recovery, experienced growth from rape the event, and a change for good in their lives. Under the constructivist perspective, post-traumatic growth (PTG) is a long-term change in people after a traumatic event occurred, usually over an extended time that comes after more careful reflection (Tedeschi et al. 2018). It involves time and cognitive incitation to engage victims in change that is reasonable, decided in advance and sustained. A minority of rape survivors have acknowledged being changed by rape positively. From their narratives, rape survivors who changed started by normalizing the rape experience and its aftermaths, then adopted an adaptive way of challenging its effects to come up with a resolution observed either at attitudinal or behavioural levels to make the change possible. results in their 2008 study on PTG of rape survivors demonstrated areas of change among which are “changes in self (e.g., ability to be assertive); changes in spirituality/life philosophy (e.g., appreciation of life); changes in relationships (e.g., relationships with friends and family), and changes in empathy (e.g., concern for others in similar situations)” (Tedeschi et al. 2018:164). Although Frazier and Berman’s identification of PTG of rape survivors from their study seems to be a free self-consciousness of rape survivors to adopt the change, in the case of my study those who changed positively are classified into two categories: those who freely understood the benefits of the growth and engaged in the process, and those who did not engage freely but by constraint. To overcome negative feelings from PTSD, they were constrained to accept their new lifestyle by normalizing it despite challenges, acknowledging being unable to change the reality for good. Hence, they have subjugated themselves to the trend of life that they do not appreciate, but are constrained as lacking other, better options. Being satisfied by the benefit gain from the change of attitude convinced them, making them feel comfortable but not transformed from the experience. The benefit they obtain is to be healed physically, for example, and overcome some PTSD symptoms, etc. without any transformation, as highlighted by Tedeschi et al. (2018): benefit-finding or perceived-benefit could seem to be related to PTG but still have less transformational personal change. This section will be well-developed in the section regarding the evaluation of the intervention of this study, as some key factors were developed to boost rape survivors’ PTG and have produced positive effects.

7.2.3 Rape survivors’ safety issues: life burden wrecking quality of rape survivors’ relationships

Rape survivors’ safety issues include physical, interpersonal, financial, and broad scale insecurity in the family and community, a life burden that wrecks the quality of their relationships. To understand the

reality of their safety issues, answers from the question, “Is there any worry you have living in this area, environment, or situation?” were relevant.

7.2.3.1 Financial insecurity

Rape survivors’ financial insecurity maintaining their suffering, torturing them to the extent that compare it to the rape event. This is the most challenging issue ever that have been damaging them in their daily base. Difficulties in providing and sustaining life needs therefore creating worry and frustration to survivors. These are external factors that do not depend on rape survivors, but contribute significantly to their rejection, as they narrated.

“Life is the thing that is annoying me. The fact that I don’t have an economic capital to start a business, or a farm to cultivate, etc.; my children are not studying” (RSIJ1).

... “The lack of financial means, and when I do a small business, it does not have enough benefit to help me impose my respect, for people to respect me in this area” (RSIJ2)

... “the fact that I’m jobless, doing nothing as economic activity is bothering me too much” (RSIJ3).

These rape survivors belong to the category of jobless people. Most rape survivors who participated in this inquiry do not work, and those who have some economic activities are limited and are not able to fulfil their needs and those ones of their dependents. Survivors’ misery is acknowledged by themselves:

“Poverty is a fact that is increasing disdain. For me to be respected, I must stop asking for help” (RSIJ4)

... “In my neighbourhood, the weak quality of life influences their consideration to me, defining my life equal to my misery: I feel put aside, rejected. That’s what happened when you miss someone who can plead for you and protect you against discrimination. Hence, misery affects social consideration and makes my acceptance difficult” (RSIJ5).

Poverty and misery are factors that contribute to rape survivors’ rejection, even though these do not depend on them. It creates a gap between them and other people, whether in the family or community. As declared by them, misery affects social consideration and makes their acceptance difficult. Rape survivors’ misery produces other effects contributing to their rejection, like an increase in disdain and disrespect, determining therefore the level of their relationship to other people. The financial aspect means for survivors not only satisfaction of basics needs, but also and more importantly, an approach to gaining respect and consideration in their community. This is a strategic approach for survivors: to connect with relatives and other people in order to significantly reduce their worry and frustration. This has been considered as awareness on the part of survivors, who become more conscious about the effect of misery on their relationships in which they are powerless to change the situation. Consequently, weak human social capital constitutes for them a soft rejection.

Rape survivors narrated how failing to take care of their dependents because of poverty and insignificant business or being jobless increases their frustration:

“Difficulties of life, lacking my children’s school fees, lacking a house, annoyed me” (RSIJ6)

... “The fact that I’m making my effort alone to feed my children, bothers me” (RSIJ7)

... “The debt that I still owing from the yard that my husband was buying. He constrained me to pay his debt, telling me to get money from my concubine rapists” (RSIJ8)

... “I’ve become like an internal displaced person (IDP) though I’m living in my own village. I had my own house, etc.” (RSIJ9)

... “At the place where I’m staying, people disdained me too much. They accuse me falsely. This is because I’m lacking financial means to rise my children” (RSIJ7)...

“The loss of my goods stolen (*plates*, shoes, etc.), insults of my family in-law: “It would have been better for you to die in the jungle with Hutu instead. we don’t know what you are doing here”” (RSIJ10)...

Because of this rape, I’ve lost a stable marriage, source of my “income”, I’ve lost space to cultivate. I’ve become physically weak as well. I can’t carry a loaded package to get money to avoid getting sick. That’s annoyed me” (RSIJ12).

“When someone asks me for help, my son used to respond to that person: ‘What do you want my mum to give you – she no longer has a husband or a man who could give her things to offer to others as well’” (RSIJ25)...

“As I’ve changed the place to stay, I’m stable. But, the quality of life, that’s disturbing me” (RSIJ14)...

“The thing that is bothering me too much is the weak quality of life. The daily life difficulties, making my neighbours criticising me” (RSIJ19)...

“The fact that I don’t have someone to console me and take care of my children, the miserable life we are living in, aggravate our worries. My children live in bad conditions because of their father’s abandonment” (RSIJ24)...

“The thing that annoyed me too much is the fact my husband has abandoned me. Yet I’m not able alone to take care of my children” (RSIJ26).

Rape consequences seem to be a great challenge to bear by rape survivors as they encapsulate every aspect of life. Economically, there is incapacity in fulfilling their dependents’ basics needs and their own, such as school fees, providing a stable environment, etc. Relationally, they have been experiencing disdain, soft-rejection, loss of marriages, and continued health weakness has fragilized the quality of survivors’ relationships which lack respect and regard: the survivor is portrayed as useless, unable to bear family burdens and afford family needs. The lack of a husband has deep consequences, as men are considered as financial supporters of women, the provider of the family and the life enhancer of women. This has been acknowledged even by children, who know how relevant it is for a woman to get a man in their area. Absence of a husband means abandonment of caregiver support, driving all sort of consequences. In the context of rural women, a husband is the richness and hope of a woman’s life improvement. Abandonment by a husband therefore weakens a wife’s life and increases frustration and trauma. This correlation can have two functions in survivors’ lives: for a weak woman, it is frustrating, but for a resilient woman it boosts her motivation to focus on the improvement of her life by rejecting and refusing to focus on critics and things that make her fragile. Finally, survivors’ dependence on their husbands before rape constituted another aspect of rape consequences which annoyed survivors. They have difficulty launching themselves and embracing a new life after abandonment. Consequently, the quality of life becomes painful as some survivors reported:

“The weak quality of life that I’m living in now, after rape, is more painful then rape itself” (RSIJ13)...

“It’s life which is annoying me. Every time that I think about the situation of my life, of rape, my mind is raving” (RSIJ15)... “Insults, lack of money to take care of my children, especially the one born out of rape, Alice” (RSIJ16)...

“When my child becomes depressive, he doesn’t study because of the weak quality of life I’m living. That annoyed me too much” (RSIJ17)...

“It’s rape that made me like this, incapable of doing anything. That’s what annoyed me more” (RSIJ18)...

... “The truth is, the fact that rape is still a problem, but if only the bad quality of my life could be improved, I don’t see myself how rape effect could still be a problem up to the present” (RSIJ20)...

“Currently, I started looking for what to feed my kids, though I couldn’t do it before. It’s paining me more than rape even though both are the same (rape and its effects)” (RSIJ22)...

As noticed, a miserable quality of life has profound consequences: suffering due to poor quality of life makes survivors prefer rape to its aftermath: misery, disdain, disrespect, failure to affording a comfortable life to children, no future guarantee for survivors’ dependents, desperation of a better future life, delay the healing process and stability of life. From some rape survivors’ narratives, there is a positive correlation between the improvement in quality of life and the fact of flattening the curve of rape pain which speeds the trauma healing process. The more the bad quality of life is improved, the quicker is the trauma healing process. However, the less the bad quality of life is improved, the worse are survivors’ life conditions, increasing trauma. This shows that for rape to be hurting, it has somehow to be connected to other aspects of life, which produces lasting consequences.

7.2.3.2 Rape survivors’ physical insecurity: Life uncertainty

Physical insecurity is a great challenge for all the categories of rape survivors. It’s related to lack of personal safety in the community carrying fear of rape relapse, of the dangerous neighbourhoods, husbands’ abandonment, assimilation of rapists to any force and armed groups, and fear of riposting to others’ menaces. Some rape survivors have learnt to riposte against physical and psychological violence to protect themselves even though the dominant picture is here the unsafety.

“The thing that makes me feel unsafe in this area is the relapse of rape, menace of rape by other men in this area where I’m staying ... I was owing my neighbour 2000fc. One night, I met her husband unexpectedly on the street who pretended to be waiting for me to help me, but he seriously threatened to rape me although I was pregnant ... the offender was prosecuted. But when he was released from the police, he created a fake story to accuse my husband of an armed robbery. He did it to take revenge against me” (RSIJ27)... “If I go to the farm, I feel unsafe.” (RSIJ28)

... “The repetition of rape after being discharged from Panzi hospital” ... “Nowadays, I’m no longer able to go to the forest because of rape relapse fear” (RSIJ29).

Rape survivors’ first vulnerable feeling lies in the repetition of rape, by whether the same sex offenders when it comes to civil perpetrators, other men taking advantage of survivors’ weakness, or other military, militias, or rebel sex offenders. The presence of men in general seems to be the starting point of survivors’ fears as they are assumed to be potential sex offenders, capable of a rape attempt. Some factors can drive rape occurrences. Settings where rape is likely to occur in rural area is a very important

factor to be taken into consideration as it involves physical danger, which is increased when survivors find themselves in isolated areas like farms, the bush, or dark places. Fear of rape recurrence does not only make survivors themselves unsafe, but also consequences spread to their family and dependents who suffer from it. There are instances when the offender tries to take revenge to punish a rape survivor in cases where he failed to rape her or has been defeated by her. Furthermore, in the context of rural areas, the primary source of income is still farming. The fact of avoiding farming because of the danger of the area constitutes for rape survivors another cause of a miserable life.

Some men are still ready to sexually harass rape survivors, considering them as prostitutes in the area: *“three men have already dated me. They used to tell me I should let them test, enjoy me, pointing at my genital organ. Means having sex with me. I answered him that I don’t have anything to give you. I felt like dying. All my heart grieved”*; *“... they insulted my children, ‘child of prostitute’”*. Men’s mockery, immoral disrespect, and portraying survivors as prostitutes has led towards survivors’ sexual abuse once more after rape. These men are at the forefront of taking advantage of survivors’ status to abuse them more. This sexual misconduct attempted by men disturbed rape survivors’ dignity, making them reluctant to get in touch freely with men, therefore destroying gender relationships.

Relationally, rape survivors feel unsafe living in the area where false accusation drives relationships. The fact of being accused falsely in the neighbourhood makes rape survivors feel unsafe, as accusations are made of wicked and criminal issue, as reported: *“People accuse me falsely. They treat me as a witch, a poisoner, wicked, criminal, though I’m innocent”*. False accusation means to them a lack of regard, care, and protection towards them.

On the other hand, rape survivors themselves have been put in danger by their attitude, whether by avoidance, withdrawal, frustration, fear, phobia, etc. as reported:

“Sometimes, I do put myself under pressure as people from my neighbourhood are aware of my story. They make me feel unsafe because I feel ashamed meeting them: the speed of my heart beat is always higher to the extent that I won’t be able to speak” (RSIJ3)...

“We are avoiding ourselves walking together because people will start insulting us, telling us hurting things like ‘see those ones. They are going again to their businesses’” (RSIJ4)...

“When I go somewhere, everybody thinks that I’m going to look for help from an NGO” (RSIJ5)...

“When I’m alone, I start raving, my mind is everywhere; with people who know my rape story I feel unsafe, don’t feel free as it’s easy for them to criticise me” (RSIJ6)

Lacking self-confidence, rape survivors on their own have created around them a zone of insecurity and self-exclusion or self-rejection. Given that they are so suspicious of negative critics, this has made them deny the positive aspects of their acceptance, reintegration, etc. and instead, they have sunk into the negative aspect of getting in touch with anyone. Hence, isolation, self-marginalization, attraction of critics’ attention towards them, etc. are more exteriorized and have affected survivors’ self-acceptance and ability to live in harmony with other people. Rape survivors’ isolation and frustrated

attitudes have opened opportunities to other people to abuse them, and they are sometimes themselves so confused that they cannot even explain the reason for their attitude.

Moreover, rape survivors still feel unsafe in the face of any man resembling their offenders:

“In front of militias, I feel unsafe. My co-spouses, and in-laws make me feel unsafe as well as easily they can engage into battle with me” (RSIJ13)

... “Militias, armies, etc. make me too much afraid of them as I think of being rape again” (RSIJ14)...

“Every person who wears military uniform makes me afraid and feel unsafe because they are the ones who humiliate me through rape” (RSIJ15)...

“When I meet people who resemble those who raped me”, “when I’m among adult men, and men in uniforms” (RSIJ16)...

“I feel unsafe in the presence of all men. I think that every man is a probable Hutu, a rapist. A Hutu does not have the pity of a human being compared to the way that they were treating us without any pity. I just realise that every man is a Hutu, they are all the same” (RSIJ17).

Militias, rebels, army, and other wicked civilians are categories of people who raped them. Hence, for rape survivors, being faced with any person wearing uniform brings back harsh rape memories which fragilize them as the source of all their misery – going so far as to see every man as a potential sex offender. Despite their worries and the lack of safety, some rape survivors have learnt to protect themselves against physical and psychological violence to cover their desperation to be protected.

Rape survivors’ self-protection against physical and psychological violence:

Frustrated rape survivors try to protect themselves and get protection from other people willing to do so. Some survivors have been defending themselves against neighbourhood insecurity, but others are defended by their husbands:

“It’s true, I’ve been raped, and that already belongs to the past, so what” (RSIJ30)...

“... and I used to tell them when I hear people criticizing me, bothering me, menacing to chase me away from the area and menacing to kill me, I used to tell them, “Come and kill us if you do have power, right and authorization to do it” (RSIJ31)...

“They have acknowledged how resistant I am, saying ‘she is strong, that woman, to live with us despite the fact that we are insulting her, she is always there’” (RSIJ32).

Survivors who try to protect themselves against community insecurity started by acknowledging their status of being rape survivors and used the fact as a precondition to resistance, then acted in a resistant way to confront community attitudes that made them feel unsafe, applying self-defence against neighbours’ negative provocations. Hence, rape survivors have learnt to be strongly self-defensive as they have convinced themselves that they do not deserve unfair treatment and therefore have a right to self-defence. This created rape self-respect in survivors and granted acceptance. From survivors’ responses, when they showed a resistant attitude to neighbours’ exclusion, offenders learnt to respect and stop menacing them. Thus, survivors’ open resistance, challenging community menace, is the key to success. Unfortunately, this attitude is rarely found among survivors, only resorted to by strongly resilient rape survivors.

Sometimes, rape survivors protected themselves through self-defence in their own way as reported:

“What people used to say when they noticed that I don’t care about their worse treatment against me is ‘besides all those maltreatments, like injustice, discrimination, abuse that we are submitting this woman to, how didn’t she decide yet to leave this area? That means she is foolish indeed’(RSIJ1)

... “When I try to defend myself or to speak loudly against what they did to me, they said, ‘See that foolish woman. She is showing how silly she is’”. That, I feel grieved by. They treated me like a fool, only because I’m enduring the suffering that they have submitted me to” (RSIJ2).

Some survivors proved how resilient they are at resisting external menace frightening them into giving up their fight to fit into their family and community. As they were behaving unexpectedly, they have been portrayed as foolish. The strategy used was just to pay less attention to the abusers, sometimes turning to jokes in self-defence. Resilience, strong resilience through suffering was turned into “silliness”. Hence, most rape survivors are fragilized by external attitudes. In this case, only self-motivation helped them to step out, demonstrating their resilience. There are actions done to survivors which determine their rejection, reinforce, or soften it, but the achievement of those actions is accomplished depending on survivors’ attitudes, strong or weak resilience, resistance, etc.

Rape survivors’ interpersonal insecurity: weak support and lack of solidarity towards rape survivors:

Interpersonal insecurity is measured by the level of support and protection that would make rape survivors feel safe with people in the community. Rape survivors’ weak interpersonal relationships are driven by antipathic attitudes towards them, making them feel unsupported, unprotected, not trusted, and harshly rejected. Community perception on survivors determines action for or against them. This combines both positive and negative aspects, with negative connotations predominance even though some rape survivors have benefitted some support from friendship. Questions asked of the survivors were: According to your situation, what do people tell you that you are? Is there anything annoying you? or anyone, with whom you feel safe, secured, or protected? Why? There are factors and actors provoking rape survivors’ unsafety, providing less support even though some small number has benefiting from their relatives and friends’ support.

Rape survivors’ expectation of being supported, protected is ranged from intimate, for those who are married, family and community.

Intimate rejective attitude against rape survivors:

Husbands and partners of rape survivors applying rejective attitudes have made their relationships unpleasant, delaying their trauma healing trauma process.

“It’s my husband who normally is supposed to protect me, but he has dumped me. It’s what makes me feel unsafe” (RSIJ4)...

“I’m not consoled, comforted because of two facts, rape and bad treatment of my husband” (RSIJ5)

... “I don’t see anyone to help me. In my marriage, my husband and co-spouse married after rape, used to insult me. Thus, people from the area repeat the same insults. They are the ones who should protect me but instead, they are inciting others to do so” (RSIJ6).

Rape survivors felt rejected now that they most needed support from their partners. Lack of support is displayed by the absence of the husbands who dumped their wives or the presence of abusive husbands. In both cases, rape survivors suffered from community exclusion, soft or forced, influenced by negative attitudes of their husbands.

“The thing that annoys me is the abandonment of my husband. Here in our village, when the husband abandons you, other people abandon you as well. For example, the person who gave me a farm to cultivate ended up by stealing, he was telling me ‘I’m not your husband to take care of you. I can’t take care of your husband burdens, yet he abandoned you. I’m sorry’” (RSIJ7)...

“I tell myself, if only my husband could be here, they could respect me. My heart is grieved and I’m now suffering because of blood pressure” (RSIJ8)...

“The fact that my children have been abandoned, and I myself don’t have means to take care of them” (RSIJ9)...

“Men are all irresponsible up to abandoning their children because of a wife’s fault. What is the link between my fault, rape and the punishment that they submitted children to?” (RSIJ10)...

“Mockery from people of this area as my husband dumped me, my in-laws incited me to find another husband who should take care of me” (RSIJ11).

For married rape survivors, or those who got married after rape occurred, the abandonment of the husbands constitutes the major factor leading to their lack of safety in their neighbourhood, as the presence of men or husbands itself gives security to survivors in many ways, like granting respect, acceptance, support, and compassion. For others, perceptions of survivors changed positively or negatively according to husbands’ attitudes. This alone is enough to protect or reject, to secure or expose rape survivors. In the case of abandonment, not only were husbands harshly dumping their rape survivor wives, but children also constituted a source of rape survivors’ frustration due to their inability to take care of their children which exposed them to an uncertain future. For single rape survivors, some families, because of rape survivors’ insecurity, started inciting them to look for a husband for their safety, whatever the means of getting the husband. As such, rape survivors are exposed to prostitution just for their safety in the neighbourhood, as being without husband is equal to be exposed to insecurity, loss of protection, loss of respect, etc. To guarantee their safety, they are forced to do so.

Fact proving lack of support and protection:

There is fact that proves rape survivors lacking support in their community, being raped twice. If at the intrapersonal level, rape survivors are fearing the relapse of rape, here this fact is a real prove and expresses the lack of protection. For instance, rape survivors who have been raped twice have experienced the worse of the deterioration of their relationships, either in their living area or in terms of relational insecurity with their partners.

“The second rape story made me lacking support from my husband. It has worsened my humiliation and disdain, destroying my relationship with my husband. Since that day, if my husband got angry, the only thing he used to say is ‘it’s you who will let those sex offenders kill me’ (RSIJ8)...

“The second rape story has aggravated disregard, disdain in the area” (RSIJ9).

Being raped twice is a misfortune to rape survivors who see their relationship destroyed as mistrust and psychological violence due to husbands’ frustration intensified. The second rape has less compassion and trust of rape survivors, who are exposed to any negative threat from other people. Thus, instead of getting support, rape survivors get disdain, humiliation, and disregard. Survivors feel that they no longer fit into their intimate relationship and into the area due to negative attitudes from husbands and the neighbourhood. This is connected to the lack of confidentiality of rape, as survivors narrated: “*Here in our community, if someone knows your story, your weakness, that will turn into mockery and insults. That’s annoyed me too much, insults based on my woe, even my relatives*” (RSIJ14). The management of rape confidentiality is crucial for survivors’ relationships. It protects rape survivors from any external negative attitudes like teasing, mockery, disrespect, etc. which automatically destroy their relationships.

Lack of support for rape survivors is the factor weakening their relationship, as they narrated. For rape survivors, offering something is a way for them to be accepted and fit into relationships with other people. However, given that survivors’ offers are taken with disrespect and little consideration, this turns into survivors’ frustration. Not only are survivors undermined in this way, but people terrorize them by cruel actions, stealing what survivors consider necessary to survive. Given that some survivors are not protectively supported, whether by their husbands or relatives, the quality of their relationship keeps on deteriorating. It’s therefore restraining, delaying, and obstructing survivors’ efforts to ameliorate their relationship and increasing antipathic attitudes against rape survivors.

Family and neighbour negative attitudes towards rape survivors:

Some rape survivors’ families played a huge role in negatively influencing the increase of the disconnection of their daughters from the community and increase their discrimination and socially weaken their reintegration from their own family to the rest of the community after rape occurred. This attitude has proven lack of support and family protection.

“[she laughed before answering the question] When people from my family hate me, those from outside won’t appreciate, love me and support me” (RSIJ13)...

“In this area, people do not appreciate, like or not support me. For example, in my village, I’ve integrated into a local development group to feel safe among them. But they always look for a way to vex me for me to withdraw myself from their group” (RSIJ25).

“When there is news in the community and in the area where I stay, like new-borns, marriage, etc., no one informs me about the event. I will only realise that something happened. My family is not willing to involve me in different events, organisations, etc. As they don’t inform me in advance, that’s for me a sign of no acceptance; personally, I don’t feel safe living alongside with them” (RSIJ32)

“Sometimes, they themselves used to advise me to leave this area and go to stay somewhere else as I still have time. People consider me here as an outsider of the village” (RSIJ24)...

“People from my area accused me to FARDC⁵⁵ in order to chase me from the neighbourhood. When I heard that, I ran away to the forest. They ended up by firing my house, because they feared my presence in the area which could attract enemies to them” (RSIJ12)...

Given that people in the neighbourhood have been openly expressing their hate against rape survivors by harshly chasing them away from the area using criminal techniques such as burning down their homes, this displays how hated survivors are. They are not considered as having a right to live as equal as other people. Rights of freedom and sacristy of life have been denied to them. The relationship between rape survivors and former perpetrators is considered as curse. Automatically, survivors' presence is assimilated to the attraction of a curse upon people in the community. Consequently, the fear of rebels and militias reprisals provokes maltreatment against rape survivors who are wrongly considered as a source of insecurity of the people in their neighbourhood. Thus, need to keep themselves safe seemed to sacrifice rape survivors, using forced and harsh exclusion to get rid of them. Violence, either physical or psychological, is here applied to force them quit the area.

With soft exclusion, survivors are not pressured directly to leave their neighbourhood. Instead, psychological violence is applied, a strategic approach to constrain them maliciously and implicitly to quiet the area. They are marginalized, terrorised, provoked, bullied, and reminded about the painful wound of their rape story and the wicked nature of their perpetrators. They are the ones who make the community unsafe because of their connection to their perpetrators. This constitutes a package of psychological violence that survivors are facing in their daily life, weakening their harmony and relationship in the community. In this condition, survivors are not encouraged to step out towards any relationship restoration, but instead to isolate themselves or run away from the area. This is despite survivors' efforts to reintegrate into their community.

Soft exclusion is as powerful as forced exclusion in that it constrains rape survivors to quit the area as they are considered as pariahs. For other survivors, people in the community try to accomplish their soft exclusion by creating fear to control their minds, and gradually get rid of them, as survivors reported: *“they used to tell me to leave the village because if war erupts again, I’m in danger of being killed. As a Hutu concubine victim, I’m automatically a FADRC enemy [she is actually a Hutu woman who is not accepted in the Congolese community]”*. Controlling survivors' minds is soft rejection, a strategic exclusion that convinced survivors of their dangerous presence in the community in order to implicitly force them to decide and opt for their own withdrawal from the area.

55 FARDC: Force Armée de la Republique Democratique du Congo, which can be translated from as. Armed Forces of the DR Congo

Contradictory support from fellow women:

Not only are women among those who have supported survivors to improve their quality of life, but they are also among those who abuse rape survivors. The controversial role that women play for and against their fellow has made rape survivors feel unsafe and broken harmony between women in the neighbourhood, although other women would assist them. They have been associated with their perpetrators, making them feel outsiders, a category to be got rid of. Rape survivors narrated how they are portrayed by their fellow women.

“Hutu wife, an enemy of the community” ... “They consider me as Hutu wife. The one that has been taken to the jungle”, ... “Wife of *interahamwen*” ... “they area call me wife of Hutu, prostitute” ... “they used to insult me, saying that I’m a wicked woman, skinny woman, the dumped one, used by others, prostitute, etc.” (RSIJ30) ... “A positive HIV/AIDS, wife of Hutu” ... “In the area where I’m staying, they call me ‘woman from the jungle, *interamwen* wife” (RSIJ31)...

“They call me vagrant. There are some who don’t like me at all. I don’t mean anything to them. I’m nothing. But some others approach me” (RSIJ32) ... “I’m called a homeless person!” (RSIJ1)...

“Divorced for rape. They say it by Mockery: ‘see that victim, it’s because of that rape she went back to her family’” (RSIJ2).

“A girl who does not deserve to be married” (RSIJ3)...

“*Interahamwen* concubine’. Some accused me falsely to my husband to incite him to divorce me. They want him to get a second wife” (RSIJ4),

The way in which rape survivors are portrayed is related to a xenophobic sentiment against invaders, who are mostly foreigner rebels, by being depicted as a Hutu concubine, an enemy of the community. Rape survivors are not dissociated from their perpetrators at all. Women influenced by the perception of their community upon rape survivors seem to pay back, to take revenge on rape survivors, rejecting them by depicting them as a pariah whose identity has become confusing. Given that they are nicknamed negatively as prostitutes, positive for HIV/AIDS, wild women, wicked, vagrant and homeless, inappropriate women, incapable of sustaining any opportunity like marriage, failures, not deserving to be married, etc., they are perceived as useless as they have been sexually used in the jungle by disliked sex offenders, and do not deserve respect as reported: “They don’t respect me since I’ve been taken to the jungle and come back”. As such, they are perceived as morally dangerous for other women husbands in the community, even though a minority of people can still consider them as not offensive.

Some rape survivors, because of the pain they have of being portrayed in such a way by their own community, could not answer the question “according to your current situation, how do people portray you or tell you who you are?” They responded to that question by body language, showing how disappointed, broken, desperate, and deeply grieved they are. From my observation, for instance, after I asked a survivor that question, she cried because of the identity given to her by her husband, “a professional prostitute, Hutu concubine, enemy of community”.

Scarce support from friendship:

The only basis for receiving support is friendship. This is independent of the kind of relationship that rape survivors might have. This is the reason friendship has been utilised as a kind of support in all kinds of relationships, whether they be familial, romantic, or otherwise. Fewer rape survivors received most of their support from their close family members and acquaintances who are also connected via friendship.

“The fact that my husband did not chase me away from my marriage, people have started considering me with respect in the community, as a mother, a parent. They don’t discriminate against me in the area where I stay ... when I went to fetch water, people can drink it, when I cook food, people can eat it, people feel good with me or to stay with me” (RSIJ12)...

... “Some people speak to me without any problem. When I asked them why they don’t criticise me like others, they told me that people speak against or for you equally to the way you behave. They can either criticise you or protect you. When they tell me that, I keep quiet even when others criticize me” (RSIJ13)... “My neighbours do not discriminate against me. they share things that they have with me” (RSIJ14)

... “Some felt pity for me, support me: ‘Instead of dying at least you are alive because you choose to be raped, though, others passed away’” (RSIJ15).

The scarce support that rape survivors got from other people comes from strong resilient friendship, either in a couple or ordinary friendships. Those who are accepted by their husbands are also accepted by other people in the community and vice-versa. Thus, husbands and friends’ consideration to rape survivors determines survivors’ quality of relationship in the community. There is a transfer of attitude from inside to outside in any perception, positive or negative. There are aspects that show rape survivors acceptance, such as love, closeness, chat, accepting survivors’ services or offers, understanding survivors’ situations and sympathizing with them as they consider life sacred and more important than rape. Rape survivors’ attitudes contribute to getting back positive attitudes from other people, even though this is not required to be accepted.

7.2.4 Rape survivors’ safety constrained

Rape survivors’ lack of safety is one of the key factors restraining their relationships in the community. This includes financial insecurity, physical and psychological insecurity, interpersonal insecurity whether in their families, intimate relationships or in the community, disrupting the three levels of safety, namely intrapersonal safety, safety in relationships and safety in the living place or environment.

7.2.4.1 Rape survivors’ financial frustration

Financial insecurity is an accurate response to a perceived condition of financial lack. It generates other secondary feelings making the individual feel worthless, convinced they are unable to support themselves and those relying on them. It has created frustration due to poverty that weakens them and carries with it other consequences such as mental health disturbance, weak resilience as well as the

worry of transmitting the same feeling and weak financial state to their offspring, especially to those born from rape. Even though financial insecurity does threaten people differently according to their gender, age, socioeconomic background, etc. (Boarini and Osberg 2014), the need to satisfy basic needs as well as the aspiration to well-being is still the same for every human being and uncertainty in obtaining them harms all, because “money is used to satisfy basic physiological needs” (Howell, Kurai and Tam 2013: 17). Consequently, lacking money for such needs and struggling to meet their basic needs (Berger, Cancian and Magnuson 2018) causes frustration. Gender and age are two components that in case of rape survivors have made a difference in increasing poverty and misery. According to our findings, most rape survivor respondents are either uneducated or had completed primary school at the time rape occurred and were still at the same educational level as they dropped out of school at a very young age and couldn’t resume their education, maintaining them in a state of generalized poverty. King and Murray (2002:585) highlight that “generalized poverty occurs when an individual falls below the threshold of any key domain of human well-being” which for rape survivors means not having an educational level that could allow them to get a job or be able to create their own job in order to generate income or opportunities. The risk is here that they and their dependents remain in a culture of poverty perpetuated through low levels of education (Bird 2007).

The second level of rape survivors’ financial insecurity frustration is the transmission of a culture of poverty to their offspring, understood as intergenerational transmission of poverty (Wu et al. 2019) in its narrow meaning of the solidification phenomenon of poverty. Traditionally, “poverty has been defined in ‘absolute’ terms, pegged to the level of income of an individual or household” (Lund 2012: 214) but many scholars (e.g. Buvinić and Gupta 1997) have analysed the issue of poverty based on gender issues, where the gap between men and women’s poverty is quite deep, making women much more miserable than men. This consensus in the literature demonstrating causes of poverty based on income, level of education and the gender gap does not determine all the evidence to justify reasons for the degree of poverty regarding women and girls who suffered from rape. On top of the general evidence from scholars displaying causes of persistent poverty, the available evidence from our findings demonstrates supplementary factors. Rape survivors have been weakened physically, morally, and socially by anxiety, and these are factors maintaining and nurturing the culture of poverty – which aspects have not yet attracted the attention of scholars. From our findings, the state before rape, such as lack of education and lack of employment, has been reinforced by the state of health, mind, and social relationships of rape survivors to maintain the culture of poverty, transmitted from them to their children who are not educated due to the lack of means. Furthermore, divorced by their husbands who were their financial support, rape survivors carry a higher dependency burden while being a female-headed household, as argue Buvinić and Gupta (1997). The abandonment of rape survivors as well as their children born from rape (or not) by their husbands has huge consequences, revisiting female parents’ poverty upon their children as rape survivors are already living under poverty culture conditions even

though external factors amplify their persistence. This depends on the one hand on the lack of participation in mainstream society and the inherent socio-psychological, political and economic traits of the poor themselves, while the opposing view on the other hand suggests that poverty emerges and persists solely because of socio-economic structures external to the value systems and behaviours of the poor (Bird 2007). Thus, the persistence of poverty situations in which rape survivors and their offspring are caught have produced other consequences, such as weakening their level of resilience to face and overcome such adversity and increasing and maintaining mental disturbance.

Rape survivors living in poverty are exposed to risks to their mental health as their living conditions are worse than the one of low income. Belle (1990b) and some other scholars of epidemiological research, psychologists, and sociologists show consensus on the relationship between many indicators of poverty, low income and common mental disorders, (Belle 1990a; Unknown author 2000; Funk, Drew and Knapp 2012), which is not only observed in adults but also in children in such conditions at their adulthood (Knifton and Inglis 2020: 193). Women, especially those survivors from rape having mental antecedents due to rape, have eight times greater relative risk for schizophrenia and depression than those with highest socio-economic status (Belle 1990b; Saraceno and Barbui 1997; Funk, Drew and Knapp 2012). However, the general trend has demonstrated that women are more likely to suffer from depression than men. Several studies have found, for instance, that low-income mothers are at great risk for depression (Belle 1990b). This vulnerability has made rape survivors much more likely to suffer from schizophrenia and depression restricting them from improving their relationships with other people, an attitude that fosters rejection, as Benov et al. (2013) assert.

7.2.4.2 Social ostracism

Rape survivors weak interpersonal relationships are expressed as an ostracism crisis, a negative interpersonal experience (Nezlek et al. 2012), an act of being excluded or ignored (Williams and Zadro 2001), one of the types of social exclusion (Wesselmann *et al.* 2016), driven by antipathic and aversive attitudes to rape survivors making them feel unsupported, unprotected, untrusted, and harshly rejected, either in terms of relational insecurity or their relationship to the community constraining them to feel like outsiders. Many factors like rape relapse, issues of confidentiality, lack of support, living by hope, and blame for children born have intensified the feeling. In fact, social ostracism is conceptualized as a form of interpersonal stress disturbing, many social cohesion values such as feelings of belonging, harmony, solidarity and support. Bastian and Haslam's (2010) research on the dehumanizing effects of social ostracism reveals the impact of social ostracism on the feeling of belonging.

The need to belong is a fundamental human motive whose frustration has destructive consequences. Social ostracism undermines people's sense of belonging, control, self-esteem, and meaningfulness (Zadro, Williams and Richardson 2004), increases aggression (Twenge *et al.* 2001), reduces pro-social behaviour (Twenge *et al.* 2007), and impairs self-regulation (Baumeister *et al.* 2006). The impact of

ostracism is profound, and it is also surprisingly general. Ostracism is highly aversive even when it is perpetrated by distant or despised others (Gonsalkorale and Williams 2007), or even by inanimate objects (Zadro, Williams and Richardson 2004). By implication, social exclusion is painful in itself, and not only in the contexts of particular relationships (Bastian and Haslam 2010: 107).

Rape survivors suffer from social ostracism in their interpersonal relationships, either private or in a large group like family, household, or community, where they have been excluded and rejected, influencing therefore their attitudes, and causing them to feel unsafe among others. Since any human being has a strong need to belong to someone or some environment, feelings such as rejection or exclusion generate strong aversions (Leary 2001). In my research the insecurity is displayed as psychological insecurity.

Psychological insecurity of rape survivors:

Insecurity is the main feeling that rape survivors have from being in touch with other people, whether their closer relatives like families and friends, from other people in the community or from the situation and environment in which they are living. Psychologically, rape survivors feel unsafe for two main reasons: internal insecurity and external threats. Depicting themselves as inferior to other people and in their families and community, rape survivors are caught in competitive lives that they struggle to come out of. Cameron and McCormick (1954: 557) argue that “insecurity may arise from our estimates of how we compare with our fellows” which term can be used interchangeably with anxiety, inferiority, or inadequacy. If feelings of inferiority made them insecure, external threats and feelings of seeing their values challenged increase the state of insecurity. This comes from the prejudice and stigma against rape survivors keeping them falling back into sadness, hurt, and even anxiety. These concepts of sadness and hurt are emotions operationalizing psychological insecurity. Rape survivors’ fear and anxiety, maintaining sadness, is provoked by the lack of safety in their environment, from the situations they are living in and the experience of rape, and fearing the relapse of rape. Going through the first experience of rape, many rape survivors lost trust in external people as their minds were awake, ready to face or challenge the expected rape which affected their level of trusting others. In an interpersonal relationships, the existing literature confirms that psychological insecurity is opposed to interpersonal trust (Taormina and Sunb 2015). In this case, instead of rape survivors being convinced by any action or behaviour as promised by others, they are convinced of suspecting others of causing them emotional harm, therefore granting space for psychological insecurity to destroy interpersonal relationships. The more suspicious they are, the less they trust other people in their environment. Consequently, this untrusting attitude produces double attitudes, being at the same their defensive position as well as being judgemental, depicting everybody as being against them.

Psychological insecurity has a huge impact on rape survivors’ trust in their interpersonal relationships. It increases when survivors are in a close relationship to the person they trust, especially in the case of

family members, close relatives, or friends on whom rape survivors are dependent. This dependency is one of the factors that could encourage rape survivors to be open to them, but which unfortunately turns against them. Dependence increases psychological insecurity; “the more dependency people have, the more psychological insecurity they will have” (Taormina and Sunb 2015: 176) – for instance, fearing being abandoned or having their privacy betrayed. Privacy, of rape survivors, due to their dependency, is a challenging issue that disrupts trust and weakens relationships. Not only is protecting rape survivors’ privacy vital (National Crime Victim Law Institute 2017) and difficult (Zannoni n.d), but is also not being taught and there is not training to handle confidentiality of rape survivors, and the lack of confidentiality means close relatives, friends, husbands and other people were not and are not able to protect rape survivors’ confidentiality, making survivors reluctant to socialize with others. There is a relationship between the failure of confidentiality, privacy protection and the untrusting relationship (Campbell 1995). Unprotected communication between interlocutors is still a challenging issue, destroying relational harmony of rape survivors who find themselves without enough support for their privacy. Lacking control of their privacy which “refers to the right to prevent the disclosure of personal information that was shared in confidence” (Hagen *et al.* 2018: 6), rape survivors’ psychological insecurity keeps on creating social distance, communication withdrawal, and gradually a self- and soft exclusion provoked by the weak quality of relationships.. Dependency of rape survivors becomes more challenging when it comes to the intimate relationships and family, due to their close relationships and the direct effects of rape on their relatives.

Intimate dependency and psychological insecurity:

Dependency is a large term in social sciences, which theory basically explains economic development of states (Vincent Ferraro 2008; Romaniuk 2017). However, dependency in the context of intimate interpersonal relationships is well expressed by the term interdependence. Interdependence theory better explains the effects of dependency in intimate relationships. Arriaga (2013:3) argues that “interdependence theory provides concepts that are useful for understanding how couple members affect each other and how what couples do in specific interactions influences the general course of their relationship”. In fact, couples’ interdependence is driven by attitudes and behaviours that each one offers reciprocally, sharing many values, thoughts, feelings, and emotional experiences. Individuals involved in significant caring intimate relationships not only care; they act with each other to negotiate life's challenges as successfully as possible (Howe 2002). In this, attitudes like protection from physical, social, and emotional pains remain the backbone of the intimate relationship’s supports.

Rape survivors, being aware of the way a normal intimate relationship works, have complained about their husbands’ or partners’ attitudes and acts against them. For them, being caught in such a condition of rape victimisation and psychological insecurity, their partners should be their primary source of support. Unfortunately, their partners turned into the main actors of their rejection, influencing other

people to behave similarly. The source and effect of rape survivors' abandonment by husbands are mostly rooted in the cultural background. Even though most couples confront a variety of problems throughout their relationship, including conflict over amount and quality of time spent together, disputes over finances, dividing up domestic responsibilities, jealousy, and communication difficulties (Hira and Overall 2010), causes of dispute which led to the abandonment of wives, in the case of rape survivors, come from socialization, cultural patriarchal beliefs and less effective problem solving with solutions paralysed by psychological interpretation of the offence.

In a patriarchal society like that of Kalonge, rape survivors are blamed by their husbands and subjected to abandonment as the offence reveals and exposes masculine weakness of husbands' conduct, such as competition, domination, and self-reliance which are essential in masculine culture. The fact that men who are indirect victims of their wives' rape offence felt they had been defeated by the rape perpetrator, failing against the competitive virtue of "let the best win", win and be better than others (Wang, Wang and Liu 2018: 2), we depict men's abandonment attitude as shame at failure to win the competition of protecting their women and of being beaten by the opponents. Men's fear of being socially shamed by others, of being labelled as irresponsible, appears to be salient. Under the gaze of society, men tend to save their self-image of being protective, responsible, and justifying their masculinity. Otherwise, some men tend to vent their failure upon women, their own rape survivor wives, by either abusing or abandoning them as they feel their self-image and masculinity are being threatened.

The failure of rape survivors' husbands has negatively affected their wives, disrupting their relationships with their husbands as well as with the rest of people in their families and community, seeing their attachment security being wrapped up in patriarchal beliefs and ideas. Adult attachment relationships have been defined as "the class of relationships in which proximity to the other person affects one's sense of felt security" (Ravitz, Maunder and McBride 2008: 11). Rape survivors being abandoned by their husbands, being detached from their loved ones, has created feelings of insecurity. They are worried about society's patriarchal judgement that gives rights to men's attitudes and behaviours for or against women, considering men as superior to women (Rawat 2014). The fact that men have been given power to exercise control upon women, has given males extra privilege (Tonsing and Tonsing 2019) of being heard; their attitudes, thoughts, and behaviours, whether right or wrong, have been interpreted as being right. Consequently, being rejected by their husbands has as consequence being wrong by the society. Survivors are exposed to rejection from their families and from the community, since a married woman's value is attached to their husbands' attachment and protection. A husband's rejection automatically influences other people's attitudes for or against rape survivors. There seems to be a link between husbands' abandonment and negative perceptions of the abandoned wives, who are depicted as prostitutes.

Many rape survivors have complained about threats by people in the community after being abandoned by their husbands. Since men are in control, rape survivors fear also being used by them sexually, or being sexually abused by other men, which causes society to depict them as prostitutes. The advantage that other men took, and keep on taking, of abandoned rape survivors spreads the idea that abandoned wives are prostitutes. Rape survivors are therefore annoyed by this consequence, as claimed: “here in our village, when the husband abandons you, other people abandon you as well”, which leads to a forced marriage just for the sake of being protected and accepted in their families as well as in their community. For this, rape survivors blame their partners for rejecting them, a major factor that affects other people and sees their expectations of getting support from their partners dropped.

Further, rape survivors have been forced to self-depict as being wrong for being raped, of being prostitutes and immoral, of being threatened themselves as such. However, those whose rape situation did not negatively affect their husbands and who have been accepted by their husbands who protected their respect and acceptance in society, have felt and depicted themselves as respectful and moral women. Hence, the patriarchal consequences of the way husbands have framed the issue of their rape survivor wives have heavily affected relationships of the couples and distorted rape survivors’ relationships with the rest of their community, except for those who have been accepted by their husbands. This seems to increase psychological insecurity on the side of husbands and the community (as secondary closer and further victims of rape) as well as rape survivors themselves.

Family dependency challenges:

What caused rape survivors and their relatives to clash after rape is dependency on their family. The filial bond affects both, as rape taints and blemishes family honour, dignity and respect and is the key factor inflaming and maintaining violence against rape survivors in families. The emphasis is here put on the family honour which leads to the rest of the interactions between the victims and their families.

Coined by Cohen et al. (1996) and initially proposed by John Shelton Reed (Souza et al. 2017), the theory of honour culture⁵⁶ is understood under an evolutionary theory which goes from herding economies’ protection, to the symbol of infectious disease, where the outgroup is called a parasite, to romance. In fact, the herding economies’ protection explanation is a culture of demonstrating dominance and maintaining one’s honour would develop as a means of protecting one’s property, which protection violation easily turns into violence. The second explanation takes into consideration the

⁵⁶ Honour cultures enforce a strict code of traditional gender roles that “dictates precedence and toughness for males, [while] norms for females stress modesty, shame, and the avoidance of behaviours that might threaten the good name of the family (e.g., adultery or sexual immodesty)”. Women are “viewed as weaker than, and owned and protected by men and restricted by male-dominated rules” (Cynthia Helba, Matthew Bernstein, Mariel Leonard, Erin Bauer. (2015). Report on Exploratory Study into Honour Violence Measurement Methods. Washington: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics. p

environment in which honour culture develops. In this model, there is a strong bond between in-group vs out-group, where violence is associated with honour and moral purity. This opposition between in-group and out-group easily leads to extreme interpersonal violence such as honour killing (Thornhill and Fincher 2011). The third evolutionary explanation on the culture of honour development stems from romance. Shackelford (2005) argues that the violent behaviour of honour cultures serves the evolutionary goal of retaining one's mate. The typical understanding of the romance theory is rooted in the loss of honour from infidelity in a partnership. The three evolutionary explanations of honour culture can be summarized as a culture of violence. Many countries of Mediterranean culture and others (Hosseini 2016; Shier and Shor 2016) apply honour killing (Faqr 2001; Cohan 2010; D'Lima, Solotaroff and Pande 2020; Kardam et al. nd) with high rate of homicide (Mosquera, Manstead and Fischer 2002; Souza et al. 2017) against victims in cases of sexual misconduct, and unfortunately with a higher worldwide percentage (Helba 2015) against female victims of rape as the act is claimed to tarnish the honour of the family or that of the husband, as owners of daughters and women accused of sexual misconduct. In these countries, families are deeply affected by the rape of their female relatives and struggle to come to terms with the effects. The only way to sort out the issue and regain the family's honour is to harm or kill the female victim, committing femicide as the only way to prevent dishonour to the family.

If honour protection is the motivation for femicide in families driven by honour culture, in societies and families where honour is not a culture but a normal virtue, the intensity of the effect and approaches to handle its consequences (like shame of the family due sexual misconduct accusations, blaming of their relative) differs from the society where honour is a culture and where herding influences homicide (Alzheimer 2012). However, literature does not prove the hypothesis that every herding society uses a culture of honour (Henry 2009). South-Kivu society, although it is a pastoral society, does not follow a typic honour culture belief and ideas, and is also not driven by extreme violence. For instance, tarnishing the image of the family based on sexual misconduct does not lead automatically to femicide. However, members of South Kivu society suffer from the secondary trauma, and other effects from their relatives' rapes as in a society driven by honour culture, but not with the same intensity of feeling as they can bear the pain of their relatives' rape without committing femicide even though in both cases, honour is still the key factor that shapes their relationships, determining the manner of handling the consequences and strategies to come out of a rape crisis that affects both rape survivors and their families.

Honour is more closely related to family and social interdependence (Mosquera, Manstead and Fischer 2002). From this basis, we have analysed how rape affects family bonds in a non-cultural honour society using honour to justify violence. In the Kalonge villages of South Kivu, rape of female relatives has tarnished the honour of families, making families' reactions violent. Family violence against their rape survivor relatives is psychologically dominant where families use violent attitudes and behaviours to get rid of survivors to regain and preserve the family's dignity, instead of using crimes like femicide to

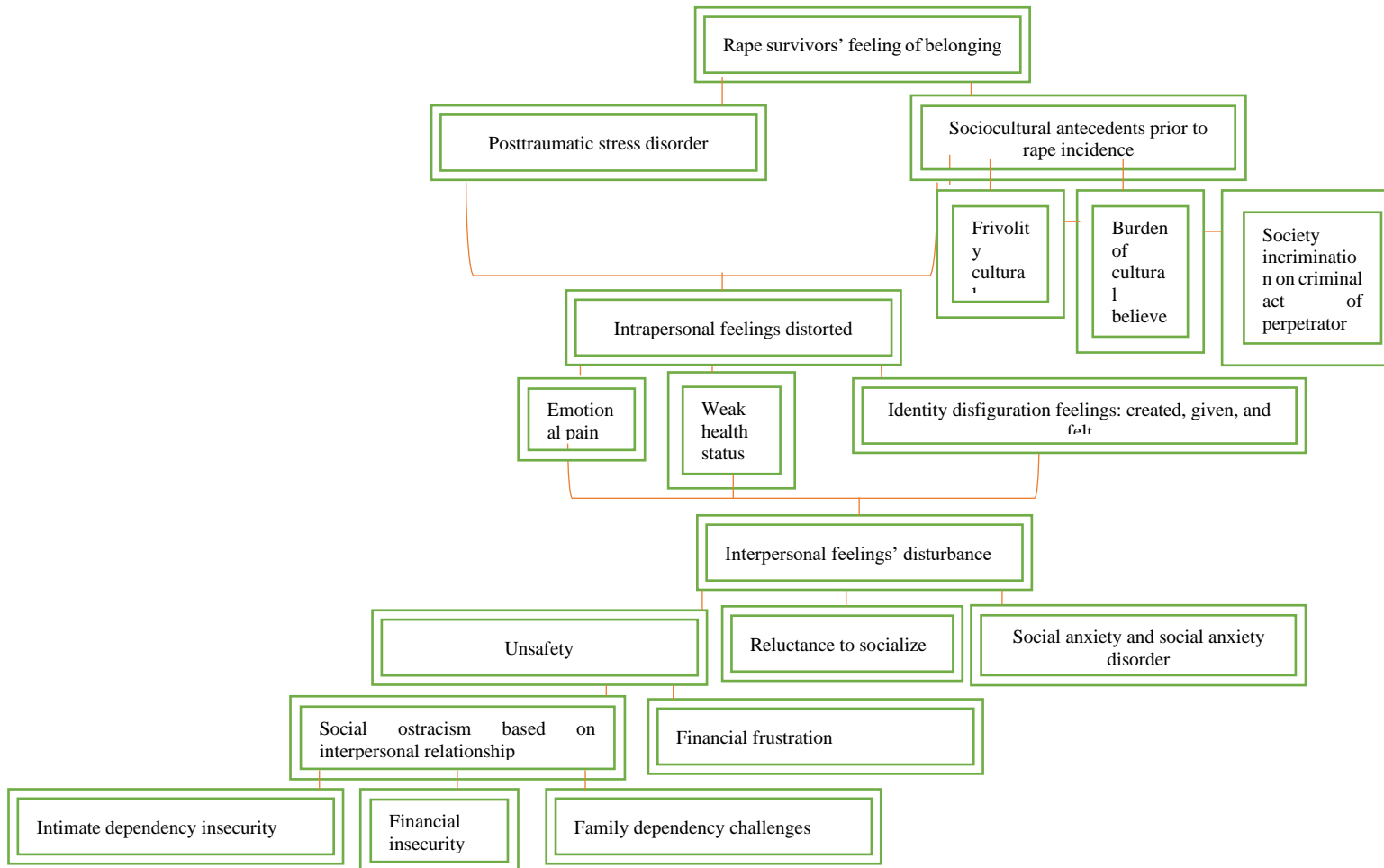
regain respect in the community. Helba (2015) argues that honour violence is held tightly within families. Even though some rape survivors received support from their families, others did not. The fact that families' honour was affected, made their reactions toward their female relatives violent, using many approaches to overcome the shame. Families have applied psychological violence such as forced marriage, banning from the family, non-communication and non-dialogue, non-participation in family activities, and withdrawal of protection.

Families' approaches to regaining their respect is to add value to their rape survivor female relatives and enhance human and social capital but the way of doing this seems wrong as it expresses disrespect and psychological violence toward survivors. Parallel research in sociology has also shown a relationship between disrespect and violence (Henry 2009). Families wish good things for their daughters and their only goal is to regain value by empowering their daughters. Unfortunately, they are limited to marriage as the keyway of valuing their daughters, expecting to get valued in turn. In the same way they have been denigrated by the rape of their female relatives, they want to regain respect by empowering their daughters which means the gaining of dignity and respect for families, and healing from the secondary trauma that families are suffering. Their empowerment has therefore a positive impact on both rape survivors and their families.

Findings showed that the challenge to families to save face and protect themselves against secondary trauma from their female relatives' rape is the approach they used to empower their female relatives through forced marriage, early and precocious marriage or marriage of uneducated immature girls. Even though age at marriage in the recent decades appears susceptible to rapid changes (United Nations International Development Agency 2014), in the rural area of South-Kivu community the decline of the trend to early marriage is not yet clear, as young girls are still marrying, either willingly or forced by the one of their families, and are not educated as much as modern girls in urban areas, which has the consequence of early marriage. Along similar lines Boertien and Härkönen (2018: 1242), argue that "educated women divorce less than women with lower levels of education in several societies today". Although marriage appears to families as an approach to empower rape survivors in order to regain respect in the family as well as in their community, the lack of preparation, such as immature age, misery, financial dependence, and lack of education put them at a disadvantage in handling their marriage successfully and achieving the goal set by their families. Consequently, family insistence on forced marriage of their female relatives often results in clashes between rape survivors and their families, since the marriage is achieved without their consent; on the other hand, the family is frustrated by keeping a traumatic image of rape that sullies the family and makes them ashamed. By trying to protect survivors from sexual misconduct and protecting themselves against the shame brought by rape, they all fall into coercion and psychological violence.

Conflict of interest between the two parties is a pure characteristic of a patriarchal society where the continued belief is that marriage is essential to girls' and women's survival (Sweetman 2010) and marriage remains women's and girls' destiny, over-riding personal inclinations. In this way, to succeed to satisfy their desired approach, the family increases the intensity of violence to constrain rape survivors to respect their decision. Hence, non-communication, lack of dialogue, and non-involvement in family activities become one of the ways of pressuring rape survivors to comply to the family approach to protect their honour by forcing them to self-exclusion. As findings have also shown, most families who apply psychological violence through lack of communication, do not inform their relatives rape survivors of anything happening in the family, ignoring their presence, which increases the level of frustration and feeling of non-acceptance – a soft rejection. The following figure .1 summarises rape survivors feeling of belonging altered by rape incidence.

Figure 7:1 Rape survivors' feeling of belonging altered by rape incidence (Source: own figure).



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

7.2.5 Rape survivors' feeling of belonging weakened by a challenging social integration of their children born from rape

Those who had children as a result of rape have concerns about the existence of those children who affect their lives, since the late life is the highest period of intrapersonal and interpersonal confrontation of rape survivors. Children born from rape's existence; social integration challenges play an ambivalent role in their mothers' lives. Maltreatment of children, based on sociocultural, individual, private, or collective motives, has a negative effect on mothers' feelings of belonging. It increases the disturbance of their safety, harmony, and sense of belonging in dealing not only with their own rape issues, but also those of their children. Nevertheless, some who were successful and strategically overcame the suffering and abuse of their children have found happiness. This section addresses rape survivors whose offspring born from rape are maltreated, whose social integration is hindered by their stepfathers and mothers' in-laws, as primary actors following by members of the community impairing mothers' sense of belonging to their families and places of residence. With children ranging in age from 12 to 17, and having identity of their genitors' rebels, the struggle of mothers' rape survivors has lasted more than a decade. This protracted struggle has also affected their mothers' rape survivors' mental health and delayed the healing process for the majority even though only minority have found ways of managing the issue.

Integration is a concept that falls within the socio-cultural incorporation explanation in the dominant models of integration-incorporation, including the assimilationist⁵⁷, multiculturalist or pluralistic⁵⁸ and segregationist or exclusive models⁵⁹ (Rodríguez-García 2010). In an individualistic model of the concept, integration in my study fit into the multiculturalist model in which "the existence of different ethnic/cultural identities and communities can be compatible with inclusion, equality, and social cohesion and that not all segregation has the same causes or meanings" (Rodríguez-García 2010: 257). Most children born from rape who participated in my study have foreign rebel fathers, whose identity antecedent has effect on their integration in the community, therefore disrupting social cohesion values. This shows that integration is a concept that goes together, not only with social cohesion values such as harmony, inclusion, support, solidarity, etc., but also carries within it the essence of conflict,

⁵⁷ based on the idea that equality can be achieved through the full adoption of the rules and values of the dominant society and through the avoidance of any considerations of diversity

⁵⁸ based on the respect for and protection of cultural diversity within a framework of shared belonging,

⁵⁹ categorized as a sub-branch of multiculturalism—characterized by separation between, or fragmentation of, ethnic-cultural communities, and distinguished particularly by its restrictive legal framework regarding access to citizenship, based on the ethno-racial criterion of *jus sanguinis*,

confrontation, disharmony, etc. Beresneviūtė (2003: 97) asserts: “it is not presumed that the relations or interactions are harmonious. Integration covers conceptions of conflict as well as order”.

7.2.5.1 Mothers’ psychological insecurity caused by the existence of their children born from rape

The existence of children born from rape itself constitutes a serious concern against their mothers. When respondents were asked: “How did you feel having that child born as result of rape?”, responses were dominated more by negative feelings than positive. The overall responses show how the presence of children negatively affects their mothers’ mental health, as it delays the trauma healing process due to maltreatment of the children and produces feelings of insecurity in the mothers and uncertainty regarding their children’s current and future lives.

Allegations about children born from rape affect their mothers’ feelings, obstructing the improvement of their mental health. Critical acceptance or rejection of children born from rape is the basis of a mother’s worry. To express how deep and complex is the issue, many survivors, before responding to the question of how they feel about having these children, responded through body language, giving a sign of desperation, before starting to speak. I present here a conversation from my observation:

[To respond to that question, the rape survivor covered her face with her dress and told me (researcher)] “Please!!!! leave that story!” (RSIF1). – that was because of the pain she felt at that moment. Then she started breathing deeply, and her heartbeat increased. She remained some minutes quiet, silent as if she was lost; her eyes’ view stayed focused on the wall. Suddenly her attitude changed: her smile disappeared, her joy vanished, and she fold up into her silence for around 4 to 5 minutes.

After that, our conversation became hard and heavy. I (researcher) asked her, “What do you feel?” (Just to try to change the conversation or to make her comfortable.) She told me “Nothing!” (RSIF1) but continued to focus, directing her eyes’ view to the wall, breathing deeply with a speedy heartbeat. For me to divert her from that attitude, I made a joke to make her laugh, ... After almost 10 minutes of silence, she told me, “I feel very bad” (RSIF1). She restarted the conversation with a question: “I’m asking myself if my family in-law will end up accepting my child born out of rape. What can happen to my child if I pass away today?” (RSIF1).

Body language expresses deep emotion, the feeling that the mother has vis-à-vis the child’s presence in her life. Covering her face as sign of shame, humiliation, perplexity, embarrassment; deep breathing and an increase in heartbeat; being lost in her thoughts; the disappearance of her smile, joy vanishing; keeping deep silence; being incapable of resuming her story about the child, etc.– all these express a traumatic painful expression of suffering and the intense trauma of the rape survivor. The main painful issue for rape survivors is the acceptance of those children into their marriage, in-law family, and relationship with their stepfather, which seems to be impossible, a complex, unanswered question for mothers. Mothers lacking a proper guarantee and answer to the future life of their children is still a lasting trauma knot because of the children’s future uncertainty. In this way, the child’s presence keeps on bringing back traumatic rape memories:

“Her presence makes me afraid. Sometimes she gave me a fright, but I calmed myself down and told myself, ‘Anyway, she is a human being, equal to other children’. The fear comes when I remember all the scenarios and suffering, I endured in the jungle before giving birth to her” (RSIF2) ...

“Sometimes when I see her, I get angry. Myself I’m not sure if this child won’t take after her wicked fathers (rapists, criminals, etc.). Won’t she have the same wicked behaviours?” (RSIF3) ...

“By seeing her, I always remember those criminal and infamous nefarious scenes I was enduring in the jungle” (RSIF4) ...

“When I say something to that child, her bad reaction suddenly reminds me of her rebel, nefarious fathers in the way they were maltreating us. At that time, I tell myself, ‘This kid is at risk of becoming nefarious like her fathers’” (RSIF5), ...

“I feel my heart beating. To calm down, I must drink a lot of water and sleep. But as I can’t do anything, I accepted him like that. I always have tears when I think about it” (RSIF6) ...

“But if I can only find someone else to help me to educate her behaviour to prevent her from taking after her wicked fathers” (RSIF7).

Children’s representation as phantoms disfigures their nature in front of their mothers. Children born from rape are mostly considered as ghosts, abnormal human beings, by some of their biological mothers. They are representing the horrible, unbearable life circumstances in which they were conceived. For those mothers, there is little distinction between the child born from rape and the wicked circumstance in which that child was conceived. Also, any negative attitude, behaviour, or negative reaction from children is directly associated with the wickedness, criminal attitudes, and behaviour of their sex offender genitor, which increase mothers’ disfiguration of their children’s image and letting a traumatic image become permanent in the mothers’ presence. Then, the image turns directly into emotion, like anger, fear, fright, etc., as far as wishing the child would disappear. This maintains the traumatic image highly and vividly, affecting the mothers’ healing process. Therefore, children become victims of allegation, and accusation from their mother’s perception, weakening their effort to heal trauma, as narrated:

“When I see her, my heart is grieving me because I didn’t want to give birth to a child from those rebels from the jungle. They have diverted my life orientation. If I could give birth with men from my village, I wouldn’t be miserable” (RSIF8) ...

“I feel my heart grieved as my parents are no longer alive to console me. As this child is alive, that’s enough for me ... It’s actually a big suffering issue having her. I’m obliged to endure. No one can wish to experience that curse. Avoiding it, it’s difficult once it happens to you” (RSIF9)

... “My heart is not happy. I always tell myself that it’s because of him that I have all those problems in my life” (RSIF10).

Children are accused of being the source of their mothers’ misery. Because of their presence, mothers’ lives have been diverted from the desired ones. Convinced as such, mothers see those children as the source of every suffering, even though that is not the only cause of their misery. Allegations by rape survivor mothers consequently produce negative images of those children, undesired for their hated origin, constrained to be accepted, enduring psychological suffering. Being grieved, lacking joy, filled

with sadness, etc. obstructs mothers' relationships with their children. Survivors expressed how those children are not desired in themselves:

"I didn't want to get that child. If only they could ask my opinion, I wouldn't choose to get pregnant to give birth to that child" (RSIF11) ...

"I feel very bad. But because I have nothing to do, I convince myself to feel free and good with him" (RSIF12) ...

When she wants to see her genitor father to fulfil her needs because of her stepfather's discrimination, I feel bothered" (RSIF13) ...

"There are times, me and my child are both discriminated against. Sometimes my husband tells me to take her back to her fathers in the forest. As that FDLR passed away, I feel like I should take her back to somewhere else. I feel like dying, I start crying" (RSIF14).

Having children born from rape puts them down, expresses a feeling that is triggered by the identity of children' fathers who are considered as criminal, wicked, nefarious. Because of this origin, not only mothers, but also other people like stepfathers' wish would get rid of them at any price. Unfortunately, this attitude becomes a burden on mothers only, who are neither able to take them back to the lost, disappearing fathers, or to abandon them to their relatives. Perplexed, lacking choice and lacking courage to abandon them, they see no alternative. Undesired children make survivor mothers embarrassed especially when in addition, they need to find out about their genitors' origin, a request triggered by their discrimination.

7.2.5.2 Children's gender determining their integration: Disturbing issue for mothers

For mothers' rape survivors, children born from rape's gender is the most important factor to be considered as it's been determining the level of their social integration in their environment, whether in family or outside the family in the community. This affects not only the level of their integration, but influencing their mothers' reintegration, their relational stability or instability as well. There are three categories of gendered influence, tolerated gender related to female child, not tolerated gender related to male child, and preferred gender linked to the advantage of the child gender drawn by the mother regardless the views on the category of child gender. These categories of child genders affect differently mothers' rape survivors even though a small number of mothers do not acknowledge the difference in their children gender to be maltreated or protected.

Mothers expressed their view regarding tolerated gender as follows:

"As it's a girl, she is lucky" (RSIF1)...

"the way they used to look at her in this family, I'm telling myself, she is lucky as she still alive" (RSIF2) ...

"The fact that she is a girl, it's better" (RSIF3) ...

"It's a great joy for me as I give birth to a girl. I thank God for that one" (RSIF4) ...

"No! as she is a girl, she has chance to be accepted" (RSIF5) ...

“They are tolerating her because she is a girl, knowing that one day she will get married. She won’t live for ever in their family. She is there just for a while before getting married. That’s the benefit of being a girl” (RSIF6) ...

“She is lucky because she can inherit from her step-father” (RSIF7).

According to rape survivor mothers, female children born from rape is the perfect gender, because of advantages that it provides, whether to children themselves or to their mothers. As reported, the female gender is called a lucky gender for being the easiest gender to be accepted. The reason for this is that culturally they are not considered as heir. As such, they become less dangerous for heritage sharing, and are considered as visitors, passengers, kept for a while, accompanied to their destination which is their in-law’s family, where they also don’t have the right to inherit and are counted as belonging to that family. On the other hand, benefit gains from their transfer from their mothers’ family to their in-law’s family in terms of a dowry remains an advantage for the mothers’ family, a compensation for the children’s fathers’ dowry that was supposed to have been given to get their mothers. The only chance a female can have to inherit is from their stepfathers if those are willing to do so, but this is not compulsory. If being female is an advantage to female children themselves as it seems, it is also an advantage for mothers:

“As she is a girl, I bless God for that. That’s my chance” (RSIF8) ...

“I can easily convince her about her identity, and she will hear and be convinced” (RSIF9) ...

“As she is a girl, that’s my chance. She finds her place beside her mother. I will die with her. She realises that where her mother will die, there, she will as well. Everywhere I’m living, I’m with her” (RSIF10) ...

“If she was a boy, my husband wouldn’t accept him and live in this marriage with me. It’s easier to get married again with a girl than a boy” (RSIF11) ...

“The dowry from that girl it’s an advantage, a benefit of the stepfather. The girl will get married somewhere else. That’s why she is more accepted than a boy” (RSIF12) ...

“My parents blessed God as I gave birth to a girl because she won’t ask about her identity, a girl is not too curious” (RSIF13) ...

“If she was a boy, it would be very bad for me, because a girl easily understands and hears her mother” “The dowry that I will get from her, it’s an advantage, a benefit of having her as a child. It will help me to buy for her a piece of land as her own heritage” (RSIF14).

Mothers acknowledged being lucky to have female children born from rape. For mothers, there are many advantages to having a female child born from rape, because of the female complicity and attachment which will make the understanding of the situation easier to both as direct and indirect victims of rape. Psychologically, female children are prepared to cooperate with their mothers to get a reciprocal support. They do not constitute a psychological burden on their mothers as cognitively they are easy to manipulate, easy to convince, less curious to think further and less interested in their genitor’s identity, which gives their mothers peace of mind. Regarding the inheritance issue, for mothers, the dowry plays a double function, giving the mothers’ family benefit from it and helping to cover the girl’s inheritance, for example buying a plot of land as her inheritance. Thus, for girls, the

issue of inheritance is sorted out naturally without being a burden, whether on their mothers, mothers' family, or any of their relatives. The female gender is easy to manage, less demanding. Consequently, the female gender becomes more trusted.

"The little trust she gains in this family is granted to her as she is a girl" (RSIF15) ... "If I gave birth to a boy, they would already have killed him" (RSIF16), ... "If she was a boy, he would be killed" ... "If I gave birth to a boy, my children (his half-brothers) would discriminate against him more than a girl" (RSIF17), ...

"I liked it that she was a girl. Otherwise, people would maltreat her more than as she is a girl" (RSIF18).

. Being trusted as the less dangerous gender makes third persons reluctant to use harsh mistreatment (going as far as murder) against girls. This secures them from harsh criminal treatment and meanwhile provides mothers with a guarantee of keeping their female children born from rape alive, which is less traumatizing. Thus, the lucky female gender does not bother the abusers, as it is easy to get rid of them gradually, from temporary stays to the soft exclusion which is their marriage. Excluded from inheritance, this fact increases on the other side their chance of acceptance, whether into mothers' families, stepfathers' families, or their own marriage household. They are considered therefore as a less dangerous, non-demanding, more manageable gender as they are excluded from the inheritance and family offspring is not counted. On the other hand, the females are an advantage to mothers as they easily fit into any groups, whether into mothers' families or mothers-in-law's families, and facilitate the mother to get married and be accepted into their in-laws' families. This is a satisfying gender as it is less traumatizing to mothers. As such, female children born from rape constitute a gain to all the community. A girl becomes and remains the preferred, favourite gender for all.

If female children born from rape are favourite children, in contrast male children born from rape are less preferred, for many reasons:

"I think if he was be a girl, they It's a curse having a boy" (RSIF1).

Survivor mothers have acknowledged their worry on having male children born from rape. For some, it is even a curse to have male children born from rape, according to the way they are portrayed in mothers' families as well as in the community. Male children born from rape have met many challenges for their acceptance is hardly granted. They are not counted in those families and targeted to be killed or are at higher risk of murder, which is a huge traumatizing burden on their mothers, depicted as curse for them. There is a harsh rejection of male children born from rape in almost every social group of the community. Male children's identity and rights of inheritance, disturb:

"A boy would need to inherit goods from the family" (RSIF2) ...

"A boy! It's a problem because the step-father's family is severe and cannot accept him to inherit in this family alongside their biological children" (RSIF3) ...

"I think, if he was be a girl, it would be better. A girl does not think very far and stays always beside her mother" (RSIF4) ...

“If she was be a boy, he could escape from me one day and go to search for his father. It could be complicated for me” (RSIF5) ...

“If she was be a boy, I think, that could be grave, very serious because boys ask too many questions” (RSIF6).

The core of rejection of male children born from rape is the inheritance issue and right of succession as legitimate offspring. Culturally, male children are those having a right to inherit as successors of family genealogy. Accepting male children born from rape into the family is equal to including them into the family genealogy, which is a complex issue for male children’s integration as they are considered as outsiders, pariahs of the community. Thus, claims of inheritance from male children born from rape are avoided through harsh exclusion to protect the legitimate offspring’s inheritance as the issue of inheritance is central to and symbolic of acceptance or exclusion. On the other hand, clever and curious male children born from rape eager to fulfil their identity need, are on their offensive to challenge any external limit preventing them from reaching the identity goal. The relationship between male children born from rape and other people is not stable:

“If Ashuza was a boy, she could already escape from me and from my family” (RSIF7) ...

“A boy keeps many things, problems, thoughts in his mind and heart with the possibility to take revenge against me later. He will threaten, menace” (RSIF8) ...

“He gets angry and irritated quickly. He can jump on the machete and threaten to cut everyone or the person who provoked him at home. When he gets older, he will make too much trouble compared to the way he is behaving and reacting now” (RSIF9).

Because of their irascible attitude and the need to confirm their identity, their relationship with their mothers and others is unstable. Their mothers’ worry is the fact that male children born from rape are not able by their attitude to incite other people to accept them as they are reacting easily and act on their offensive and defensive attitudes which therefore blocks their acceptance. Even though the issue of the gender of children born from rape is the core determinant of their acceptance, some mothers do not see the difference between genders affecting their inclusion in their environment.

“I don’t see the difference having a girl or boy. As my husband has dumped his own children because I was raped and have a child born from that rape, it means he could hate any sex that I could give birth to” (RSIF10) ...

“I just try to compare my boy to other girls born from rape, a child born outside marriage, That’s the problem” (RSIF11) ...

“They don’t discriminate against him because he is a boy or a girl. For me, even if he could be a girl, they could have been discriminating against him” (RSIF12) ...

“The sex, gender of a child does not matter. No matter whatever gender s/he is, girl or boy, they are subjected to menace and other disputes since it’s a FDLR child” (RSIF13) ...

“When I miss someone to help me to do heavy work, it’s at that time that I remember that if she could be a boy, she could have been helping me to do that work” (RSIF14).

According to a minority of mothers, gender of children born from rape does not matter. The issue lies in moral and cultural perceptions regarding being born from rape, being born outside marriage and from a hated genitor. This is enough justification to discriminate against, abuse, exclude, and reject them from their mothers’ family and environment no matter the gender.

7.2.5.3 Maltreatment against children born from rape obstructing mothers rape survivors feeling of belonging

Children born from rape have been maltreated, abused by several social categories (as testified by children themselves in chapter 8) but the main ones on who I emphasis here are stepfathers, stepfathers' families, or their mothers' in-laws. Their mothers' feelings are directly impacted by how they are handled. Emotions (positive and negative) of mothers' rape survivor are determined by the way people in the community, especially their closer partners treat their children born from rape. For instance, maltreatment of their children increases their trauma, delays their healing process, increases their insecurity, and causes worry about their children lacking safety, weakening their social reintegration. However, some exceptional rape survivors who have succeeded to manage their children maltreatment have turned the issue into opportunity to protect them.

7.2.5.3.1 Children protection confronted by stepfathers' criminal attitude

Stepfathers have been the main perpetrators of extreme violence, terminating, killing, or attempting to kill children born from rape in order to prevent them from assimilating into their social group. Stepfathers and husbands have been committing and attempting to commit this crime by resorting to superstition technic, a soft criminal cunning approach that have disrupted mothers' peace, sense of belonging, and safety. Against this project, mothers' rape survivors have positioned themselves as child protectors to avoid their husbands' brutality and counteract the damaging effects of such attitude and act upon themselves. Mothers' rape survivors reported the following facts,

“Four months later, he noticed that I was pregnant. He quit the house, went away and promised me to kill the child first then kill himself later” (RSIJ25)“My husband refused to live with a Hutu child” (RSIJ26).... “He suggested to me to kill this child or send him far from us if I still need to stay together with him. I told him that my child won't live far from me. I ended up by divorcing him” (RSIJ27).

Husbands not only could not bear with what had become of their wives, but also the presence of those children born from rape who triggered negative attitudes against their wives. As the issue of rape was predominant in Kalonge community, some husbands were behaving against their wives according to the previous experience referred to by their neighbours', fathers', or relatives' management of the issue, as reported a victim: “He did to me exactly what his father did to his mother who was raped and taken to the jungle for rape as well. His father dumped his mother as well” (RSIJ28).

Some rape survivors were rejected due to pregnancy from rapists or from hate against child born from rape, where in-laws negotiated to murder the child as a requirement to let rape survivors live in their family.

“When I came back home, I went to my family in-law. My father in-law chased me away because of the pregnancy I got from those rapists” (RSIJ8).

“When the child born from rape turned 10 years old, my in-laws asked me to give him to them in order to kill him. They constrained me to authorise child murder” (RSIJ9).

To make the murder happen, dehumanisation of the child was applied to start the murder process. A mother rape survivor reported, “They changed his name, coding it by naming him “Cope”⁶⁰ similar to ‘business’ until my child was aware of that name and aware of the murder plan against him”. Some strategies such as psychological attack and economic sanction were used to constrain mothers to agree with them to murder the child born from rape. In-law families influenced the community to constrain the mother to give up protecting her child as well. For instance, knowing that the child belongs to foreign rebels, local militias could also take advantage of threatening the mother, since the in-laws are threatening her.

“Because of my child’s presence, RM were looting us most of the time. We were living in trouble and lack of peace. My mother in-law never stopped treating me well. She took the farm from me. I accepted to lose everything in order to keep my child safe, alive, and protected” (RSIJ10).

Emotional, financial, and psychological, sanctions used by both in-laws and the community increased the suffering, pain, and trauma of victims. Despite the origin of the child hated by the in-laws and others, the mother was still attached to the child, trying to fulfil her duty as mother. In some exceptional cases, some rape survivors were protected by their families-in-law despite the absence or rejection of husbands. Rape survivors narrated,

“When I came back, my husband chased me away from his house. But my father in-law built a cottage for me and my children to protect the children” (RSIJ11),

Moreover, the presence of pregnancies and children born as result of rape made many husbands feel socially and individually uncomfortable. Relatives incited them to separate from those kinds of wives. Thus, husbands who could not bear with the social pressure coming from their relatives and community have failed to protect their wives, sacrificing their intimate relationship to protect their social relationship. In this way, pregnancies or children born from rape disturbed the husbands’ consideration in the community, making them react negatively against their wives.

“My husband refused to live with a Hutu child” (RSIJ24)...

“I told him that my child won’t live far from me. I ended up by divorcing him” (RSIJ25) “After giving birth to a Hutu child, they refused to mix him with theirs” (RSIJ26)...

“As we refused to abort, they decided to kill them in order to prevent introducing enemies in their family. Those children are assimilated to their fathers’ enemies of the community” (RSIJ27)...

“When they heard that I was pregnant by those rebels, they started threatening me. The presence of that kid reminded them of the death of their brother” (RSIJ28).

⁶⁰ Cope in common street language means deal.

Because of the profound social burden of mixing their children with the ones of the so- considered “enemy of community”, the Hutu tribe, husbands preferred sacrificing their wives instead of bearing the pressure of the community against their support to their wives and women became victims of their husbands’ abandonment. At the same time, some wives who could not bear their husbands suggestion of terminating those children, flatly reacted against their husbands’ decisions, and preferred by their own will to divorce in order to keep their children safe. The wish of terminating those children comes from the fact that they are a reminder of family and community disaster, like the loss of stepfather, murder, and other death. Consequently, in-law families and the community take revenge against the mother as long as children are still present in the area and alive.

Superstition method of killing children born from rape and reactive mothers’ protection: The murder of children born from rape have been a strategic one to avoid justice issue. Stepfathers have been using the superstition approach for the murder of those children. Children have been threatened with murder by their stepfathers and some have even lost their lives in this way. Mothers who succeeded in saving their lives have also paid the price. Rape survivors shared their experiences and the way they have been protecting their children as reported here. The first survivor, a mother, shared her story:

We were gone in the forest, we met militiamen. They captured us, we were five women, and they were seven men. Their commander took me by force. I was his sex slave for two weeks. I found myself pregnant. I fell ill. I was brought to Panzi hospital. When I arrived at Panzi hospital, their told me that I was pregnant. They asked me if I wished to abort the baby, I refused and decided to keep the baby; maybe that child will be important to me in the future. They told me to go back home and come back when I was ready to give birth. One day as I went to the farm, unfortunately, I gave birth there. When my husband heard that I gave birth, he fled away to Hombo. After four months he returned, saying that we had to kill the child. I refused and I told him that it was a girl, and I cannot kill her because she can be important. He told me that will end our marriage. He left. He came back later to tell me again to tell me that we must kill the child. I asked him how he wanted to kill her, will it be by the poison or by knife? He told me he will make her suck his penis like breasts. When she swallows the sperm, she will die, and we will bury her. We therefore divorced (RSIF10).

The second survivor told her story as follows:

I was at home when I heard someone knocking on the door. I opened the door and saw Militia Raiya Mutomboki who were knocking. They abducted me, my husband, and his brothers. They took us to the jungle where they tied my legs and proceeded to rape me from behind. There were five of them who raped me in front of my husband and his brothers. As soon as they were done, they took us to another part of the jungle called Nzovu where they killed my husband. I stayed there for four months, and they were constantly raping me. Eventually we managed to escape the militia camp. We were many in numbers. To my surprise, I discovered that I was pregnant. With that pregnancy I went home and found my in-laws. They asked me, “Where are our brothers? You were taken together”.

I told them, “Your brothers were killed by militia, I’m the only survivor from the family among the escapees”. They told me, “No, we have to kill you as well... you don’t have the right to stay here since your husband isn’t alive”. I managed to stay there through the misery for a few months, until I gave birth. I gave birth to a boy. After I gave birth, my in-laws told me they had to kill the child because he was a product of rape. They kept pressuring me to give him up, but I refused. They are still insisting on killing the child, claiming that a Hutu seed cannot abide among them. They were following my child in everything he was doing and everywhere he was going.

Every time I would wash and hang his clothes, they'd remove and throw them away. If I cooked food for the child, they'd take it away, hoping to starve him to death. They said he is a bastard, they will kill him, but I refused to allow the child to be killed. They don't have the child in their family. At times, they take his schoolbooks from his back and throw them. They would beat him severely even when they found him with his age-mates. Up to the present, the child does not have shelter. He started asking me sad questions about his origins based on the maltreatments. I am unable to tell him the truth, no one else can tell him. I flew to Cifunzi. The second month, my brothers-in-law followed me and started telling me how we were gaining weight while their brother was rotting. Thus, they claimed, they must kill the child. They started beating him to the point he lost control, but by God's grace, he managed to escape (RSIF8).

Rape survivors have experienced both family violence and intimate partner violence (IPV). They have been maltreated by their husbands or in-law families for the simple fact of giving birth to children out of rape. A third survivor narrated:

I have twelve children, eleven with my husband and one from being raped. However, my husband told me to kill the last one who was born from rape to lead a life with him. I told him we are not witches to kill this child and he said he had a great witchcraft which will kill the child that night. He said that the child must die. And I told him to show me that witchcraft. He told me that he will make the child suck his penis, and then the child would die that night. I took my child, the whole night running from the village. At the moment, my child is 14 years old. If I had not taken this decision, the child would be dead. That's why they want to accept those children in this village. The lives of these children depend on their mothers. Even their half brothers and sisters discriminate against them. If we die, they will also die. If we live, they will also live (RSFGM).

The fourth survivor expressed herself as follows:

When we leave for the farm, his stepfather stays at home revealing his private part to the child. Then you go find the child's health degrading because of his stepfather's insane acts and the child may die. These men are pure evil (RSFGM).

The fifth rape survivor stated:

Custom kills. You know that custom is belief because if you believe in something could cause you wrong or misfortune. And all the Shi tribe people know that if a man reveals his private part to a child who isn't his biologically, the child must die. There is a term that he will use in Mashi tribe "look at your mother's friend". When the child hears these words in our custom, the child must die (RSFGM).

The sixth survivor shared her ordeal in the following terms: *"One day in my absence, my husband said to my child, 'Look at your mother's friend'. When I came back from Ngweshe village, I found the child dead. It's been 15 years now"* (RSFGM). To clarify the issue, I had to ask a follow-up question: When you find the child dead, how do you know that the stepfather uses intimate parts (organs) on the child? How do you know that it is the forbidden custom that caused the death? A female community leader responded:

The skin of the child will change colour; he will become like he had Kwashiorkor. The child can die the same day or progressively die. There are some who die the same day. When we find foam or blood coming out of the child's mouth and nostrils, directly we know that it was his stepfather who did that. In our custom, if someone dies with blood in the nostrils and mouth, we know he has died because of a violation to our custom (RSFGM).

To protect their children, rape survivors mothers have paid the huge price of their live by either losing their marriage, financial resources, etc. or liberty of living in the same area with the stepfathers to make sure that they children are safe far from their criminal stepfathers. Unfortunately, the judiciary system is not aware of the approach applied by stepfathers to terminate, murder those children and mothers are not reporting the cases to be assisted. The fact that the customary system is aware of the offense and has legitimated it, women in rural area are victims of not being heard. This affect their silent attitude and decide to deal with the issue by their own.

On the other side of their mothers' relationship, stepfathers constitute a challenging bond to children born from rape. This could be the only family from where they could draw their identity to connect to their community (the second family of stepfather, the mothers' in-law family). The reason for their rejection lies here on tradition and customary practices. Mothers narrated the ways children born from rape are treated by their stepfathers, which is a great burden on mothers:

"In my household, it's where they maltreat her. Her friends can't stop insulting her: 'Daughter born from the jungle'" (RSIF14) ...

"Her stepfather discriminates against her too much. He can't buy shoes for her, even food, etc... like he used to do for other children. He used to insult her, 'child of Hutu'(RSIF15) ...

"They don't love her. When her stepfather sees me cooking, he chases her away from me" (RSIF16) ... "They insult my child, 'A child like you couldn't normally stay alongside with other children'". If she fails at school, the stepfather refuses to pay her school fee" (RSIF17) ... "Her stepfather tries always to show her how inferior she is compared to her siblings, his children. He tells her 'You will see one day; your young sister will become better than you'. If she asked him something, he used to tell her, 'Ask your fathers?'" and refuse to provide her with any help" (RSIJ18)...

"Her stepfather does not consider her like a kid among others. My husband does not say any insulting word to her, he rather pours upon me all his anger, annoyance. For example, he used to tell me to return my child to her father to the jungle. If he gives her food, it's only because I have given birth to his other children" (RSIF19) ...

"When he told me that, my heart starts grieving me" (RSIF20)...

"Her stepfather and grown-up children who are aware of my child's identity use it to discriminate against her, insulting her as stupid, savage, wild like her genitors. Same from her siblings, insulting her fatherless state... When they told her that, my heart grieved me, even herself" (RSIF21) ...

"My family in-law does not like her. They hate her too much up to trying to kill her. They don't stop complaining because of her presence. They are associating her presence with the death of their brother who's my husband" (RSIF1) ...

"When I got married, my husband didn't agree to take care of that child. As a widower he refused to mix with my child-to-child (**violation of his rights**). People used to undermine him [the child]. One day, he got money from feeding cows in the meadow. He bought hens/fowls to breed. One day, his stepfather killed and ate the fowls. When he wanted to claim, he started insulting him, asking him to leave the house. Lack of respect and consideration against him" (RSIF2) ...

"The fact that they don't respect her, don't take care of her studies as they do to other children of my husband. They don't care about her. They want her to be a free kid, a vagrant kid" (RSIF3).

There are two categories of stepfathers as regards their way of approaching the threat of children born from rape. Most stepfathers release their anger and directly abuse those children, compared to those who release their anger and abuse directly on their wives instead of abusing the child.

Stepfathers who directly abuse children born from rape use any kind of violence to get rid of those children because of their identity which mean more than being born from rape. They use psychological and physical, violence such as deprivation of basic needs like food, clothes, shoes, and school fees, as well as withdrawing support like emotional needs and care, etc.: a pure deprivation of children's rights to basics needs and in violation of their human rights, constraining children to be vagrant, street, or free kids due to lack of education and care.

Stepfathers use moral violence against the self-esteem of these children, forcing them to hate their identity, and feel confused, dismissing their pride in their identity using humiliation, undermining, disrespect, disdain, etc., convincing them of having the wrong identity. This approach removes children from their roots, creating another version of their identity, and constraining them to feel looked down on, hated, not fitting into their environment, so that they may self-exclude and withdraw from family, community, etc. to join their identic "race" somewhere else for their freedom.

As such, stepfathers use the technique of dissimilarity, attempting to prove how different these children are from other humankind, and showing them not deserving to live alongside other children, not having the right to study, being inferior compared to other children, treating them as savage, wild, stupid, useless, criminal, abnormal like their genitors. Also, they try to create division between children in the family (half-siblings), not allowing them to be in good relationship, inciting them to hate each other and altering therefore the family relationship and weakening familial harmony, blaming their presence as a source of family disharmony.

7.2.5.3.2 Threat to children born from rape's identity increasing mothers' sorrows

This issue concerns the unclear identity of children born from rape which provoke abusive attitudes and acts against children. Despite that, mothers have been trying to balance those attitudes and acts to protect their children. When asked, "What are factors that disturb you the most having that child?", hostility regarding their identity is the core issue. This starts from the very closest relatives and friends and goes as far as in the entire community, as the majority of mothers narrated:

"Among her half-brothers, some don't bear with her presence. They insult her, telling her 'You are a Hutu child, your mother conceived you outside marriage'. When they tell her that, it grieves my heart" (RSIF16) ...
"If she is maltreated, sometimes I feel as if I will die. They used to tell her 'You (my kid) are not one of us' and to me, 'Leave this place with your kid' etc." (RSIF17) ...

"In my neighbourhood, other children used to insult her. One day, she went to the river to fetch water, and other children told her 'You are an *interahamwen* daughter, from Rwanda. you mustn't therefore feel proud

to stay in our neighbourhood. You should join other children from Rwanda, your original land, criminal fathers” (RSIF18) ...

“Sometimes, in my neighbourhood, they insult her, a Hutu kid. Those who know the story of her birth, say she does actually resemble her fathers” (RSIF19) ...

“People don’t like him. Most of the time they remind him about the source of his identity. From where he is, in which circumstances he was born, etc. They consider him like a rebel like his rebels fathers” (RSIF20) ... “They call him ‘son of *interahamwen*, “*fendere*”, thief, brigand, etc.”. They chase him away, telling him ‘leave this place, son of *interahamwen*’, etc.” (RSIF21) .

... “She’s been discriminated against because of her Hutu morphologic resemblance” (RSIF22) ...

“They don’t appreciate her presence. They used to tell her, ‘You are a fatherless child, homeless child’, etc.” (RSIF2)

The identity of children born from rape has completely disturbed their relationships, which automatically affected their rape survivor mothers’ stability. These children are not accepted in their nuclear family nor in the community due to their hated genitor background. Being called a Hutu, *Interahamwen*, Rwandan morphologic child, resembling their fathers, means to abusers and abused that they have the same characteristics as their genitors who are depicted as nefarious criminals, wicked, evil, bandits, brigands, great destroyers, immoral, etc. Being conceived outside marriage means “child of prostitution”, associating mothers with their children as morally dirty and shameful people. Being depicted as “not one of us”, “a fatherless child”, “a homeless child” is being completely considered as a pariah of the family and community, uprooted, and this disfigures their identity by creating another category of children: unidentified children. Those statements have portrayed children born from rape as dangerous kids who don’t deserve to live in either families or the neighbourhood. This is a harsh rejection, forcing them and their mothers to feel humiliated, looked down on, unvalued, inhuman, lost from their own families and neighbourhoods, – and consequently, the mothers’ grievance sorrow increases. As such, mothers’ protective attitudes adopted by mothers, trying to respond to children’s mistreatment and decrease their traumatic status, unfortunately turns into aggravation of mistreatment of the children:

“Her half-brothers use to chase her away and refused to play with her. They complained because I do love her more than them. Because of that, they discriminate against her, telling her she is not their sister” (RSIF4) ... “Words that people tell her: ‘You are not our biological sister’ and I started believing that word as well. They are discriminating against her. My children accuse me of loving her more than them. To be always on her side. If I behave like that is because I’m trying my best to calm her down even though my other children do not understand and don’t agree with me. They really don’t appreciate that way of managing her problem” (RSIF5) ...

“She is discriminated because of the way I’m taking care of her more than her siblings” (RSIF6) ... “At home, her half-brothers bully her as well. They say that she is the only one I used to take care of. They called her *Shukuru*⁶¹ of the jungle” (RSIF3) ...

⁶¹ Name of the child

“Insults! If I buy her clothes, her half-brothers tell me that, she is the only child, that I love her more than them. Because of that, they are maltreating her” ... “His friends threatened him to show him? his father” (RSIF7).

The mothers’ approach to rescue their children born from rape from the harsh rejection of the entire community, which is protective attachment and positive discrimination, is still challenged by outside reaction. Because of the previous unaccepted condition in which those children are living, the mothers’ love seems unfortunately to widen the rejection gap between abusers and abused. For instance, close relatives like half-siblings reinforce their rejective techniques using psychological violence such as punishment and isolating the abused through avoiding them and refusing to get in touch. For instance, preventing children from playing (although this is still relevant to any child); discrimination that plays the role of reminding them of the difference in them between half-siblings and them due to others reaction; and expressing hate, jealousy, bullying, and negative criticism. Instead of being protected and included in the small family, agemates, friends, their first circle of integration, they are facing drastic rejection.

If the first level of their integration rejects them, the second level of their integration, which is the mother’s family do not do the contrary; they also reject them as reported: *“The fact that my brothers have abandoned, dumped her, they don’t take care of her. Yet, they know the circumstances in which she was born. That makes me fragile and puts me down, ... when her uncle discriminates against her, the wife of her uncle hates her as well”* (RSIF9). Children born from rape are still being abandoned by their mothers’ family members, from where their second identity comes, therefore weakening bonds between them, fragilizing their relationship and blocking their integration from the only side of identity that could be accepted to contribute to their positive identity. Thus, mothers find themselves fragilized by their own children and family members, lacking integrative support of their children.

The third level of integration disturbed is the neighbourhood, a full-scale space for children to get social skills and strengthen social links. Mothers reported the community’s attitude to their children’s integration burden:

“When they chase her away from school due to lack of school fees, when we lack food and clothes for her, I can’t get it from my neighbours who hate me because of that child” (RSIF10) ...

“Lack of means, my neighbours accuse my child falsely, reporting that my child destroys their things. Yet, it’s wrong” (RSIF11) ...

“My neighbours don’t like her. They criticise her, saying she is from the bush. When she went to the river, her agemates used to bully her as well” (RSIF12) ...

“People do not treat him well as they don’t consider him as a kid like others” (RSIF13).

The level of primary socialization of children has been finally subverted by hating the identity of children born from rape. The community, representing the third space of children’s identity, keeps on rejecting, discriminating against, and mistreating them due to their hated identity, aggravating the misery of the children’s families. Depicted as destroyers, wild, the community, through neighbours,

considers them less than normal human beings, unequal to other children and deserving to be excluded from the neighbourhood. Furthermore, they are blamed for being the source of the death of their mothers' husbands, and their presence keeps on being a reminder of the harsh criminal circumstances of their deaths. Here, most abusers attack children born from rape through their mothers, who bear the burden of their children's mistreatment, increasing mothers' grievance, worry, trauma, etc. Survivor mothers narrated how this attitude against their children born from rape affects them:

"When they insult him, I always get angry, I feel vexed and decide just to keep quiet" (RSIF4) ...

"When they say that, I remember all the story, suffering that I've experienced in the jungle" (RSIF5) ... "My heart grieves me when they maltreat my children" (RSIF6) ...

"When they maltreat him, I get sick and have a blood pressure crisis, I lack a single word to tell him" (RSIF7) ...

"When they maltreat her, my heart grieves me too much" (RSIF8) ...

"My heart is grieved when I see her being maltreated. You know when someone touches your kid, it's you who is touched" (RSIF9) ...

"If they touch her, I feel very bad. It's like doing it to me directly" (RSIF10) ...

"When he is maltreated, I feel like throwing myself into the river and dying. I prefer to kill myself. I become irritable all the time" ... "Those kind of words and calls, 'Hutu kid, jungle kid, made me lose weight' ... "My heart is grieved too much" (RSIF11) ...

"That behaviour does not make me happy at all" (RSIF12) ...

"At this time, I miss peace, sleep, I wish I could die instead of staying alive. It's just reminding me of the scenes of rape suffering" (RSIF13) ...

"When people insult her because of her morphology, at home they refuse to give her food, it's grieved her" (RSIF14) ...

"Insults. Telling him that he is an *Interamwen* kid. Especially when they chase him from school for lacking school fees, when we miss food to eat, clothes, etc." (RSIF15) ...

"Whenever I buy clothes for him, at home they will make all their effort to steal it and throw it away. That's shocking me too much" (RSIF16).

In the midst of their children's mistreatment, mothers' pain resumes. Mistreatment of their children turns into mothers' suffering. When rape memories come back, they become sick, grieved, withdraw into silence, and feel menaced, up to preferring death instead. The nervous and irritated mothers, the sorrowful skinny mothers, become powerless, to react against the abuse of their children. Children born from rape who experience and are affected by abuse become aware of their hated identity through direct mistreatment:

"In the area where I stay, her agemates say she is from the bush, the jungle" (RSIF17) ...

"My child is hated. People tell him to go back to the jungle and the fact that he has been labelled as a Hutu child, an enemy. The lack of love toward him either at home in my family or in the community" (RSIF18) ...

His agemate friends throw stones at him. As people from my family hate me, they do it to my child as well. Insulting him, 'child of Hutu' and maltreating him" (RSIF19) ... "What's bothering me too much is insults of other children against her, telling her whom she resembles. That breaks my heart" (RSIF20) ... "Sometimes when she reports that insult to me, when I hear that, I felt very bad" (RSIF21).

... "Her agemates use to tell her, 'You, you don't have a father, you don't study, you don't have family', etc. They are undermining her too much" (RSIF3).

Regarding this open attack, mothers are caught between dealing with children aware of their abuse and children needing the truth on the reason for their abuse. Direct menace towards children, abuse, mistreatment, etc. made them aware of their hated identity, which increases their mothers' trauma and suffering. Mothers' worry is based on their children's rejection by almost every category of society, from family, to agetates to the rest of the community.

Issue to mothers: Children questioning themselves about their identity, their relationship to other people surrounding them, needs an explanation from their mothers:

"When they beat her, she used to ask me the reason for her being discriminated against. 'Why are you discriminating against me in this house?' When she says that, she becomes irritated, vexed, even me, I feel grieved" (RSIF1) ...

"One day she asked me, 'Mum, when my grandmother will pass away where am I going to stay?' (RSIF2) ...

"When she asked me: 'Mum, am I from Rwanda? Can you please tell me the truth?' I told her 'Even if that is the truth, do you know Rwanda?'" then she kept quiet" (RSIF3) ... "When he reported all those insults to me, and asked me precision on his origin, I blamed him. Then he told me, 'One day, I will discover the truth' (RSIF4) ...

"One day, she asked me 'Mum, am I a child from the jungle?' I missed what to tell her. I told her 'Your father has disappeared somewhere; we don't know where he is up to the present'" (RSIF5)

... "The fact of telling her they brought her from the jungle grieves me. When people insult her, she usually comes to me to report and ask for precision on those insults, although myself, I don't know what to tell her" (RSIF6) ...

"The fact that people give me a fright about that kid. I'm asking myself where I can take him as my parents are no more alive" (RSIF7)

... "I'm afraid of questions that he used to ask me about his origin, identity" (RSIF8) ... "That question deeply disturbed me. I lacked a single word to tell her" (RSIF9)

... "I don't know what to tell her if it is true or not as I'm avoiding her being grieved" ... "I ended up by divorcing him. I do conclude that, he didn't love me, and I went back home to my family" (RSIF10).

This is the first level of children's reaction where they feel in danger. Children's reaction to their mistreatment, abuse, life desperation, non-guaranteed future, is the search for and the establishment of truth regarding their unclear, confusing, hated identity and the reason for being abused, hated, and rejected is the base line of their reaction. The approach to discovering the truth from their mothers makes mothers weaker and frightened due to the uncertain reaction of children towards their mothers' truth revelation; incapable of delivering correct answers about the child's origin, the mothers' trauma increases, reminding them of the horrific tragedy of rape. To respond, mothers have many approaches, but two are the most used: confrontation or avoiding telling the truth. Mothers use confrontation to constrain children to stop inquiring about their identity due to lack of response from them, or when children who raise the issue are firmly and seriously determined to discover the truth that their mothers are not yet ready to reveal. Mothers use avoidance to soften children using silence. Mothers' attitudes are motivated by the worry about the unclear identity of the children.

Mothers' protection of children increases grief, as their children are depicted as dangerous and this provokes hate and rejection. For that reason, some mothers ended up divorcing their husbands to protect the children. However, this does not decrease mothers' worry and trauma as the presence of the children, lacking clarification on their identity, disturbs mothers' emotions and keeps them worried.

Thus, the issue of identity of children born from rape squeezes mothers into between abusers and abuse. The burden of traumatized children weighs upon them as well, as abusers blame mothers who brought their children, whose presence is not accepted. Therefore, they have become vulnerable, victims of their children's identity at all levels. Their response to children's reactions on their identity reinforces them in their traumatic attitude, even though the children's identity itself is not wrong, but issues surrounding it make it seem evil. From this external perception of children's identity comes the fragility of relationships of children with the rest of the people surrounding them, apart from their mothers.

If child identity causes issue of their social integration and disturbs their mothers' sense of belonging, the gender of the child also constitutes another issue that mothers have been dealing with.

7.2.5.4 Factors slowing trauma healing process

There are many factors worsening delay in the trauma healing process, such as blame against children born from rape, blame for rape survivors' unbearable present lives, desperation of rape survivors about their future lives, husbands' abandonment to avoid the shame of a child born from rape, etc. None of the rape survivors having a child born from rape appreciated how negatively her life would change after having that child. Two mothers out of 21 (or 9.5%), acknowledged how glad they are at having such children compared to the rest of 90.5% of mothers. 90.5% of rape survivor mothers feel their lives have completely deteriorated in various ways as narrated. Being asked a question about how her life had become after having a child born from rape, their body language was the first and prompt response:

She exclaimed "Jesus!!!! My life has become very bad. I can't stop thinking. My heart is grieved because of the difficulties of life" (RSIF16) ...

"I have become pensive, very pensive. Especially when my son was a toddler" ... "Back from the jungle, I felt I was losing my life because of thoughts. I was constantly thinking about the way that my life has been destroyed" (RSIF17).

The first impression that rape survivors have is the loss of life. In other words, there was no hope, no guarantee for their future. They are completely hopeless. They perceive life as horrible, weak, destroyed in advance and this has limited them to constant deep thoughts accusing children of being responsible for their misery:

"My life has become mediocre. I'm telling myself if I hadn't had that child, I wouldn't be static, stuck in this village. I could be moving from place to place to work. I'm able to do it but because of those children I feel limited. I have to take care of them" (RSIF18).

... "That story has interrupted my childhood life. I have become a premature mother" (RSIF19)

... “My life has become very bad. I started living on my family’s aid, assistance” (RSIF20)

... “My life has deteriorated because of the presence of that child. There is no one who helps me with this burden. I’m the only one who takes care of her” (RSIF21) ...

“From the day I gave birth to that child, my life has negatively changed” (RSIF1)

... “My life has negatively changed, deteriorated, lost, weak health. My appearance can show how miserable I am” (RSIF2) ...

“I’m telling myself, if that child wasn’t born from me, I wouldn’t have all those problems” (RSIF3) ...

“Having him was the starting point of my misery” (RSIF4), ...

“My life has become useless. When you have something that you didn’t plan, didn’t expect, it disturbs you. You can’t appreciate it” (RSIF5).

Mothers have a perception of their miserable hopeless future lives, negatively affected by external factors such as lack of child support; interruption of their childhood; premature early motherhood; and being unable to handle the child burden on their own. Others keep on being considered “chick women”, limited to in moving forward as they have been getting little family assistance, making them incapable of moving or working on their own.

Given that life has been worsened by these factors, incriminate the presence of those children as a curse. Another factor which limited and worsened their view is their weak health status:

“My life has become very difficult because I’ve reached the level of malnutrition. Life has become very hard. I started living on aid. My brothers refused to help me” (RSIF6) ...

“My life has become very mediocre, weak. Even my health, my financial means became weak, harvest quantity has diminished, etc. It seems like that story was the curse which has fallen on me. I was a blissful fulfilled woman but now everything has changed” (RSIF7) ...

“My life has already been destroyed. I was overweight, but I’ve become skinny because of that situation. From that time, there is nothing good that happened to me. my life has become miserable” (RSIF8)

... “My life has become very hard, burdensome, even my health has deteriorated” (RSIF9).

Lacking support, or getting insignificant support, the intense level of misery, inability to move, working to fulfil their needs and those of their children, some survivors get sick because of the conditions of their lives. As such, they have become unable to work, or to change the situation from bad to good, therefore increasing their trauma and frustration. For those who are married or remarried, there is an additional factor, the deteriorated couple relationship, which increasing their misery, attached to the presence of those children:

“From the day my husband was aware of my pregnancy, he stopped taking care of me. Since then, my finance shrunk. I started starving as he is the one who was supporting my business. Hence, I started a cycle of humiliation” (RSIF10) ... “When I gave birth to that child, everything got worse. There is always dispute between me and my husband” (RSIF11)

... “When my husband humiliates me, other people stop respecting me in our neighbourhood” (RSIF12)

... “My husband used to ask himself why he got married to me. because getting married to a wife who is a victim of rape is a big problem indeed. My life is no better. That behaviour is not pleasing me” (RSIF13) ...

“Issues have increased. The presence of that child has increased problems in my family. My husband has abandoned me”(RSIF14),

... “For instance, during the period before he left, he could neither drink, eat, nor light fire in this house as it is traditionally forbidden for a woman, a wife who has been raped together by one sex offender” (RSIF15).

Abandoned for becoming pregnant by a sex offender. Many husbands stopped taking care of their rape survivor wives’. Knowing that they are the only source of sustaining their wives’ lives, husbands have chosen this approach to punish their wives through starvation. They are going through a cycle of humiliation, from husband to outside people. Husbands’ attitudes are not only a punishment, but also the expression of their disappointment, associated with the lack of control over their wives’ humiliation by the so called “enemies of the community” who are children born from rape, and also by the traditional interdict. There is a traditional belief to protect men for wives’ “wrongs”, whether willing or not, which is a strong weight upon husbands. The tradition forbids a husband to benefit from or use any service of his wife offered by her from the time she and her daughter have been raped by the same sex offender. Thus, humiliation and disrespect in marriage and in the neighbourhood, lack of husbands’ support, worsening couple relationship, misery, lack of peace in marriage, disturbed unstable marriages, husbands’ disappointment and the traditional belief burden weakening couples’ relationships increased rape survivor mothers’ trauma, and aggravated the slowing of the trauma healing process.

7.2.5.5 Mother’s transcendence over fragility from children maltreatment

Asked “How do you react against your child’s maltreatment?”, survivor mothers, despite the burden of children from rape and the complexity of their acceptance involving psychological and social challenges to be overcome, have developed self-approaches, and attempt to transcend the situation for their good to improve their trauma healing process and social relationships, using a physical approach, mental and spiritual approaches, or the natural approach of transcendence.

“I try to go to our office to talk to people in the community for awareness and sensitization. It helps me to forget about my problems and transcend the situation. Otherwise, I get headaches, dizziness, giddiness, etc.” (RSIF10),...

“I play music, I go to the farm to cultivate, I try to work, to do something, trying to forget” (RSIF11),

“I usually go to the farm to cultivate to divert my mind from that situation and feel relaxed” (RSIF12),

... “I look for someone to talk with him/her. Sometimes, I can search for an activity to make me busy just to divert from my problems and worries” (RSIF13).

Physical activity contributes to diverting mothers so as to overcome their children’s painful challenging situation which affects them as well. Physical work is connected to psychological work as it keeps mothers busy and giving them relief from their pain, forgetting their issues for a while through farming activity or their main activities. Those doing an awareness activity get a double advantage from their activity as well. Talking to others, helping them overcoming their pain, trauma, etc. not only contributes to other people releasing their psychological burden but also helps survivor mothers, getting the same

positive impact themselves. Many rape survivor mothers focus also on mental and spiritual exercises for the transcendence. In this regard, mothers use some personal techniques:

“I used to sing gospel songs and pray. It helps me when I’m stressed and I forget my worries” ... “Most of the time I go where I can find other people to avoid staying alone. If my children are at home, I have fun with them” (RSIF14) ...

“I go to bed. I can sing as well. It helps me to overcome the situation” (RSIF15) ... “

I go into my room to pray, sing or go to church” (RSIF16).

Loneliness avoidance is the technique used by survivors to transcend their mind raving. In their loneliness they use gospel songs, prayer, music, or sleep. Those techniques are mostly spiritual, connecting to the divine presence to receive in turn consolation, relieving the mind and avoiding mental pain? Another way of de-stressing themselves is to get satisfaction of their needs, as reported:

“My kid answer against those who maltreat her. It satisfies and calms me down as I can see her advocate and protect herself” (RSIF17) ...

“I did my best to take her back to school for her to be convinced that things that others are saying against her are wrong” (RSIF18) ...

“I used to go to *mwakere* (a local leader) to report, discuss with her about my issue as she can console me” (RSIF19).

The fact of satisfying rape survivor mothers’ needs related to their children’s self-resilience, self-protection, self-resistance to external abusers, the ability to protect themselves, etc. gives mothers strength. Satisfying both mothers’ and children’s needs become a great satisfaction to mothers who feel supported and unburdened of worry. Also important is self-conviction of the sacristy of life as reported: “*I bless God. When I compare my life to those who passed away because of rape, I used to console myself*” (RSIF20) ... “*I try to convince myself that God is the one that wanted me to experience that situation. Hence, I try to forget and transcend that situation*” (RSIF21) ... “*I try to divert my attention from my situation*” (RSIF1). The acknowledgement of the sacristy of life, the benefit of being alive after rape, believers see themselves as lucky, favoured by the greatness of God’s salvation, which encourages them to keep their hope high and minimizes pain from abuse of their children. This contributes to diverting their attention from traumatic issues which constrain them from normalizing the situation.

Other mothers are confused about how to initiate a self-approach to overcome abuse against their children:

“Sometimes, I leave the pain like that, then the heart will calm itself” (RSIF2) ...

“But the discriminatory behaviour of her stepfather against her does not contribute to calm me and transcend my pain” (RSIF3) ...

“I don’t do anything to do to transcend that situation. It’s difficult for me” ... “For that, I don’t know what to do and overcome that situation” ... “I usually sleep to forget” (RSIF4).

Those who use natural approaches to transcend abuse of their children are passive to react or initiate action that could contribute to their transcendence. Their technique seems to rely on time to flatten the curve of pain, and they are incapable of overcoming the situation. For them, instead of confronting it, they leave time to naturally solve the situation. Thus, avoidance is better than confrontation as it is less painful.

Supplementary solutions

There are two supplementary ways of contributing to solving the issue which are suggestions for acceptance of children and the improvement of their relationships with their mothers, as answered to the question: “What could be the solution for you and your child to be accepted in your community?”

Suggestions for child acceptance: To help children born from rape to be accepted into their environment, mothers have suggested various solutions, such as a child’s self-mechanism of acceptance, a third intervention, but this can be challenged and get into deadlock during the process.

Children born from rape could be accepted by and from themselves: “If God helps him, he will make his own family” (RSIF5) ...

“They should protect their heart against every shock, pain, bad behaviour, and humiliation” (RSIF6).

Children can strengthen themselves, to provoke acceptance from other persons in their environment. Marriage on its own is a great mechanism, meaning that the persons are accepted. Thus, through marriage, they will gain acceptance approval and consent from others. Children born from rape need tertiary intervention for their acceptance, as narrated by their mothers:

“Help him with advice. Maybe that could help him to integrate himself in the family instead of me making that effort to integrate him and take care of his relationship with others” (RSIF7) ...

“I started taking him to church. He is singing in a choir. I think, that is the best way for me to save his life to better behave and live normally. Since he started going to church, he has decreased his irritation. He is a bit calmer” (RSIF8) ...

“If I could find somewhere to stay with my child, where no one could chase me away and a land where I could cultivate, that could be my great satisfaction” (RSIF9) ...

“If I can find a place to live, a yard to stay in, that could help me to reduce criticism against us” (RSIF10)

... “If the Congolese government could be involved in this situation, it would be better” (RSIF11).

The role of a third person is to orient, lead, and shape minds, attitudes and behaviour of children born from rape in order for them to be accepted. Tools to shape children’s minds are both primary and secondary social frameworks of socialization such as family, church, school, and other governmental institutions capable of increasing human capital. Children learn to be and live with other children who accept them. This constitutes their first level of acceptance network, where advice is used as technical encouragement through an acceptance process. On other hand, to enhance their resilience capacity to face and participate in their own acceptance, stable housing, inhabitant ownership of the guardian, and

their financial independence are still relevant where values are learnt. Thus, for their acceptance involving third persons, interventions are relevant at all levels of socialization to remould their behaviours. Other mothers do not have any idea about mechanisms for making their children accepted:

“The exclusion situation will remain like that. Only God accepts him” (RSIF12) ...

“When my father in-law was alive, he forbade me to bring that child into my marriage and he said ‘an *Interahamwe* kid can never live alongside with my children’. That word is a real blockage of all process that can be envisaged to bring, to integrate that kid in my family-in-law” (RSIF13) ...

There is a deadlock in children’s acceptance which is expressed in two ways: mothers’ passivity in initiating any action for a child’s acceptance, and interdicts upon children born from rape. Desperate, mothers lack mechanisms to make their children accepted, expecting a divine intervention to make it happen. Interdicts from males in the community or chiefs of family has increased harsh exclusion of male children born from rape. The strict refusal of child acceptance from the community’s elders constitutes a complex issue to overcome, as culturally there is no modification and no way of repealing the restriction, especially after the passing of elders who set the restriction up. This is the real deadlock for acceptance of children born from rape. But while there is an impasse on children’s acceptance, there can be a solution to pass over this challenge, such as the improvement of the mother-child relationship.

The improvement of mother-child relationship: To improve the mother-child relationship, closeness, isolation, and orientation could contribute to achieve the goal, as narrated by mothers: “*We are in good relationship. He is my confidante. He is very close to me*” ... “*She is my friend, that child. I don’t have any responses to that question. I would like her relationship with my family be perfect*” (RSIF14) ... “*If we could live at our own place with my child, that could reinforce our relationship*” (RSIF15). The most relevant mechanism of improving their relationship is to stick together for one purpose, child acceptance. As both are discriminated against, sticking together to mutually strengthen each other is a way to improve their relationship by a reciprocal acceptance developing confidence, closeness, and friendship as values to reciprocal acceptance. If there is self-effort to acceptance process of both, cultural the issue becomes complex: “*There is nothing that I know that could be done for us to be accepted. The thing is, as they know the way she was conceived, there is nothing that could be envisaged for her integration*” (RSIF15) ... “*I have no idea about how this could happen*” (RSIF11). Considered as a pariah, the inclusion of those children is complexified by the traditional conservative measures, as the issue is primarily considered as an issue of immorality capable of destroying or destabilizing cultural values and linear offspring.

7.2.6 Aftermaths of children born from rape abuse: psychosocial burden on mothers’ rape survivors

Intensified by the antecedents prior to their birth, the main consequences of maltreatment of children born from rape comes from the critical identity of the children which does not allow them to be

culturally accepted nor be socially integrated into their mothers' kinship system. This has overloaded their mothers' thoughts and turned into burden that weakens their mental health and the way they perceive their children, affecting mother-child relationships and modifying their habits to save their children's lives.

7.2.6.1 Children born from rape's identity, a sociopsychological burden to their mothers

From those selected randomly to participate to this study, results show that almost 80% of children born from rape have foreign rebels as genitors, whose antecedent has been perceived negatively by people in the community of their mothers. Other factions, composed of local militias, local armed groups, governmental security forces and civilians share the remaining 20% of children's genitors. Hence, the identity of children born from rape fathered by foreign citizens has influenced the threat of all of them as if dealing with one component of an antagonist social group.

Identity is the key factor that incites attitudes of people against children born from rape, from their closest bonds such as that of their mothers' families, up to the largest one in the community. It is a sensitive issue that goes from individuals to groups, communities, societies, nation states and up to international level. Even though the scale of its sensitivity seems to be global, from local to international, it always engages human feelings, even though number of researchers have consensus on the ambivalence aspect of the concept. Fearon (1999) argues that identity emerges as a kind of unsettled space, not a fixed point but an ambivalent one, the relationship of other to oneself. In the case of my research, this is the interpersonal identity that is in collision with some beliefs. As sensitive as it is, identity itself is not necessarily sensitive or harmful to those in collision but it is antecedents, allegations, and intersecting discourses surrounding identity that are the main issue making it sensitive. Among antecedents attached to children born from rape identity is the historical, political, criminal, and personal issues that has led to the disfiguration the identity of children born from rape. For instance, findings reveal, families have lost their loved ones due to the murder caused by rebels. As consequence, mothers have to bear the outcomes of the hated identity of their children.

7.2.6.2 Gender-based analysis: Genders influencing their acceptance-rejection

Acceptance of children born from rape lies more on female gender than on male who experience more rejection. Although the apparent impression is that no matter what gender the child is, it will be excluded from their mothers' kinship system. This apparent impression was enough justification to strictly discriminate, abuse, exclude, and reject them from their mothers' family and living environment. However, the real reason on which we stand on makes difference between male and female child born from rape. there is deep and clear difference between being a male child born from rape and being a female child born from rape. The difference can be seen also to their mothers: the management and feelings that comes from having them differ significantly. The difference has been greatly influenced

by cultural and customary practices and perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of each gender vis-à-vis the customary values of integration into a patrilineal kinship system. Thus, female children born from rape have different challenges compared to male children born from rape as regards integration.

Mothers who have female children call them lucky based on three main factors: inheritance and successor issues, compensation of their mothers' dowry and less issue entailed to their identity. Being in a patrilineal kinship system, females in customary practices are not beneficiaries of the inheritance and are not counted among successors of the clan for the continuation of clan genealogy.

In patrilocal principle, in a patrilineal kinship structure a son remains a member of the family of orientation whereas the daughter has to leave her natal house and move to the family of her affinal kins after marriage. She becomes a member of her husband's patriline. This gives rights to female to get a residence in her in-laws as identity, belonging to them. Residence is a material as well as an ideological expression of principles of kinship (Pathshala 2013). As such, the female dowry plays a large role as it grants not only a new identity to the girl, but also becomes to some extent a substitution for inheritance. For mothers, for instance, the amount of dowry that will be given for their daughter constitutes their portion of inheritance, as they have no right to their mothers' heirs' inheritance like sons of the family. Studies have also emphasized the similarity between the amounts of dowry given to daughters and inheritances awarded to sons (Anderson 2007). Others confirmed dowry to be a pre-mortem inheritance to the daughter, their property throughout their marriage.

Even though there is no consensus on the perception of dowry, literature has approached the issue either in its economic or sociocultural aspects. To some researchers, a dowry is an economic transaction in which the groom has control over the bride, but for some there is a deeper cultural meaning that instead of exchange girl-to-girl, dowry does replace (Nkosi 2011). Whether it's an economic transaction or has cultural meaning, the wealth that a bride's family receives is the most important for a girl born from rape. Rape survivor mothers, as well as their family members, do not stick to sociocultural meanings of dowry when it comes to the issue of females born from rape. Mostly, used and considered under financial gain, a dowry is seen as a compensation for the wrong that their genitors did to their mothers and to the entire family, the loss of a dowry that could have been given for their mothers to get married and benefit the family, which will be compensated with their daughter's one. Not only are females born from rape valued because eventually the family will get cows from their suitors, but men's expectation to get wealth from a dowry brought has a social meaning, granting to a female born from rape a social status. Meekers (1993) stresses the fact that marriage remains an indicator of female status. Even though females born from rape do not seem to be worried about their identity, the expectation of their mothers to see their daughters get female status through marriage turns into a successful process of integration

in their families as well as in the community, granting them acceptance and identity from their in-law families.

Hence, mothers feel consoled to manage their daughters' inheritance as it is arranged through a dowry. In this way, a dowry does no longer means the bride price, the right to be transferred to their husbands and husbands' families and produce children, but much more a new identity, the existential identity of wife and mother than the one of sociobiological identity of a sister and daughter (Hakansson 1994). The transfer through dowry of a female born from rape has turned into a key factor influencing their acceptance and integration but also adding value to their mothers' consideration as the amount of the dowry wipes away the wrong. Both mothers, and daughters seem to be exempted from extreme violence or abuse due to the dowry as a mechanism of their acceptance. This has also played another function of softening cohabitation between them and their families, especially for daughters, knowing that their final destination is not their mothers' families but their in-laws' families. The expectation of transfer of wealth from females born from rape has produced positive outcomes based on values like tolerance, harmony, cohabitation, etc. This is a guarantee for mothers to keep their daughters safe, and far from murder and losing them, which stress has been avoided.

Unfortunately, being entailed on the wealth that daughters will bring to families has made mothers, as well as their family members, not care about consequences of the dowry. Knowing that the burden of responsibility for dowry payments has debilitating consequences for women (Conteh 2016), this is a positive to mothers and their family members whose target is to get rid of females born from rape. The practice stands at the foundation of patriarchy, leading to many negative consequences, such as women treated as property, the idea of daughters as an investment, forced marriages, enslavement, dehumanization, and gender-based violence which will be experienced by the daughter alone.

On the other hand, the reality of boys born from rape is different and tough to deal with. If the inheritance issue of girls born from rape is secured by the mean of a dowry, that of boys born from rape is still not yet solved. Male children born from rape are the challenging gender to their mothers and to themselves vis-à-vis family and community members' attitudes. Mothers who had male children born from rape depicted the fact as a curse due to the intractable issues of heirs and successors, their strong interests in their identity, their defensive attitude, and their ability to challenge their abusers. Those factors are the key triggers of violent interactions between boys born from rape and other components (family members and community). None of them is ready to lose the battle of inheritance and identity.

In fact, kinship provided a base for organizing social relationships (Beattie 1994). However, in the case of boys born from rape, from hated genitors, this has provoked more challenges than opportunity to organise the integration of those children. Being managed by the principles of a patrilineal kinship system, knowing the need of boys to have an identity and lineal connection in the family on the one

hand; not being ready to accept and integrate boys born from rape into their mothers' genealogical line and grant boys their identity, being worried about mixing blood with hated genitors' offspring on the other hand, clashes between boys born from rape and their mothers' family members. Community occurs as the need for respecting and using cultural norms to exclude those children. Given that in the patrilineal system, women are excluded from inheriting property (Tebbe 2008), the presence of boys itself constitutes for male family members the risk they will inherit. In fact, being in such kinship system in which under patrilineal norms, the primacy of blood kin prevails, defining blood kinship as flowing through their paternal, not maternal, bloodlines, status and rights are transmitted in the father's line (Legal Assistance Centre 2005). However, with the possibility of boys born from rape inheriting in their mothers in-law families if the stepfathers are willing to do so as the transfer through marriage of their mothers can grant them identity, the flexibility of their inheritance becomes a huge challenge for boys born from rape and a complex issue to deal with. It therefore raises a huge number of male antagonists such as their mothers' family members, their stepfathers, and customary law keepers in the community.

Hence, mixed with boys' antecedents related to their identity, and as only males are allowed to succeed to status and property in the family (Law reform commission 2004) – but not every male – creates a deadlock to the process of integration and acceptance of boys born from rape, because they seem like competitors against their heirs. As such, antagonists try get rid of them, which remains the main source of extreme violence against boys born from rape such as the risk of being murdered and other sorts of abuse against them (Mauwa, Kaye et al. 2022).

7.2.6.3 Maltreatment of children born from rape justified by customary practices

Maltreatment of children born from rape justified by customary practices has involved children in the principle of “us” against “them”, between “inside” and “outside” (Kinder and Kam 2010) which has produced radical reactions from both parties of children and males in the community. For them to resist to such violence, boys born from rape try to protect themselves, as mentioned above, by any means, violent or not – but usually in a criminal way. They also displace their aggression, anger, and disappointment upon their mothers, forcing them to fix the issue of their identity, which attitude is different from girls born from rape. As findings showed, mothers are worried to bear the burden of their male children born from rape whose lives are not guaranteed due to the deadlock in identity management and its aftermaths, like murder of their children and other grave abuse against them. To manage the issue, they use the two mechanisms of conflict management confrontation and avoidance as strategies to deal with their children's emotions when they threaten their mothers to discover the truth and find solutions. Given that their mothers either confront them by telling them the truth or avoid revealing the truth on their origin and the way they were conceived, this triggers the relapse of their mothers' rape trauma and flashbacks. Hence, mothers to transcend their mental weakness, resort to

various strategies like spiritual activities (singing, praying, Holy Scriptural meditation, etc.), isolation and silence, etc. as immediate transcendence strategies. However, to manage the challenging issue of integration of children born from rape, a complex response is needed.

Children born from rape's traumatic burden to mothers: In fact, having a child born from rape does not produce same effect for all rape survivor mothers. Some have positive perceptions and others negative of on their children, which consequently produces different effects on them. Since children living in permanent conditions of maltreatment constitute a reminder of the critical circumstances in which they were born, carrying with them consequences of being, this is a traumatic image to their mothers as each abuse relates to their being.

Findings displayed that most of mothers' rape survivors keep, up to the time of our research, equating the presence of their children born from rape to reminders of the circumstances in which rape occurred and the suffering they endured. Almost 90% of mothers who participated in this research blame their children, considering them as the curse of their mothers' lives, the source of their misery, seen as representing the unbearable lives of their mothers. The perception they have turns into negative emotions from time to time, making them nervous, feel anger, sadness, or fear, going through flashbacks, etc., for their children's presence keeps on giving them a fright. Their image becomes a traumatic trigger which maintains mothers' trauma, delaying the healing process even more than 10 years that the issue occurred. Even though normally post-traumatic stress disorder can begin within 3 months or a delay of months or years before the symptoms appear, since the trigger, the traumatic image is permanent and connected to the origin of the suffering, this connection producing flashbacks makes trauma symptoms appear suddenly, even without conscious memory of the original trauma or without any overt provocation (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2014). In such conditions, mothers keep suffering for years from trauma maintained and never decreased.

The negative perception which provokes negative emotions of mothers towards their children born from rape, influenced by their sociocultural history, is not related to the nature of the children themselves but is due to the circumstances surrounding their presence. Hence, to wipe away what they have depicted (children as curse) and try to flatten the curve of this traumatic representation of those children, mothers have anticipated the issue by giving their children names that will significantly contribute to their perception of their children, to the perception of children themselves as well as the perception of other people of children born from rape. A change in the view, from negative to positive through mechanisms like naming children born from rape (mainly by their mothers) and the perception that children born from rape have of themselves has produced positive feelings in mothers to crown the change of their emotional suffering to happiness.

7.2.7 Impact of the presence of children born from rape: contribution to mothers' happiness

There are some factors influencing mothers' happiness that mothers have grasped to reach this goal. Among them there are good and positive way of other people treating children born from rape, mothers' attachment to their children born from rape, mothers owning their children born from rape, freedom of naming the children are factors providing positive result like safety to mothers' rape survivors as well as to their children.

7.2.7.1 Mothers' attachment to their children born from rape: Feeling of owning the child

If the dominant emotions got from children's presence and maltreatment were negative, and most survivor mothers blamed the presence of children born from rape as factors worsening and increasing their misery, there are also some positive effects of those children on mothers who believe in the force of attachment as a turning point to happiness.

Good and positive treatment enhances their happiness: Some mothers rape survivors reported: *"When I see her there is ambivalence of feeling. I remember the suffering I underwent, endured to get her pregnancy. At the same time the joy that I had to have her like a child, "for free, a free child". She is my own daughter, for me alone"* (RSIF11). Even though those children still remind some mothers of their rape suffering, they meanwhile acknowledge the presence of those children as a source of positive impact. However, the happiness works under condition of considering the child as a free gift to the mother, belonging to her alone. This completes the need of fulfilling the desire for child ownership, a great motivation covering the saddening side of them, insisting that it is *"a free child, my own child, for me alone"* (RSIF18). Other mothers have a unique feeling of being satisfied by those children's presence:

"I actually love my child. When I see her, even if I don't have anything to give her, I feel blissful and free" (RSIF12) ...

"Something that God has given me, I will receive it. She will live together with other children" (RSIF14) ...
"Anyway, when I see her helping me to work, to do business, I feel good and try to forget that story and suffering" (RSIF15) ...

"When I gave birth to her, I was so delighted to get this girl because I was worried, I might die from that pregnancy... I love her very much but her siblings, my other children, don't like her. Myself I couldn't terminate her because she is a free gift, a free benefit, my own child" (RSIF18) ...

"We were many, some of us did not get pregnant. If that happened to us it means it was God will, ... "God rescued me from a very dangerous situation that I couldn't have escaped on my own. I blessed God as for me it was God's will to have that child" (RSIF17) ...

Here attachment between mothers and their children is developed naturally through love and the joy of owning those children as this will be more developed in the following section. Given that some survivors naturally try to dissociate the issue of their current suffering at allegations that children born from rape are a source of their mothers' curse, this has allowed some mother rape survivors to love, and

still be attached to their children, no matter what. These children are considered as God's gift and will; mothers' compensation for wild rape suffering; there is joy at getting their "own child", the continuation of their own female line challenging a patriarchal system where children are classed under the male line. Others considered them as a sign of victory from rape death. Positive perceptions of these children change the relationship between mothers and their children positively, therefore contributing to speeding the mothers' trauma healing process as reported. Mothers feel blissful, seeing themselves as being victorious over a dangerous rape situation. The child is compensation for some, some are happy at getting the preferred gender of child, having a "free" child, their ownership of the child, etc. and this enhances mothers' sense of protecting those children, loving, and still being attached to them. This perception has influenced somewhat the meaning of the name that mothers gave to their children.

7.2.7.2 Children and mothers' safety: Challenging cultural norms by mothers' rape survivors attempting to own their children by naming them

Rape survivor mothers have anticipated social rejection of their children and then initiated some strategic approaches to overcome this rejection to feel that they and their children are safe and belong to their community. Among those strategies is strategic name given to children. Giving their children predictive names has been a strategic approach of mothers to anticipate and prevent their children's rejection, even though culturally this goes beyond customary norms of a woman for naming her child, given that this act symbolizes the ownership of the child. Hence, mothers named their children resorting to divine- and human-oriented name meanings.

Meaning of child's name: divine or human source of name: Mothers attributing names to their children born from rape expresses mothers' perceptions of the birth of the children portraying mothers' scenarios of the rape fact from capture to birth of the children. These can be positive or negative names but are mostly positive names as they have an impact on the mothers' trauma healing process and children's integration into their community. Mothers have named their children under two trends, which are divine and human experiences meaningful to them.

7.2.7.2.1 Divine trend of name meaning

Most rape survivors have acknowledged the divine intervention to come out of the most dangerous criminal rape situation in what they went through:

"He is 15 years old. His name is Nshokano Kalamo Olame Maisha. I'm the one who gave him the name of Olame Kalamo which means 'may he live for ever!'. I've given him that name because me and him have been rescued from death by God. The life that we have motivated me to name him" (RSIF20)

... "She's 14 years old. Her name is Arusima Muhesherwa. I've given her that name. Muhesherwa is my name, the name of my father, her grand-father's name and Arusima means 'God gives me'. Escaping from that jungle where I was kept for rape that proves how God loves me and this child" (RSIF21) ...

“I named my daughter Musahada Elonga. She is 12 years old. Because when I gave birth, I needed divine intervention from God to deliver her, breastfeed her as I was fainting every time. God rescued me from a very critical situation. That’s the meaning of her name, Elonga means victory. She is my helper, my victory” (RSIF1) ...

“She is 14 years old. My daughter’s name is Rosine Balegamire = *Engulangelire nangalire na muzinda* which means ‘rely on God’. I rely on God. When I was pregnant, I lost hope to deliver, give birth, to this child because of the suffering. That’s why I gave her that name” ... “His name is Manu, Emmanuel. God among us. The one who protected me” (RSIF2).

Having experienced intense suffering in the jungle, criminal threats from perpetrators and being rescued from that most hopeless situation, keeping rape survivor mothers and their children alive is not a natural or normal issue. To be rescued was demanding a great proof of God’s love, a powerful skilled thought to escape from criminal nefarious perpetrators which could only come from God, a divine mysterious intervention. Survivors acknowledged the divine intervention, a supernatural force which worked to rescue them from the nefarious situation. Thus, after giving birth, they attributed names to their children expressing their thanksgiving to God in gratitude for being saved. Children’s names not only express the goodness of God, but also a blessing for the children: “Olane Kalamo⁶²” means “may you live for ever”, wishing long life to the child as a lucky child; “Musahada⁶³ Elonga⁶⁴” means “aid, assistance and victory”, for the survivor benefited from God’s assistance to be victorious from the rape situation. Rape survivors acknowledged God’s assistance for both mother and daughter for being rescued from death from the conception of the child up to delivery. That is the survivors’ victory. “Arusima⁶⁵” means “God gives me”. For the mother, this is God’s plan, God’s proof of love to mother and her daughter. “Balegamire = *Engulangelire nangalire na muzinda*⁶⁶” means “relies on God”. The mother couldn’t have made it without relying on God’s assistance for her to deliver her baby.

Thus, rape survivors, to benefit from the divine intervention, had to rely on God only who provided space to escape and protected survivors during the rape period and escape time. Given that most of survivors delivered babies when underage, whether at home assisted by their mothers, wise women in the neighbourhood or the dispensary, overcoming that risk of death, the only fitting expression is thanksgiving to God through their children’s names.

“I named her Shukuru⁶⁷. She is 13 years old. I say thanks to God, a sign of being grateful to him”... “Shukran⁶⁸, I blessed God as I didn’t pass away. I was leaking while I was pregnant”. ... “My son’s name is Koko which means ‘thanks’. He is 11 years old. I’m the one who gave him that name. I gave him that name because I delivered him without too much pain” (RSIF3).

⁶² From Mashi tribe

⁶³ From Kiswahili language

⁶⁴ From Lingala language

⁶⁵ From Mashi tribe

⁶⁶ From Mashi tribe

⁶⁷ Thanks

⁶⁸ Kiswahili variant from Arabic origin, meaning the same as “thanks”

Weak health during pregnancy period made rape survivors lose hope of living, but they were rescued by God intervention. They keep on thanking God to keep for them alive compared to those who passed away.

Others have been convinced that was God's plan. Therefore, naming their children had to consider God will as reported, "My son's name is Jibu⁶⁹ Lwakasi⁷⁰. Lwakasi is his stepfather's name. I'm the one who named him. Jibu means 'response'. It means to me 'God is the answer'. The circumstances to get that child is the way that God wanted me to get him" (RSIF4). In a very simple word, mothers acknowledged God's plan. In other words, for a rape survivor, she couldn't escape what happened to her, and considered the fact as God's plan and response, due to the strange way of getting the child. These children are considered as God's gift by some other survivors as narrated,

"When I named her, I realised that I couldn't do anything. It's God who gave her to me" ... "My daughter name is Ashuza. She is 14 years old. I named her Ashuza⁷¹ which means 'God is the one who answered me'. I didn't need, want that issue to happen to me" (RSIF5) ...

"My daughter name is Zawadi. She is 12 years old. I'm the one who named her. I told myself, everything comes from God, she is a God gift" (RSIF6) ...

"My daughter is 13 years old. She is named Baseme Amenipa which means 'He gives me. let them talk' When I was pregnant with her, I lost hope of living. I didn't know that I will give birth because of the suffering from the jungle. Seeing my daughter born, it's God's grace, that's why I named her 'God gives me'" (RSIF7).

Mothers' perceptions of their children are here understood as a gift due, to the way they got them. Given that they did not plan to have them, and the issue was out of their control, rape survivors perceived them as a pure gift from God. Thus, names like "Zawadi" meaning "gift", and "Ashuza" meaning "God's answer", express mothers' acceptance of God's will for an unexpected gift, an answer which is appreciated because of the sacristry of the gift – life. Acknowledging that God is the one who gave them those children contributes to make survivors less pensive and become indifferent to critics. Also, the gift substitutes the worst experience of rape survivors as reported: *"Instead of dying and beyond worse suffering, God has produced from me something marvellous"* (RSIF7). In this substitution they freely and completely accept, and perceive the child as appreciated, turning worse into better, marvellous.

Thus, survivors who believe in God, in a divine force, whose intervention is compared to their limit to self-save from the worse experience, whether during the rape period, during escape, throughout the pregnancy period and during the delivery, have acknowledged the greatness of God going beyond their expectation to live once more, whether for them or for their children born from rape. However, other

⁶⁹ From Kiswahili language

⁷⁰ Stepfather's surname

⁷¹ From Shi tribe

rape survivors have named their children not according to divine intervention, but regarding reasonable human ways of perceiving the fact.

7.2.7.2.2 Human trend of names' meanings

Rape survivors have named their children according to their critical human sense of the situation of rape they went through. For instance, the child's innocence, the level of attachment between mother and child, a cleansing process, etc. have motivated the name attributed to their children, whether from themselves or influenced by other people. Most of them used euphemisms to express their memories while naming their children.

External observers have contributed to naming rape survivors' children, as reported: "*Nurses named her 'Immaculée'*⁷²(RSIF7), *immaculate (without spot, spotless)*". The Mother and nurses acknowledged the innocence of the child regarding the rape issue. In other words, the child, being innocent, does not deserve to be blamed. Nurses have used a psychological approach, counselling and preparing the mother to accept and provide positive feelings to child as deserved. Other survivors have named their children according to their favourite names ever of their dream as narrated,

"Her name is 'Aimée'. She is a daughter. She is 13 years old. I gave her the name that I like. I've given her that name without paying attention to the meaning as it's in a foreign language, but it's still a name that I do like very much and sounds great to me" (RSIF8) ...

"My daughter is 12 years old. I named her 'Furha Atosha, moya ya tosha'⁷³!

It means one that is enough! For me whether good or bad everything is enough and good" (RSIF9) ...

"My daughter is 13 years old. Her name is Alice Kalibanyi. I named her Alice, a loved named, and Kalibanyi is for her stepfather" (RSIF10), ... "

I have two children from rape. From my daughter who passed away in the jungle and mine: Joli and Ombeni. I'm the one who gave them those names. Those names came out of my mind without thinking about their meaning" (RSIF11) ...

"Her grandmother gave her the name of Diane, her favourite name" (RSIF12).

Survivors have attributed appreciated names to their children motivated by the positive feeling or sound from the name which transfers the same feeling to the present life of the children. Rape survivors try to compensate for suffering by using names that will produce a positive feeling. They try to forget and pass over the painful reality using euphemisms to make suffering less painful as reported by some: "a joy that is enough!". In the right words, they are turning suffering that was more than enough into joy that was enough, and therefore there is no need, no wish to go through another painful experience. For

⁷² From French language, translated in English as "immaculate "

⁷³ Furah atosha, moya ya tosha from Kiswahili to English means "a joy that is enough"

that reason, some others predicted their children's lives by attributing to them names that should define their future lives:

"I'm the one who has given her the name of 'Mugoli,' Esther from the Bible, the queen which means a star. I was inspired by that name as I wish to see her become a queen when she gets married. That child mustn't under any circumstances be submitted to the consequences of my rape issue, problems" (RSIF14) ...

"My daughter is 12 years old. I named her Esther Bahati. I gave her the name of Esther because I wish her one day to be a queen in her marriage" (RSIF15) ...

"She turns 12 years old now. I named her Noella 'Bahizire'. 'Bahizire' means 'they will bring them' (money or cows). I will get money and cows from her dowry and forget about my jungle suffering" (RSIF16), ...

"My daughter is 12 years old. I named her Esther Bahati. Bahati is the name of her stepfather... "My mother gave him the name of 'Nshokano' which means life, the thing that happened to both of us is part of life" (RSIF17), ...

"My son is 12 years old. I named him Lumière, Mwangaza⁷⁴. On top of all my suffering from the jungle, I couldn't give my son a bad name. He must shine. He mustn't live in suffering as I'm suffering" (RSIF18).

Mothers have attributed positive predictive names to their children to predict positively their future lives. Mother rape survivors' worry made them use prediction to avoid child suffering, turning the bad image of a child's origin into the best predictive hopeful life. They wish to see their children living glorious lives equal to queens, princesses, rich men and women, etc.

The human approach to attributing children's names is the euphemism approach which substitutes the best for the worst, to make the reality less painful. Because of the euphemistic application, mothers predicted the future lives of their children, avoiding the worst to happen to their offspring. The euphemistic approach is constituted by the choice of favourite names, acknowledgement of divine intervention, predictive names, dissimilative name from stepfathers, etc. Also, favourite names have played the role of cleansing a of curse by the use of favourite name.

Reasons for attributing names to children born from rape: Reasons are variously justified as follows: to dissimilate hated identity of children born from rape, to create space for the children in the family and community for the sake of their integration, for protection of an unacceptable identity, to reduce the gap of discrimination, to prevent exclusion, or because it is considered as the cleansing process for a curse.

Rape survivor mothers have used their husbands', (the child's stepfathers') name for many reasons. For instance, they have used those names to cover the difference between children inside families and in the community, to protect their children's identity, offer the best option for their acceptance into

⁷⁴ Mwangaza from Kiswahili and Lumiere from French are translated to "light" in English

families, neighbourhood and community, a protective tool contributing to their integration, providing them with space for their happiness. Rape survivors narrated clearly as follows:

“Lwakasi is the name of his stepfather. I’ve given him that name because I want all my children to get one name of their father. To avoid discrimination among my children, that how I decided to give him that name as well” (RSIF19) ...

Kalibanyi is the name of her stepfather. He is the one who gave her his name. he wanted all his children to have his name and for the reason of conformity” (RSIF20) ...

“Basinize is the name of her stepfather. He is the one who gave her that name. I agreed so” (RSIF21) ...

“Malamire is the name of my husband. It helps to cover the secret of my son’s origin, uniting all my children under one unique father, my husband” (RSIF1) ...

“It reduces the intensity of discrimination, stress of that child in the community” (RSIF2) ...

“Her other name is given by her stepfather. It’s he himself who agreed to give her his name” (RSIF3)

... “Bahati means chance, that’s my husband’s name. I gave her that name to identify her with my husband. If I couldn’t give her my husband’s name, the same name as others of my children, that could be a way of accusing myself openly to other children and distinguish her from the rest of my children” (RSIF4).

Some stepfathers, in accordance with their wives, have agreed to give same name to all their children. Stepfathers’ names play many functions in children’s lives, such as uniting a small family by consolidating attachment of children from both sides, mother and stepfather at the same time, and keeping secret the hated origin of children born from rape. . It reduces discrimination of children born from rape as well as their exclusion. It covers the mothers’ shame a getting a child from a perpetrator and/or outside of her marriage. This naming has also produced many advantages to children born from rape, such as being accepted and integrated into the family and community while granting them a stable emotional life. However, the reality is far from being the same in the family where stepfathers have not agreed to offer their names to children born from rape of their wives. Thus, the stepfather’s acceptance of attributing his name to those children constitutes the first stage of their acceptance and integration into families and communities. Not only does the name play the function of uniting children born from rape to their stepfathers’ family, but it also creates love, increases attachment between them and their mothers who expect to gain advantages gain from their children:

“Alice is a name that I like very much. That’s why I’ve given it to that child” (RSIF5) ...

“I will take advantage of her dowry. I have realised that what happened to me was a kind of test. It is a fact that I can’t deny at all. It’s another curse. Therefore, ‘let be her name be her chance, her fortune-teller’. This name helps me to love her more and more” (RSIF6) ...

“My son’s name is Cubaka Malamire. I’m the one who gave him that name of Cubaka. Cubaka means a hard worker!” (RSIF7).

A favourite name makes mothers closer and more attached to their children, loving them as equal to the name attributed to them, and creates love replacing hate and rejective feelings. Furthermore, mothers expect advantages from them such as a dowry, riches, material and non-material benefits, etc. due to the mothers’ ownership of those children, a mothers’ right and benefit which is not shared with anyone,

and this has improved their relationship with their children due to positive expectations. Money and cows from a dowry are a compensation for survivor mothers' suffering, also promoting and empowering their future lives.

Rape survivor mothers' reasons for attributing names is expressed as hope and accomplishment of the continuation of their own genealogical offspring, a challenge to patriarchal society:

"That boy is the continuation of my family, the line of my mother. My mother gave birth to 14 children. But at the time I gave birth to that child, we remained only two as other siblings had passed away. For me, this child is my brother. I've given birth to my brother. He continues the line of my brother who passed away. I do consider him like my child by mistake, but he is really my brother, the continuation of my mother's offspring. I was indeed blissful to get that child for myself, and me alone. A son that I'm not sharing with anybody for the paternity" (RSIF8) ...

"The only thing I can say is 'Thank God' because at least I will use her dowry myself without sharing and being disturbed as she is my own daughter, belonging to me alone" (RSIF9).

Mothers have convinced themselves that they have created their own female genealogic offspring. Words and sentences like "I have given birth to my brother", "I have given birth to my real brother", "child by mistake", "child for myself", "he is the continuation of my mother's offspring", "my own daughter", "belonging to me alone", show the intense exclusivity of the child belonging to the mother; ownership of the child is so strongly considered that it challenges the established patriarchal rule. This creates great satisfaction and happiness to female owners of children, as they confirm the fact that a child got from rape belongs to the rape survivor herself and her alone. The number of rape survivors naming their children themselves is telling. As observed above, most rape survivors are the ones who have attributed names to their children. Nineteen survivors out of 21 (or 94.5%) took responsibility for attributing names to their children, which challenges traditional rules in a patriarchal society where men are the ones authorised to do so as discusses further below. This is to show the change in the continuation of line, which is shifting from male line offspring to female line offspring. This is verified when rape survivor mothers confirm that those children are for themselves, their own children, expressing female ownership of offspring.

7.2.8 Mothers' rape survivors' capability to change the course of their unsafety by changing the one of their children

Resilience of mothers' rape survivors as well as the change of the perception of their children from bad to good have significantly contributed to the enhance their capacity of changing reality to their advantages. These strategies have been used by them as mechanism of them feeling safe, belonging to their community even if these have been used by all.

7.2.8.1 Mothers' resilience

Some mothers' rape survivors are resilient. They have demonstrated how capable they are of changing negative circumstances to positive. They have used names as tool to change and anticipate the worse

against their children. They have named their children according to principles such as predictive reasons, and divine and sociocultural perspectives. In Africa, names are given to children due to the circumstances under which the child was born (Mabuza nd: 1). However, in the case of children born from rape, mothers, being aware of the circumstances under which their children were born, chose to shape in advance attitudes and behaviour of the children through divine intervention, or through the use of cultural beliefs, diverting therefore the bad circumstances and changing them into good. Hence, many names express mothers' acknowledgement of the divine intervention in rescuing them and their children from death and danger meanwhile predicting that those children will have long lives, expecting the effect of the name to have some impact. Names like "light", "may you live", "grace", "gratefulness", "winner", "victory,"⁷⁵ for instance, prioritize God, putting Him at the centre of the owner of the names. The state of this positive disposition has a healing effect on mothers. Spirituality being a sense of connectiveness to self and to God, a search for hope or harmony, names that have a divine sense connect mothers to God and show their spiritual attitude connecting them to hope in a better future. For those experiencing depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress or schizophrenia, a positive spiritual attitude has an effect on their mental health (Cornah nd). There are many advantages to relying on the divine being, on God, as mothers have proven, like coping with adversity, positive emotions, well-being/happiness, hope, optimism, meaning and purpose, self-esteem, and sense of control. (Koenig 2012).

In a cultural way, other mothers named their children for the purpose of cleansing. Considering rape as a curse, the name of child should be one that has the effect of cleaning all the misfortune against the child for a better and clean life. This is to avoid the child going through the same incident that the mother went through. Instead, they should have a clean life that brings them good luck. Hence, a name like "good luck" was a prediction.

Some mothers named their children to refer to the happiness and joy that the name would produce in their lives and those of their children: a name that satisfies their dreams and the ones that due to rape were not fulfilled. They gave names that had meaning for them and equalled their dream. Names such as Esther for them are precious, as compared to the Christian Holy Scripture, this is to predict their daughter will live the life of a queen like queen Esther; or "builder" which means to the mother, "I was not able to build a house for myself, but this child will build for me", etc. All the names that were given to their children have not only an impact on their children's lives but also on mothers themselves, as the fact of being satisfied by naming their children by meaningful names connects them to the realities dreamed of and creates hope, a powerful factor for stress and trauma relief. The expectation produces positive impacts that divert them from time to time from traumatic flashback.

⁷⁵ The original names are in Shi tribe languages, but I have translated here into English for personal reason? ease of understanding?

Other rape survivor mothers named their children for the sake of identity-sharing and preservation of family unity. Knowing that their children would encounter the issue of identity in their families, household and community, some mothers have managed to name their children with their husbands' name. It signifies granting the individual's identity, clan origins, and the family dynamics as well as their destiny (Mkhize and Muthuki 2019). Naming children after their stepfather's name is to search for an opportunity to connect children born from rape to a stable acceptable identity that can be of value to them as being outside the kinship system seems to be inhuman or nonhuman: real humans are some sort of kin. It is frustrating not having connection to a lineage that recognizes children as such, due to fact that commonly, the traditional is to name a son after the father for the sake of sharing identity (Sabir and Nawaz 2015). In case of children born from rape, it gives children self-identity, connecting to the particular kinship of the stepfather's family.

“According to views about self-identities, personal naming is a cognitive structure with important functional consequence and the names of individuals are something more than just a list of beliefs about a person. Self-identities are encoding information regarding general behavioural choices of a person in his interactions (Sabir and Nawaz 2015: 19).

This provides room for children to be valued in their social interactions and boost their self-esteem, as name and self-esteem go together in the sense that when the person appreciates his/her name, s/he feels attached to it and this therefore enhances his/her feeling of self-esteem and pride, facilitating social interactions from the family up to the community. The relationship between self-esteem and a person's liking of his/her name is still strong. Hence, mothers have succeeded in creating harmony in their household, and unity among children having the same name of the father and reinforcing family bonds.

7.2.8.2 Children born from rape's kinship issues: Mothers relieving advantage

Mothers rape survivors' mechanisms of changing their perception of their children to themselves and positively influencing other people's perceptions towards their children born from rape, which in turn creates positive emotions, feelings, and other benefits, goes further when they come to consider children born from rape as belonging to them only, not sharing them with their husbands. In fact, many women expressed much gratefulness, joy, and satisfaction at the fact of having those children born from rape for one main reason, which is getting their own genealogical continuation. After changing their perception from negative to positive through the naming mechanism, the acceptance of these children by their mothers has produced a new revelation of the sense of having a child born from rape whose identity is not known and whose genitor, it is claimed, does not exist at all. It gives women rape survivors the possibility to claim that those children belong to them alone. In other words, if tradition, customary practices, and a patrilineal system which does not yet allow a female lineage, the child born from rape is still excluded from their mother's male lineal and is denied right to inherit, at least the mother becomes the owner of the child from where she starts her own line without sharing him/her with any other man, neither husband nor brother nor father, as they claimed during interviews. This

perception of a female line inside a patrilineal system has brought a new modification and challenge to a traditional kinship system.

In fact, “in matrilineal kinship systems, individuals trace lineage and descent through women... individuals are considered kin only if they share a common female ancestor” (Lowes 2020b: 8). Children born from rape whose genitors are unknown are considered as children of one parent, who is female. In the condition and circumstances in which children born from rape were conceived by their mothers who were raped by foreign rebels, taken into jungle, then escaped, evaded their perpetrators whose identity is not known (as one victim could be raped by many perpetrators at a time), and in the circumstances in which foreign rebels have a common identity, and are not known individually, in such a confused configuration, the only option children have is to rely on and belong to their mothers’ kinship system for their identity. Yet, integrating them into their mothers’ kinship system, is still challenging. Meanwhile, they must forcibly get an identity to feel belonging in their mother’s community. To get their own identity, there are constraints to fitting into their mothers’ lineal. It is only in a matrilineal kinship where children have the right to get their identity from their mothers, a unilineal descent system in which lineage and inheritance are traced through female parents (Siegel 1996).

Since mothers have changed their perception due to maltreatment that children are experiencing in their community (being denied the right to inherit, the right to integrate their mothers’ male line, and not being accepted as part of their mothers’ kinship), rape survivor mothers are behaving as if being in a matrilineal system. They have turned themselves by acting under the principles of a matrilineal system although belonging to patrilineal system. In a matrilineal system a mother's interests are narrowly focused upon the rights of her children (Siegel 1996). As such, mothers wrestle to focus on the rights of their children born from rape, rights that have been denied, and experience resistance to change. The advantage of acting under the matrilineal principle is that mothers improve their outside options directly or indirectly through their children by having greater autonomy in decision making (Lowes 2020b). Mothers have strong desires to address and handle their children’s issues and work in order to solve their issues. This responsibility has made mothers grant first place and priority to the issue of integration of children born from rape except where issues of inheritance become a priority, allowed and granted to their children as it works in other matrilineal systems. Siegel (1996:10) argues, “while children in matrilineal societies recognize some affiliation with their father's matricin and often enjoy warm ties with their father, such patrilateral (‘father's side’) links are of secondary importance when it comes to the inheritance of property, titles”.

Settled in the matrilineal principles, mothers’ rape survivors have convinced themselves of having created, had their own female genealogical offspring. Findings show various ways of naming the fact, in sentences and expressions like “I have given birth to a child of and for myself”, “he is the continuation of my mother’s offspring”, “this is my own daughter”, “belonging to me and me alone”, “I have given

birth to my brother”, “I have given birth to my real brother”, “child by mistake but true sister”. From mothers, their expressions sound an achievement, the requirement of women fulfilling the need of children’s ownership and decision-making for their children free from patrilineal system injunctions, the need to enjoy their right of freedom of expression as in patrilineal societies women do not have final decisions over children. However, given that they are still under a patrilineal system and their children are managed by them under a matrilineal system, there is kind of kinships systems juxtaposition, a co-existence of the two kinship systems that is being formed in the community, modifying therefore the traditional patrilineal system.

Hence, those children have turned into precious children for their mothers, instead of remaining a curse as considered previously. Later, while asking their mothers about the difference of feeling they have between their children born from rape and their other children conceived in normal conditions when they are all maltreated, their answers are divergent but with a large predominance of being more hurt when children born from rape are maltreated than the other category. Those born from rape do not benefit from the same advantage that others get; for not being accepted into their mothers’ male line they need special mechanism of protection; they are seen as a substitution for the lost ones who were murdered while trying to protect and rescue their mothers from rape, and for this they need to be protected from community revenge and aggression displacement; they represent concomitantly maintenance of their mothers’ trauma trigger images or a trauma healing contribution; maltreatment or abuse against them provokes a cycle of violence in the community as some easily integrate into criminal groups. Hence, for all these reasons, they are seen as delicate, fragile, in need of special attention. For this, mothers consider them as precious

7.3 Current life after the jungle: Rape survivors’ contribution to self-healing and social reintegration process

If the earlier life after returning from the jungle, spending the two first weeks and experienced clashes, intra and interpersonal confrontation to be welcome and granted space into their families and community has heralded how aggravating, worsening have been the late life of the majority of rape survivors going from one year up to more than ten, the period of rape survivors discovering themselves through higher intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships confrontations, a period of time they did discover themselves and how lives have treated them, the current life is the situation in which rape survivors have learned their strengths and weaknesses from the late experiences, have learned the type of community they are living in (whether it is supportive or not), and the sensitivity of their community. In the current period which covers their social reintegration process surrounding the period of the research including one year before and throughout the one year of this study, as they were challenged by this study interventions, through introspection and actions, they were able to compose a starting point to reflect on their new strategies for handling the issue of their social reintegration, a self-effort

towards the social reintegration process. “What is your current experience on your effort towards social reintegration?” was asked to achieve and complete the understanding of the feeling of belonging, safety, and support. Hence, this section highlights more issues around their current and efforts of social reintegration after having experienced protracted consequences of rape, a process toward their social cohesiveness.

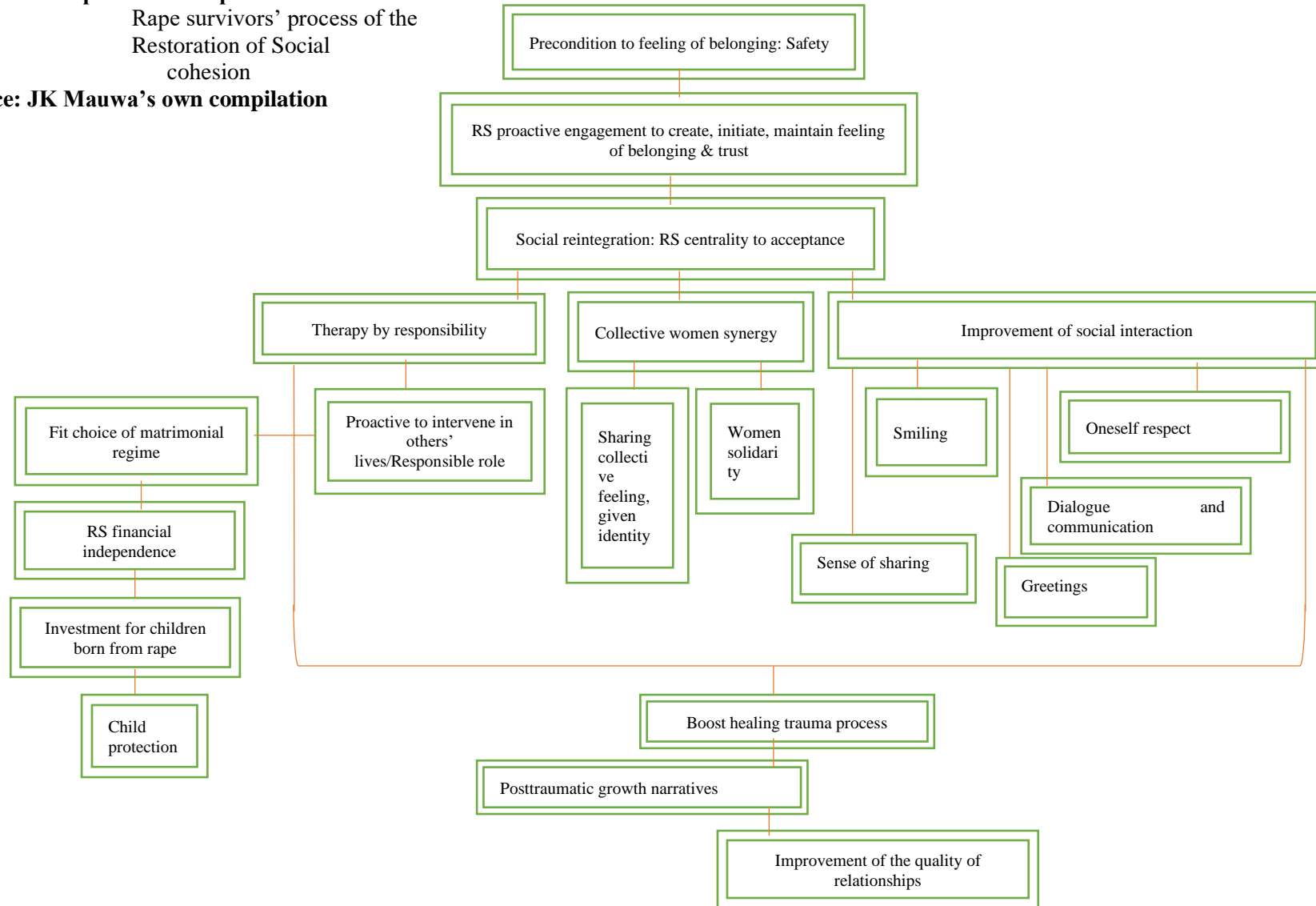
7.3.1 Process towards social reintegration

With rape survivors as central to their own social reintegration process, this process starts with a feeling of safety in their living environment, producing a feeling of belonging and connected factors such as acceptance. The following diagram summarise the process.

Figure 7:2 Rape survivors' process of social cohesion

Rape survivors' process of the
Restoration of Social
cohesion

Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation



7.3.1.1 Rape survivors' safety: precondition toward feeling of belonging

A guarantee of safety is a precondition to rape survivors' acceptance, which energies come from spiritual, psychological, moral, socio-relational and security states and a sense of femininity. These are the safety resources of rape survivors that allowed them to reconnect and sustain their inner energy to feel a sense of socially belonging to their living environment, from family to the community. Data revealed that answers to the question, "Is there someone, people with who you feel safe or protected and why?" also served to aid understanding of rape survivors' safety as a key factor, boosting their feeling of belonging.

The spiritual aspect of rape survivors' safety lies in the divine force, and by relying on the representative of the divine force on Earth as survivors narrated:

"Apart from God, I don't see anyone else. It's God who can secure someone, protect her from danger. The way that God saved me from the second rape is only God's hand, a great surprise. I don't have someone on whom I should rely" (RSIJ1)...

"I feel safe being with servants of God like the pastor who prays for me" (RSIJ2)...

"I feel safe with people who teach us at church, congregations. They don't criticise me and disdain me" (RSIJ3).

Rape survivors who have been saved from rape sessions, and other critical rape aftermaths like from the relapse of rape, and from all circumstances related to rape dangers, rely on the divine providence to be rescued, trusting God's power. For them, escaping from a challenging rape situation, and getting strength to face the perplexing new life after rape needs a divine force, through representatives of the divine force or servants of God. Servants of God, religious tutors, and congregations have a sense of divinity to keep survivors safe and protect them due to the spiritual practices and virtues like prayers, respect for rape survivors and all virtues related to spiritual aspects and their benefits. Rape survivors also expect good treatment from them, free of negative attitudes. Rape survivors feel safe with people who honour them, and unknown people who are not aware of their past rape story:

"I feel safe where I stay, in a new area as people don't know me and my story" (RSIJ4), ...

"when I'm with other people like you [researcher Mauwa], I feel good and safe" (RSIJ5)...

"I feel safe with you [researcher Mauwa] because if someone sees me talking to you, and the respectful way you are talking to me, I feel proud and honoured. Speaking with you, we laugh, I feel good but after leaving you, I will go back again to being alone" (RSIJ6)...

"When I'm with people like you [researcher Mauwa], my young sister, people who console, advise, and encourage me to do better" (RSIJ7).

The reason for feeling safe with people who don't know much about survivors' rape stories is the way those people treat them. They show more respect and consideration to survivors than those who are aware of survivors' situations, especially those living in the same community. Rape survivors' need for

respect and consideration makes them feel valued when they are alongside people who show respect and acceptance, cover their emotional needs, and protect their disfigured new identity, etc. through peaceful dialogue and talk, and advise, joke (as a powerful tool for changing tension into peace), entertain, etc. For them this is a great sign of wellness, a help to cover the missing emotional aspects of their lives. The central issue of safety remains here in the trust between both rape survivors and valued and valuing unknown persons who transmit to rape survivors' the same feelings. Rape survivors feel safe with people who are ready to value them in various ways:

"I'm free with people who come to consult me as they show me their consideration, acknowledging that I'm a human being as well. My own family for example" (RSIJ8)...

"When I'm with people who can talk to me, I feel safe and good" (RSIJ9)

... "When I'm with other women who don't mock me" (RSIJ10)...

"For me to feel safe, I have to be with my friend only and other victims facing the same problems" (RSIJ15)...

"I'm at peace and can even joke with those who make jokes with me" (RSIJ16)...

"When a person approaches me, s/he will not discriminate against me. That's how I feel free with that person as well. That's the sign of consideration" (RSIJ17)...

"Living alongside people, being involved in ceremonies and events in the family, area, and community is what shows you that they accept you" (RSIJ18).

Rape survivors measure their safety by the level of being considered. They recognize consideration when other people behave in a manner to show respect and appreciation by asking them to fulfil a service or give assistance. The most encouraging aspect is to engage rape survivors in talk and communicate with them, trusting them to inspire confidence, approaching them, entertaining with them, involving them in social activities whether in the family or in the community, showing sympathy, etc. Behaving in this way makes rape survivors feel secured and protected through those attitudes as well as being accepted.

Among people inspiring confidence in survivors there is a feminine aspect that is relevant to their safety, as narrated:

"*Mamans chéries*, women leaders, and other categories of people like you [researcher Mauwa], women who talk to me" (RSIJ19)...

"Female leaders, help me feel safe" (RSIJ20)...

"My mother and sister-in-law are people who made me feel safe and in peace" (RSIJ21)... "I feel safe when I'm with my maternal aunt. She is the only person who welcomed me to her place after I escaped from the jungle" (RSIJ22)...

"Georgine, a community leader, as she can console me" (RSIJ23)...

"I feel safe with my mother only, as she cannot criticise me" (RSIJ24)...

"There are women who support me a lot, like *mwa kere* [woman leader] who consoles and approaches me. She used to advise me, considers me as a normal human being, a person. She helped me to reduce fear, as before I was afraid even of walking, speaking to people, etc." (RSIJ25)....

Rape survivors feel safe among other women for many reasons. Compassion between women, easy understanding of the situation as women, and support among women are virtues that contribute to enhance their protection. Female pillar supporters are psychologists, socio-political leaders, and local leaders who aid rape survivors in their trauma healing process, relationship restoration, and safety in the community. Other pillar supports come from female family members like aunts, mothers, or sisters-in-law etc. whose assistance comforts them. Thus, female solidarity is among the strategic pillars of survivors' safety and peace of mind as they perceive the situation almost under the same lens.

As noticed, female support is relevant to survivors, but exceptionally, there are men who support survivors – but these are scarce: “the person with whom I was feeling safe and in peace passed away. It was my father”. Male efforts to aid survivors' safety are insignificant.

Another criterion for rape survivors to feel safe in their neighbourhood is the similarity of rape situation. Rape survivors feel safe among themselves as they share the same story, and they are facing almost the same rape aftermaths and life challenges:

“We feel safe when we are among us rape survivors, having the same rape experience. Even when I'm sick, they are the ones that support me. We can share our issues and find a way forward. We do understand our situation better than anyone” (RSIJ26)...

“My friends are those; we were taken together to the jungle. Because no one can criticise another one. We share problems, get advice. For example, Martha is closer to me and helps me as soon as I need her help” (RSIJ27)...

“When I'm alongside my sisters, those who have experienced and have same story like me. My mother, my children and my brothers” (RSIJ28).

Sharing the same experiences for rape survivors is a powerful tool to support each other in a particular way. Given that rape survivors have the same language from the rape experience, their level of understanding is sharper, making them prompt to support mutually. From rape aftermaths they have learnt almost the same lessons and have the same challenges to overcome. This has many advantages, such as strengthening their friendships, making them closer, valuing their assistance and understanding, considered advice, mutual trust among themselves, considering each other as normal human being, reducing fear, etc.

Thus, the survivors' arena of protection is where they meet among themselves, discussing their issues without any fear or limit, which has an impact on their trauma healing process and new socialisation to confront new life challenges. If some survivors feel safe among other survivors, others feel safe being among women of the same social class as reported: “I feel safe when I'm among women survivors from our association of development, women from church, people from my social class, the same level of life, because we have the same language and view of things, share our worries and problems as well. I feel at peace and safe with them”. For these women, apart from being among other rape survivors, these should belong to the same social class for all to feel safe and enjoy the moment together. In other words,

being all rape survivors, gathering as survivors, does not give a guarantee of facing the same challenges of life. Social class makes a difference to rape survivors' perception of life, the way of handling the situation and means to get solutions.

In addition, even though all survivors feel free and safe when they are gathering, the issue of confidentiality is still at the midst of their safety:

“When I’m with people who know me and can keep my secret or when I’m with unknown people and a new area where people know nothing about me: my poor sisters, those who have experienced rape like me” (RSIJ29)...

“I feel safe only in my bed and when I’m with other women at church” (RSIJ30)

... “I feel safe with people who advise me as they can keep a secret” (RSIJ31).

The issue of confidentiality for rape survivors is crucial as it touches their identity. When there is lack of confidentiality, or it is badly managed, it creates frustration. To protect themselves against any hurting attitudes against them, some of them preferred isolation or secrecy to keep their identity safe. But if it confidentiality succeeded, it had a great impact on their trauma healing process as well as on their social reintegration.

Some other survivors feel safe in the presence of official security agents like police, army, etc. as reported: “I feel safe in the presence of militaries, army of the government”. The institutions could be seen as guarantees for their safety, especially if the survivor does not belong to the community where she is living. Hence, safety of rape survivors is a complex issue that demands the involvement of several levels of actors as well the involvement of survivors themselves. Their involvement is conditioned by the safety granted to them through spiritual and relational support, institutional assistance creating feelings of belonging to their families and community, and other settings.

7.3.1.2 Attitude of acceptance fostering rape survivors' social reintegration

Answers to the question, “What kind of actions, behaviour show you that you are welcome, you don’t, or you do belong to your people, family, community?” revealed that, for survivors, there are some social rules considered as a language of acceptance. When they are not applied to them, they express and mean rejection. These social rules are, for instance, the sense of sharing greetings, smiling, etc., as narrated by survivors:

“In my neighbourhood, when I ask for water to drink from someone, s/he refuses to give and tells me, ‘No one can give you water to drink.’ Same with my mother, who does not like to share things with me. I must get my own stuff to use at home. Even when I find my sisters-in-law eating, they won’t give me food, even to my kids. My father discriminates against me and asked me to leave his house and go somewhere else as I’ve become a Hutu concubine” (RSIJ32)...

“When I ask some help from my neighbours like salt, oil, sugar, etc. they always give me, followed by insults: ‘Is it me who should take care of you?’ instead of helping me without saying any word, which breaks my heart” (RSIJ1)...

“When they refuse to give me something like salt. That’s the signs of non-acceptance. The fact that my kid has been insulted and maltreated by my family and neighbours. As in my neighbourhood, they don’t see anyone taking care of me, they take advantage of it and abuse me” (RSIJ2)...

“When I went to ask for help from my neighbours, they told me this ‘are *interahamwens* afraid of being imbiber? aspirer? by the rain? They used to live as they stay in the forest’” (RSIJ3)...

“When I went to my family to ask them for help, they refused to help me. They refused to lend me money to start a small business or to feed me. I do understand that they don’t accept me anymore” (RSIJ4)...

“However, those who don’t ask me anything, even enter my house, make me understand that they are discriminating against and rejecting me. Therefore, they don’t accept me and give me the impression of not belonging to them” (RSIJ5).

The sense of sharing is an expression of togetherness. The contrary automatically proves division, estrangement, indifference, avoidance, reluctance in communication, etc. For rape survivors, sharing is a great indicator of acceptance. When it is not done this means to them that they are not accepted. For them the principle of sharing is a return action, a back-and-forth offer. One-way sharing does not mean anything if there is no return. The refusal of sharing, of offering them basic needs, or the rejection of their offer blocks harmony, and causes deterioration in relationships.

Greeting also incarnates the sense of acceptance:

“Greeting me is a sign of being at peace with people surrounding me. Through salutation, I feel belonging to my community or place. But if people don’t greet me, I don’t feel belonging to the area. The fact of discriminating against me, disdaining me and my children, gives me the impression that we don’t belong to this family, area, or place. It’s my husband who first discriminated against us” (RSIJ6).

Greeting is a sign of harmony, peace between survivors and the other people surrounding them. The contrary expresses disdain, discrimination, etc. It creates in survivors’ minds images of not belonging, of being an outsider. Application of some social rules, like smiling as well as greeting and sharing, which create space for dialogue, communication, and mutual trust, are indicators of rape survivors’ acceptance:

“Smiling, dialogues, the fact that some people grant me their time to make dialogue with them, if those people speak to me, means they accept me” (RSIJ7)...

“I do consider those who advise me like my friends, and I feel safe with them” (RSIJ8)...

“People who speak good about me, help me. I feel satisfied to get people who speak to me” (RSIJ9)... “Those who lend me things when I’m in need show me that they love me. The contrary proves that they don’t like me. Helping me is a sign of accepting me” (RSIJ10)... “If someone comes to eat to my house, if someone greets me, etc. it shows me that we are together” (RSIJ12)...

“I feel safe and good with my sisters in faith, the ones we pray together with, because of the trust they grant to me, and their advising” (RSIJ11)...

“My family is waiting just for my authorisation for them to do what I want them to do for me to feel well” (RSIJ13)...

“Some hide and protect me from danger, especially when there is a tribe whose rebels seek to kill me” (RSIJ14).

Indicators of acceptance which could motivate survivors to stay and feel that they belong in their community can be small: a smile and a good mood, greetings, willing dialogue and communication, advice, having good testimony, support in need, family protection from cruel attack or responses to wrong accusations, sharing food, trusting them, etc. Those actions boost their quality of relationship, therefore harmonizing their interior, peace. Survivors are motivated by these primary relationship characteristics to choose people with whom to get in touch and collaborate with.

Some of rape survivors' wishes are to be welcomed as indicators of their acceptance: "The day I will be going somewhere, and they welcome me and come back without any false accusation against me or don't create problem against me, I will bless God for that one. And acknowledge that I belong to this area". Being welcome could be considered as opening the way to further collaboration between survivors and other people.

7.3.1.3 Functions of activities producing acceptance

There are many types of activities that rape survivors do to fit into and gain acceptance in their families and community. Survivors are multi-taskers, active in any kind of job that contributes to their survival. They are engaging in economic activity, social activity, although some are still jobless. Of twenty-seven survivors who responded to this question, ten are jobless, eight are running small businesses, seven are farming, and two are doing social work. This was revealed while asking them, "What kind of activities (main or not) are you engaged in within your family, and community?"

The majority of survivors do not work: 37% of survivors are economically inactive. Four survivors do absolutely nothing, are otiose: "I do nothing as activity, I'm just there". But the six others who do nothing in terms of activity that could support their survival, are active at home doing unpaid activity in their family (or occasionally, paid) as narrated:

"I take care of the children of my children, my grand-children at home" (RSIJ15)...

"I don't have a land to cultivate. I help other women to work on their farm. Then they can give me food if they want just to motivate me to help them next time" (RSIJ16)...

"I don't have any activity. But when I see my children starving, I used to go to carry goods to be paid for them to eat. They used to pay me around 1000FC" (RSIJ17)...

"I was selling groundnuts, but for the moment, I do nothing. All that I do is if I find someone who can employ me, I work for him/her to get 1000FC to feed my children. I'm living for 1000FC" (RSIJ18)...

"Sometimes I work for other people. When they pay me, I use that 1000FC to buy something for my kids" (RSIJ19)...

"I occasionally used to carry stuff for people to pay me" (RSIJ20).

There are three categories of those who are not doing any regular work. There are survivors who do not have a regular job and are utilized by other people, whether in the family where they are looking after children, or other domestic work., Others are used by those who need their services. However, this must

be seen as an occasional rare activity that they are doing. Some of them occasionally do some work to be paid when they are starving and there is no hope to be assisted in turn. These ones use to help other women, to get paid, assisting people to carry goods or do other small jobs to get paid. This majority category of jobless survivors is followed by the second ones who do some economic activities.

“I do small business and cultivate” (RSIJ21)...

“I farm, and in the evening after cultivating I used to go to market to sell oil” (RSIJ22)...

“I cultivate, do small business. But the main one is to cultivate” ... “I cultivate and do small business” (RSIJ23)...

“I cultivate for others to be paid. Sometimes, I do small business if I find someone from whom I could borrow money for that business, then I do it” (RSIJ24)... “I do small business, sew clothes. I cultivate also” (RSIJ25)...

“I do small business” (RSIJ26), ...

“I work for other people, I carry stuff. And when they pay me, I find something to feed my kids (RSIJ27)” ...

“I cultivate and do small business” (RSIJ28).

As noticed, the majority of the 29.6% of survivors who engage in economic activity mix it with farming. They sell the products of their field to get money. In other words, their economic activities are mostly done by the seasons of harvest, giving farming activity priority to small business. These economic activities are small and are unfortunately still insignificant to fulfil survivors’ basic needs. Some survivors only farm:

“I cultivate and before I was selling alcohol” (RSIJ29)...

“I cultivate, I work for other people by carrying stuff to be paid. All this for me to feed my children” (RSIJ31)...

“I cultivate” (RSIJ32), ... “I do nothing. I cultivate” (RSIJ1)...

“I cultivate, I work for people, carrying goods to be paid in order to find something to feed my children” (RSIJ2).

At least 25.9% of survivors are only focused on cultivating their field. For this category, most of them who cultivate do it to supply food to their dependents as a priority, even if this is insufficient. Products from the farm can be kept, linking from one season to another one if possible. Thus, the fact that some were narrating that they do nothing, only cultivate, is because they don’t consider cultivation as an activity that can fulfil their needs. Therefore, to complete their farming activities, some associate these with small services like assisting other people with their labour to get paid.

Other survivors consider their social service as a main activity:

“I’m a social worker in an association, I receive, listen to traumatised victims and sensitise them” (RSIJ3)... “I work for others for me to eat and find something to feed my kids. I carry goods, stuff to or from market, houses to be paid. I’m living because of those activities. Sometimes I cultivate for other people to find something to feed my children” (RSIJ4).

Survivors who have chosen social activity as their main activity prior to other activity are only 7.4%. Those women contribute to women and survivors’ social improvement in the community. This activity is paid by the will of assisted women or according to the relevancy and impact of rape survivors’ benefit.

Otherwise, their jobs do not pay anything. Thus, survivors' activities still insufficient and insignificant compared to their needs. The category of survivors who mixed social and economic activity (even if insignificant) are 29,6% against 70% who do an activity that can provide money for them to sustain their daily needs. In other words, survivors belong to the category of poorest people in their community, the lowest class of the community.

7.3.1.4 Level of activity engagement determining survivors' acceptance

Failing to connect with fellow human being, rape survivors find refuge to activities which is considered as less hurting than human being even though their relationships to people still relevant and needed at a certain level for the sake of social interaction. Relationship between rape survivors and their closer relatives is weak but from activities, the rape survivors can therefore connect to human being. The activity is playing a connector function between human being in this case. Response on the question do you feel engaged in those activities? Why and why not? provide basis of their attachment/detachment to their activities.

a. Strong engagement

Despite the smallest of activities done by survivors and how insignificant they are, they try to do these in case there is no alternative or motivated by the burden of life constraining them to do so.

Survivors are deeply committed in their daily life activity for many reasons:

“Yes. I’m deeply involved in my small business because it helps to cover any how my needs and the ones of my children even if it’s difficult to fulfil” (RSIJ5)...

“It contributes to bringing something home to feed my children. The satisfaction to get what I’m looking for becomes a source of my motivation and makes me happy” (RSIJ6)...

“Yes. With my activities, I can pay my children’s school fees, feed them, etc.; that work helps me to destress, entertain, avoid focussing on people’s criticism against me. It produces joy by the fact that no one can humiliate me or mock me because I contribute to my needs and those of my family” (RSIJ7)...

“Yes, because I pay my children’s school fees, it helps me to relax, when people insult my child born out of rape, it has the same effect, it distresses me anyhow” (RSIJ8)...

“Besides, when my children are happy from what I bring to them, it brings me happiness and reduces the raving mind. My mind becomes stable” (RSIJ9)...

“I do it with much courage as it helps me to cover my children needs” (RSIJ10).

Every survivor who is in any way satisfied by her activities, feels so because of her children or dependents, not because she has put herself first. The fact of having children or a child born from rape, the worry of increasing their stigma (as I will mention later), misery, not being able to care for their dependents and satisfy their basic needs has motivated them to prioritize, to choose to rely on positive effects to protect themselves against any hurt if possible. Rare is the one who works for herself: “I feel involved as it’s a way to help myself” (RSIJ11).

Thus, survivors have proved their approach, whether of healing or of reintegration, is through an indirect way of doing in order to fulfil material and emotional needs of dependents and to get healed and accepted. As narrated, rape survivors get very positive feelings such as joy, happiness, a calm mind, freedom, relaxation, diversion from critics, increased value and respect, etc. knowing that success does not come accidentally; it is a result of a long process or of hard work without external motivation and because of lack of support.

Some activities done by rape survivors have relational advantages like dialogue and communication, as reported:

“Yes, I’m involved in my activities. Because dialogue between me and other women while working together is important in both farming and business” (RSIJ11)...

“Dialogues help me to feel engaged in my activities. It gives me strength to work and pursue my dream. I feel being strong and encouraged to pursue. It diminishes stress” (RSIJ12).

If gaining money or food from farming or business satisfied some rape survivors, because of being able to take care of their burdens, those activities also have direct effect on survivors’ lives in the form of dialogue. The fact of being together with other women grants them an opportunity to talk and get in touch with other people, which is so significant to undermined, humiliated survivors. Here, dialogue is a motivation as it strengthens them to pursue their dreams.

There are some criteria that have to be met to motivate survivors to work and still be committed to their activities such as their safety and health.

“Yes, I’m involved. If I work in a farm which is near my house, I feel safe to work ... But if the farm is far from the village, that becomes a source of worry and insecurity. I become sad and lose joy” (RSIJ13).

The safety of survivors is the backbone which must be guaranteed for them to be motivated to work. Rape survivors’ health is another criterion that must be consider for survivors to keep on being committed to their activities, as narrated:

“Yes. It helps me to survive. When I work in the farm, I don’t rave, but if I’m sick, I can’t do anything” (RSIJ14)...

“Yes, only if I can get sick. I feed my children from that activity. When I’m working in the farm, it helps me to concentrate my mind at one focus, my hoe, and forget about all my problems and raving mind” (RSIJ15).

The advantage of being active contributes to survivors’ psychological health calming minds, reducing stress and raving and finally speeding the trauma healing process. Some other survivors are active by constraint, and therefore have a weak commitment.

b. Weak commitment

Many survivors are not committed to their activities. A pessimistic attitude quells self-motivation to accomplish activities that do not truly satisfy their needs.

“No! I’m not committed to what I’m doing because the work that I’m doing grieves my heart” (RSIJ16)

... “Not at all! It’s only because of lacking something to do. If I could get my own farm to cultivate, it would be better” (RSIJ17)...

“No! I do it while my heart is grieved. It’s like forcing myself to do what I’m not even able to accomplish. Besides, what I’m gaining does not satisfy my needs” (RSIJ18).

For survivors who are not satisfied by the results of their activities, this turns into frustration, for they are not expecting any future hope. Instead of encouraging, these activities result in discouragement increasing therefore their trauma and stigma. From their point of view, they are constrained to realize these activities because of their misery, lacking ownership of activities to hand. For others, their health condition has many negative effects preventing them from realising their daily activities:

“Unfortunately, after working and when I come back home, I get ill because my womb comes out of me, the scar of the surgery is still painful. For example, when my children are starving, I become pensive. I have a blood pressure crisis. That pushes me to work hard, unfortunately, it’s the same work that is killing me again” (RSIJ19).

... “Yes. Despite the weakness of my body (torture that I was submitted in FDLR camp made me weak, my husband’s murder). Every time that I’m not able to work because of that weakness, I become grieved and pensive. I wish we could be together again with my husband; I wouldn’t be suffering like this. I could be working efficiently” (RSIJ20)...

“But when I think about my situation, the way that I’m living, I lose all my strength and courage to work” (RSIJ21).

Incapable of bearing dependents’ burdens, finding the activity cruel, survivors are kept in a cycle of trauma because of lack of satisfaction from activities done. This not only increases physical pain, weakening health, but reminds survivors about their suffering, bringing back rape memories and delaying the trauma healing process. Others are not committed due to lack of proper activity to do:

“I do it only because I don’t have something else to do” (RSIJ22)...

“I’m doing it despite my will. But what can make me feel calm is business” (RSIJ23)...

“I do it because of lacking what to do.” ... “I’m doing it only because I don’t have anything else to do” (RSIJ24)...

“Yes, I’m actually involved in my farm activities as business is not stable” (RSIJ25)...

“I’m doing it only because I don’t have any other thing to do. Because if I don’t do anything, I become pensive. I try to go to the farm to carry sticks” (RSIJ26).

Survivors who have difficulty in getting their own activities or have unstable activity are not committed to what they are doing. There is no external support or internal motivation for them to get what they need to keep on being active. Thus, they are constrained to do it even through their disappointment, trying to occupy themselves to avoid a raving mind. There are some other internal (or personal) and external factors that demotivate survivors on top of the lack of proper activity: “

“When I’m at home, and there is no one to insult or vex me, I can work with all my strength and courage. If there is a problem at home, that’s my big demotivation” (RSIJ27)...

Rape survivors' idleness, loneliness, and passivity makes them stay immobile at home. The time spent alone without doing any activity makes them pensive which brings back rape memories and weakens their motivation to advance or initiate any activity to keep their mind busy. External factors provoking survivors' demotivation are those such as disrespect, disdain, rape suffering, etc. Unfortunately, those survivors don't have any plan for their future work.

7.3.1.5 Self-reintegration effort to acceptance mechanism

Being asked, "From which mechanism do you fit in your family, community?" the objective is to understand to what extent rape survivors can cope with their self-effort towards social reintegration through acceptance. There are four categories of rape survivors regarding the process leading to their acceptance, which are proactive, reactive, naturally accepted, and reluctant to fit into their environment (family or community) as mechanisms of self-reintegration. Many mechanisms of social reintegration can contribute to rape survivors being accepted in their environment whether in the family or community. However, among them, the most relevant is sharing, giving, offering. Fourteen out of thirty-one or 45% of survivors confirmed that offering and sharing are powerful approaches contributing significantly to their reintegration, and another 5 out of 31 (or 16%) of survivors expressed their wishes to be in a position of offering or sharing as they find it very relevant to their reintegration. In other words, 19 out of 31 (or 61%) of survivors acknowledged the relevance of offering or sharing as the most important mechanism of their social reintegration, knowing that the level of survivors' activity engagement determines whether they are accepted or rejected.

Proactive role played as acceptance mechanism: Proactive approaches of acceptance are a self-effort mechanism that rape survivors use to socially fit into their living environment. Here survivors themselves should start to act in a way to fit into their environment to motivate external actors to be receptive to their act. They used and use many tools, but the most important are offering, communication and dialogue, financial activities as a connector, and caring about others. Rape survivors narrated how relevant is the issue of the binomial offering-sharing.

"The advice that I used to give to people in my community contributes to my acceptance. I cure traditionally their children as those illness do not get treatment at the hospital; the prayer that I say for them to get healed contributes to my acceptance" (RSIJ28)...

"If my neighbour asks me for help or needs something, I do my best to provide it because it's the only way that I can be accepted in the area where I'm living. Hence, I do my best despite my weakness and poverty to contribute to their needs, to share with them. I have convinced myself to maintain my smile, to behave, etc. in order to be accepted" (RSIJ29)...

"But, if I refuse to provide their needs when needed, they won't give or help me when I will be in need as well. They will put me aside" (RSIJ30)...

"When I lend to someone, my neighbour salt, oil, bread, etc. or things that I'm selling, that is my contribution to feel being together with them. From that, the person will be grateful to me and approach me. I feel therefore I'm being accepted" (RSIJ31)...

“Sharing. When I have something to share or lend them, I do it without hesitation because they will do the same to me. when I need money to enhance my capital for business, they lend to me.... I used to go to farm to gather vegetables, cassava, and cook. If someone comes to my place, even if that vegetable is not well cooked, I have to share it as it is. That sharing’s spirit, the fact that I feel cool with them helping me to be accepted in women’s groups, at church, etc.” (RSIJ32)...

“I give wood to my neighbours. In return, they give me salt and other stuff when I need it” (RSIJ1)...

“Teaching that I do to women on community development subjects” (RSIJ2)...

“When I was selling my stuff, I was sending them something like money or goods. My family was happy for that”⁷⁶ ... “Nothing, share what I have” (RSIJ3)...

“The fact that I’m able to give and share what I have, and the person accepts my offer, is a sign of being accepted. That means the person trusts me and does not consider me as wicked” (RSIJ4)...

“If I have something, people can approach me” (RSIJ5)...

“I do nothing. People respect someone only when he has something to give. But as I don’t have anything to give them, I can’t confirm if it because of this or that they don’t accept me in the community and in my family” (RSIJ6)...

“I do like other people. Oddly, they don’t like me. I make my effort to offer them whatever I get, even to sharing with them. In turn, they don’t give me anything” (RSIJ8).

The strategic approach to self-reintegration effort of survivors is the binomial offering-sharing. Proactive rape survivors offer something either material or non-material and share whatever they have in terms of competences, skills, material, or non-material goods as mentioned. Their contributions are the first step to their self-effort to fit into their environment again. The non-material contribution of survivors is composed of spiritual support, health assistance, counselling assistance and advice, knowledge transmission, teaching, emotional participation through smiling and creating joy for others, and any other non-material assistance that survivors are able to offer. Also, they offer material goods in basic aspects like salt, oil, wood, bread, and any essential goods.

Offering and sharing for survivors are demanding in that it asks high a level of resilience from them. As mentioned above, survivors are expected to go the extra mile; despite their level of misery and health weakness, they have to offer; despite their lack of willingness, they must abide by the circumstance to offer, as they are targeting the success of the effect of their offer. The reciprocity in offering and sharing is the core of harmony where survivors must take the first step to make it happen. They are strategically target any opportunity offered to them to make their offer relevant, attractive, and make others grateful for their offer. However, this is a very challenged act which does not have a fixed reaction from the receiver. It has happened that the receiver rejects a survivor’s offer which makes their target, of offering for harmony, complex and discourages survivors to keep on doing it. When it happens that the offer is either accepted or rejected. the image or representation of the person behind the offer is very relevant and determines success or failure of the action. This must be understood from the perspective of the

⁷⁶ Personal interview with Mani, kalonge, 30 January 2019

offer linked to the image that the receiver receives from the sender. There is a positive correlation between them.

There are many advantages to survivors' offer-sharing. As reported, it increases their confidence, creates trust, harmony and closeness between them and others, ensures their acceptance, obtains support and assistance from other people, knits together survivors and others through mutual assistance, contributes to making survivors a role model in the area in the context of knowledge transmission, and provides respect and consideration. Thus, in the case of offer rejection, the contrary of all those advantages is possible.

Other mechanism to become accepted in the environment is the self-respect of survivors, as reported: *"The fact that I do respect myself, people can approach me. They gave me a house where I stay with my children because of respect I have for myself"* (RSIJ12) ... *"My good behaviour (I'm patient, I bear with difficulties in my marriage, self-control, enduring, etc.)"* (RSIJ13). Other men used to send their wives to be taught by me from my lifestyle". There are considerations granted to survivors from their good behaviour making them perceived as role models in the neighbourhood, attracting closeness. However, others are accepted naturally through their care for other people without making much effort: "we used to advise each other. I don't know the reason that they are my friends. Some are divorced, others are young ladies like me,". This works first in the restraint? circle of survivors' friends before rape. The understanding of survivors' friends of the issue of the rape and the way survivors are engaged in their friends' lives become the backbone of the success of this natural mechanism.

Rape survivors use other mechanisms for fitting into their environment, which are dialogue and communication:

"To fit into my community, I use dialogue. I try to speak to them. Being full of myself won't help me. Refuse to talk to them, even if they do wrong to me, I don't have the right to negatively respond or take revenge. Because I will be enforcing myself into loneliness. People will abandon me" (RSIJ9)

"A kind dialogue associated with a smile, my engagement to help other survivors (advice, orientations, listening to people sent to me, etc.). That's the way I make friends and people are becoming closer to me" (RSIJ10)...

"Getting an occupation could help me to live alongside with other women. By speaking, dialoguing, giving advice, it helps me to be discovered by others and convince them to what extent I can be useful to them" (RSIJ11)...

"I try to speak well to people. If you laugh or smile at me, I will do it as well, especially friends with whom we used to sell together before the rape" (RSIJ12)...

"I like and feel comfortable to approach people who listen to me. I used to go to our office just to spend time with survivors and find people to help. That association put together not only survivors but miserable people also. We used to go there to clean the yard, weed plants, etc., do any work needed at the yard office" (RSIJ13).

Survivors use dialogue to socially reintegrate into their society. As survivors are aware of how challenging it is to fit into their environment after being raped, for them, dialogue is useful but not

enough of a tool to fit into their community. This should be applied in an appropriate way and accompanied with strategic gestures like kindness, smiles, and avoidance of any suspicious act that could taint their kindness, no matter how costly it is. Speaking generally, the most astute ways to get friends is getting an occupation that opens survivors to people, such as economic activity in terms of business, where clients become survivors' friends through contact and dialogue – or any community activity that puts together survivors and non-survivors in a mixed group of the same social class. Also important is to transmit knowledge, as mentioned above. Survivors are making a huge sacrifice in keeping their smiles up to avoid being rejected by others. As such, they are obliged to get closer to other people and knit together. Thus, good manners are relevant as values boosting motivation to act. Moreover, financial activity like a business in which survivors are sellers and the rest of the community buyers, contributes to putting survivors in touch with new people, therefore enlarging survivors' new social networks:

“My sewing machine does a great job for me. People approach me only because of their needs. For example, the fact that I can sew a dress for a woman, do her hair, sell to her my groundnut, etc. it's washed her brain against negative perception of the victim and makes me gain respect. At least for a while she will stop criticising me because of the service that I offer her” (RSIJ14)...

“Business can help me to get closer to people who were hating me. That will be a connective point between me and people in the community. As I don't have things to offer to people, small business can help me” (RSIJ15)...

“I wish I could have a financial activity like a small business which will allow me to get friends. Because even your client can become your friend one day. When I was young, my mother used to tell me that if I wanted to live better with people, I should offer them things or share things with them” (RSIJ16).

Rape survivors' skills contribute a great deal to getting in touch with people in their neighbourhood. They take advantage of people's needs. As they said, survivors' service “washed the brain” from a negative to a positive attitude towards survivors because of the benefit gained from survivors' services. Survivors believe in financial activity like a business to get in touch with other people. For them, your clients gradually will become your friends. Therefore, there is a possibility for them to create a new social network of friends. This new social network creation is a mechanism that works through respect and consideration granted to survivors.

Other survivors try to attract people to come closer to them through emotions as narrated: “*Worry! I'm worried when I'm in trouble or I have problems, people come closer to me and console me*” (RSIJ17) ... Those are things that pushed some people to come closer to me and protect me”. Some people are naturally compassionate, and survivors take advantage of their compassion to come closer to them, as worry attracts other people to respond with less resistance to others suffering.

Passive approach to social acceptance: The passive approach of survivors' self-effort to socially reintegrate is a mechanism in which survivors are in a reactive position, expecting external effort to pull them out of perplexity, as there is nothing to be expected from them, which in turn reinforces rape

survivors' isolation and passivity or limits them to reacting to others' attitudes and actions for or against them. In fact, in the case of the passive approach, rape survivors do not initiate anything contributing to their self-reintegration: "I don't do anything. Everything that I do, I say, people either don't believe me or don't accept it. I don't know what to do to them for my acceptance"⁷⁷. There is a lack of self-confidence and confusion on the side of survivors, discouraging them from initiating anything because of external negative rejective attitudes. Here perception of survivors influences their acceptance. However, others are convinced of their social status and misery as the basis of their rejection as reported:

"At the moment I don't have friends and people don't approach me as I don't have anything to offer them" (RSIJ19)...

"I don't have any means to let people accept me. When I ask them for help, they use to tell me that '*Interahamwen* are strong enough to work'" (RSIJ20), ...

"I do nothing. As I don't work, I don't have anything" (RSIJ21)...

"I don't see anything helping me to be accepted" (RSIJ22)...

"I do nothing. If I can get my own house, and stay independently, that could add something in my life even in a way of being considered in the community" (RSIJ23).

Rape survivors are blaming their misery as a demotivation to step out of their position and initiate any action, though clearly, other persons are defeating them by implicitly reminding them to work instead of complaining about their misery. The fact that they are limited by material and non-material contributions as tools of their social reintegration, and no effort is made to boost their resilience to overcome this obstacle, they are unempowered to overcome challenges. Wishing or expecting to see their acceptance happen by others' actions has blocked them from acting, making their wishes difficult to accomplish. Also, they are reluctant to offer non-material effort to push their self-effort to social reintegration: "I don't visit anybody. Because even if I do, this will turn against me". Survivors are frustrated by external negative reactions against their offers which constitute huge blockages for their advancement and are discouraged to offer because of expectation of non-appreciation. For this reason, instead of stepping out towards the acceptance process, they are isolating themselves from the rest of the community: "At the moment I don't see what I can do indeed for me to reintegrate to my community as easy as I can. Because of the physical and health weakness, I'm not able to carry any loaded stuff for me to get money or be paid for that job". There are some other factors that are out of survivors' control. As seen above, weakness can have two sides: either it attracts external pity and leads to closeness or creates rejection as nothing can be expected from a weak person. The only thing that passive survivors still have is hope and the wish to see the change without their effort:

"It's what I wish I can do. I wish seeing people approaching me, ask me for help" (RSIJ24)...

"I've never seen what I can do for me to be accepted in my family" (RSIJ25)...

⁷⁷ Personal interview with Abuna, kalonge, 30 January 2019

“Nothing! I know that what happened to me, has already happened. I can’t do anything to change it. But the fact that they have maltreated me and my children in my in-law family, is shocking me. They are telling my children that they are children of a rebel woman” (RSIJ26), ...

“I do nothing to be accepted. Those who accept and approach me are doing it because they are constrained to live alongside me” (RSIJ27).

Rape survivors’ passivity, lacking a strategy of initiation, makes other people keep their distance from them as survivors are incapable of stepping out, and instead keep on blaming external negative attitudes against them or their children born from rape. On the other hand, some rape survivors are forced to be satisfied with living together with a constrained relative as there is no choice for their relative to behave otherwise and get rid of them.

Thus, the passive approach does not help survivors to make the effort to be socially accepted. Unfortunately, the more there is no survivors’ initiative to reintegrate into their environment, the more the environment is resisting to them from doing so. There is a positive correlation between survivors’ lacking the initiative to reach out for their social acceptance and their rejection, exclusion, and resistance.

7.3.1.6 Rape survivors’ acceptance mechanisms: benefits and challenges

Rape survivors have benefitted from the activities they have done to impact others’ lives, but not without challenges. Responses to the question, “How do you feel and what have you become from the position or role you play in your family and community?” gave an idea of what they have been experienced from the self-effort towards acceptance.

7.3.1.6.1 Acceptance mechanism’s benefits as an approach to the trauma healing process

Acceptance mechanisms of rape survivors have complex feedback affecting their role played in other people’s lives. The position held by rape survivors, and the impact that their acceptance mechanism has on people surrounding them has in turn a direct effect on survivors’ lives, whether positive or negative. *“There are people who are humiliating me despite the role that I’m playing in their life through my activity and those who appreciate me. I feel very well to meet both kinds of persons”* (RSIJ28)... *“I feel I’m coddling them, humbling myself to get harmony between me and them, even if they don’t accept me. I’m obliged to do it”* (RSIJ29). Rape survivors’ intervention in other people’s lives made them keep on being submissive, patient, humble, increasing their capacity to manage other good or wicked people, to get full acceptance. This reasonable, anticipated attitude of rape survivors has transformed their perception and characters. In this way, the impact of survivors’ acceptance mechanisms does not have effect only on people who are attracted by rape survivors’ attitudes, but also on survivors’ change and transformation. They have a new nature, a new version of themselves to live in harmony with others in their environment. From this transformative role of survivors’ interventions, they gain respect: *“There are people who do respect me because of what I’m doing for them”* (RSIJ30)... *“I feel blissful. The role*

that I play in my neighbourhood procures joy and satisfaction. I feel I'm occupying a place; people do respect me through that service" (RSIJ31). The fact of being appreciated by others, especially appreciation from those who accepted survivors' assistance, increases trust and confidence, and creates satisfaction in the intervention, because of the relevant role they play in people's lives. The need of being estimated is here fulfilled, as reported:

"My goodness to others creates confidence, trust in me. I feel considerate to others. I'm letting myself be accepted only because of that sharing" (RSIJ30)...

"Because of the sense of sharing, I feel being a human being among others. The fact that someone says to me 'thanks' because of the service I did to him/her" (RSIJ31)...

"When they tell me that I'm a good woman, a good person, when they appreciate the way I'm behaving, I feel well in the community" (RSIJ32)...

"That appreciation gives me consideration and I feel proud where I stay" (RSIJ1), ...

I feel I'm blossoming because someone said to me 'thanks, stay blessed, etc.'; it made me rejoice. I feel actually that I'm blossoming" (RSIJ2).

Benefits gained from acceptance mechanisms have many advantages in the process of survivors' trauma healing and post traumatic growth due to the fact that the results revive rape survivors in various ways. Their interventions have a double function, an external and internal impact. Not only do they create satisfaction in people who appreciated and are grateful to them, but also, they provide consideration, trust, and confidence to rape survivors. This creates a sense of humanity in survivors who feel considered as normal human beings, supported and free to interact with others. The sense of freedom boosts survivors' strength to maintain new skills gained through their intervention, buoying them up. Words like "thanks", "stay blessed", and "you are a good woman" transform survivors' perception of themselves, from disfigured and confused to clear image of themselves, to self-acceptance. This also has a transformative effect, as it changes survivors' feelings of being lost during and after rape. Sometimes, the benefits of survivors' help calm their mind:

"I feel free, engaged, healed by the fact that I keep on helping others. It helps me because it's bringing me peace" (RSIJ3)...

"I feel good as well, offering them what I have" (RSIJ4)...

"I feel well, blissful" ... "I feel well" (RSIJ6)...

I feel well. What I do is just a guarantee to safeguard my marriage. Because if one day things get worse, I could be at least accepted" (RSIJ7)...

"It makes me happy and feel well" (RSIJ8).

Interventions in other people's lives procure happiness and peace, safeguard relationships, encourages them to assist, offer and share, making survivors feel in full bloom and causing them to keep in touch with others. It also strengthens survivors to create joy, and happiness for others as survivors transfer to others the same emotions.

"When you welcome someone, you show the person that you like and accept him/her. When I go back home to my place, I dance, sing because I'm satisfied, I feel well. When I meet someone, who talks to me without any problem, it helps me to unburden my mind and heart. As soon as I leave this place [of interview with the researcher], because I met someone who accepts me [researcher], I will be singing and dancing because at least someone accepts me, she gave me food" (RSIJ9)...

"I feel blissful to get those people surrounding me. I feel well, as an important person among others. I feel blissful and useful" (RSIJ10).

There is a reciprocal and contagious effect of emotional sharing. Whether the survivors' emotion is boosted by external persons, or contaminated by them, they transfer it to others. The reciprocity of positive emotion creates harmony in the survivors' environment and re-links people. The words, "singing" and "dancing" express the status of the survivors' souls and minds, increasing their consideration and usefulness as satisfied by the reciprocal effect of positive emotional transfer.

7.3.1.6.2 Acceptance mechanism challenges

If survivors' interventions create positive emotions with a reciprocal effect between them and people in their environment, these can also create negative feelings and emotions and affect relationships and survivors' lives. Rape survivors' narratives can confirm this:

"Even though she does good to us, we don't care.' That's what they used to say to me. Mockers used to laugh at me as my husband dumped me: 'Does she think that her prayer will bring back her husband? He went away and it's done. He will never come back again'. When they do it, I feel my heart grieved" (RSIJ11)...

"I feel my heart grieved me" (RSIJ12)...

"I feel sad, passive, not in movement" (RSIJ13).

Negative feedback from survivors' interventions breaks and keeps them either the previous status of trauma or increases that trauma status. Thus, survivors are discouraged from acting. They increase their passivity and isolation.

Also, there is a relapse in improvement achieved in the trauma healing process. "I feel like staying alone, I can relapse again" (RSIJ14)...

"I feel my heart raving. When my child does something bad, I feel like just beating him" (RSIJ15)...

"When I think about how people hate me, don't accept me, don't like me, I feel as if I will go mad" (RSIJ16)...

I feel lost as I have nothing" (RSIJ17).

The traumatic status of survivors could become even worse than before they started engaging in the search for self-effort towards acceptance. There is a kind of degradation of their psychological status, sometimes using anger or physical violence while trying to calm their minds. These are the effects of not feeling completely accepted, but rejected, discriminated against, hated. They also continue feeling disfigured and miserable, going so far as to question the sense of life and their existence.

"I'm not satisfied. Sometimes, I feel like death could be better than living this kind of life after rape where people keep rejecting me after all the effort I make to be accepted" (RSIJ18)...

"It made me feel bad. I ask myself if someone who was taken to the jungle, after those rebels killed her husband does not have the right to live any more" ... "I feel like I'm null, nothing" (RSIJ19).

Lacking acceptance, the failure of the strategic mechanism of inclusion in their environment through self-effort deeply destabilizes survivors' sense of humanity, and the sacristy of life is dismissed, which makes them prefer death, the same as the feeling after being raped. This is a drastic plunge of rape trauma, complexifying survivors' trauma healing process. Thus, rape survivors' interventions have two

effects, positive and negative. When positive, this contributes to speeding survivors' trauma healing improvement, but when negative, this increases delay in survivors' trauma healing, blocking the process. Thus, the issue of self-effort to acceptance still a very sensitive issue to rape survivors.

7.3.2 Rape survivors' preparation for social reintegration

Rape survivors' preparation for their social reintegration involves some key factors, including external ones, but predominantly internal factors, which contribute to their safety and feelings of belonging to their living environment. The preparation for social reintegration demands an environment in which rape survivors feel comfortable to live, where they feel accepted and supported. External attitudes towards them are relevant to boosting theirs to initiate the process on their own.

7.3.2.1 Rape survivors' comfort zone

The comfort zone of rape survivors is the space where they feel safe to socialize with others. Similarities in their identity as victims of rape or being facing with the same situations of rape, belonging to the same social class, confidentiality, female solidarity, loyal and trustful people are some factors rape survivors need for their safety and happiness. These factors compose the basis of the quality of their relationship, which is valuable and fundamental to the preparation of their social reintegration.

Sharing a collective identity: The collective identity of rape survivors is a factor that links rape survivors together due to the fact they share same beliefs about their status, experience the same feelings, have almost similar attitudes (Schwartz, Luyckx and Vignoles 2011). Findings have shown that rape survivors, while meeting amongst themselves feel safe, free, and motivated to talk and share their stories, experience, pain and joy. Rape survivors also relate to other people based on the reciprocal interaction between them and others. Vignoles (2017: 4) argues that "one cannot be honest, kind, rude, assertive, or even independent, without someone to be honest, kind, rude, assertive, or independent towards (or from)". The positive personality traits that each rape survivor displays in the intragroup link their identities closer, developing almost identical attitudes and reactions toward or against threats – protecting for instance their confidentiality, whereas disclosure has negative effect on their freedom and feelings of belonging and self-esteem.

The advantage of collective social identity is based on self-enhancement and the self-esteem dynamic and energy that circulates among and in the intergroup. The existing literature asserts that "positive distinctiveness and the dynamics of group and intergroup behaviour may be motivated by self-esteem with the implication that low self-esteem motivates group identification and intergroup behaviour, and identification elevates self-esteem" (McKeown, Haji and Ferguson 2016: 10). Meeting among themselves and keeping in touch with other rape survivors raises mutual virtues such as respect, consideration, compassion, listening, and trust which encourage closeness between members of the

group. At this stage, being social products of social processes, formed in a particular situation (Burke and Reitzes 1981), this common identity motivates rape survivors to face rape consequences as a group and maintain the group strongly together, creating happiness through the new friendships that they created among themselves.

Layard, cited by Mahadea (2013) identifies seven factors influencing happiness, listed in order of importance: family relationships, financial situation, work, community and friends, health, personal freedom and values. If family relationships keep the first place on the list of happiness, this is applicable in normal times where relationships are not disturbed by traumatic issues such as rape, which affects relationships of rape survivors and their families due to secondary trauma. In this situation, and outside the realm of families, when the support of families and production of happiness is still challenging, friendship can bring back happiness to rape survivors. As I will mention later agreeing with Dutt and Radcliff (2009), cited by Mahadea (2013), the quality of relationships one has in the community and in the family means individual happiness. Individuals with better family ties, with children and friendships, are happier than others for whom these qualities are lacking. However, the fact that rape survivors do not have stable and good quality relationships in their families, and with other people apart from some of their children (as I will display in a later chapter), linking with their friends produces happiness as it is an outside tie that is not affected by their rape issue; instead, sharing the same situation makes them stronger and free to behave, react and socialize.

Unfortunately, rape survivors' emotional vulnerability still sinks their happiness effort. From our observations, there were times that rape survivors could clash in disputes among themselves and instead of benefitting from their happiness, they were putting sadness into the group due to negative criticism of each other. Criticism among rape survivors intragroup is still a factor fragilizing their happiness as they are still emotionally fragile to bear the burden of criticism that reminds them of their painful rape experience. In this case, although rape survivors feel comfortable to share their experience and spend time among themselves, they still the need for fellow female companions to balance their emotions.

Female solidarity and support from trustworthy people: Solidarity among women still a great support for rape survivors, enhancing their happiness, providing a feeling of belonging and bringing back hope at being in touch with specific trustworthy people who encourage them to keep themselves strong after adversity. Women's solidarity is not only the gathering of a movement of female, feminist solidarity at international, regional, national, and community levels, but also at individual relational levels. Solidarity in a broad sense has been developed by theorists like Durkheim, who coined the term, followed by many other scholars. It is theoretically composed of two main concepts, mechanical

solidarity⁷⁸ and organic solidarity⁷⁹. I will resort to mechanical solidarity which fits with the solidarity applied by women in the community.

Women's solidarity is not only applicable at the international level (Littler and Rottenberg 2020) but at any levels of human life. Solidarity in the literature is still a broad concept and theory that emerges from Durkheim and is approached in various ways such as mechanical and organic solidarity, contractual solidarity, reflective solidarity, agonistic solidarity, solidarity and gifts, solidarity and rational choice, solidarity and communitarianism, (Prainsack and Buyx 2011), and moral solidarity. However, among those concepts, I will resort to a few of them only to display social solidarity as a key factor in rape survivors' preparation for their social reintegration.

According to Durkheim, cited by Perrin (1995), where the sociological meaning of solidarity is developed, mechanical solidarity, "the solidarity and the social co-operation based on it, is spontaneous... it is a normal or natural thing to help and support each other. In a situation of mechanical solidarity, there is a uniformity of beliefs and values within the social group of society, which may be enforced by strict mechanisms of authority and social control" (Meulen and Wright 2010: 13). Rape survivors in the rural community of Kalonge not only could support each other, but because of the emotional vulnerability that arose from time to time among them, were assisted by other women in the community. Feminine solidarity played a significant role in connecting rape survivors to the trustworthy women in the community, to get emotional support or other assistance from fellow women as they could easily understand the challenging issue of restoring their relationship to other people in the community at large as they might easily face the same issues of shame, mistrust, weak relationships, etc. Also, given that women may have common interests in relation to patriarchal kinship groups, going through same threat when it comes to sexual misconduct, rape survivors believe that fellow women might be the first to come closer to them. Findings have shown that rape survivors did prefer to entrust other females with their confidentiality, as they may share the experience of recurring crises and are assumed to understand them but still be very selective and careful to do so. As a requirement, they were trying to choose or to accept entrusting other women under the principles of solidarity, which idea is associated with mutual respect, personal support and commitment to a common cause, a sense of fellowship with and compassion for the needy (Meulen and Wright 2010). Those traits motivated rape survivors to socialize with fellow women. For instance, the most trusted women were proactive community women leaders,

⁷⁸ The traditional or pre-industrial societies are characterised by what Durkheim called mechanical solidarity. The word "mechanical" does not imply in this context that solidarity is produced artificially. The given designation is used "by analogy with the cohesion that links together the elements of raw materials (Durkheim, E. (1982, first published 1893), *The Division of Labour in Society*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 200).

⁷⁹ This organic solidarity can be described as "an actual state of interrelations between individuals, groups and the larger society, which enables the collective interest to take priority over the interests of individuals or sub-collectivities" (Durkheim, E. (1982, first published 1893), *The Division of Labour in Society*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 200).

female family members, and friends, who first show their interest to assist them, which minimum degree of social solidarity can be understood in terms of cohesion values between individuals.

In addition to female solidarity that contributes to the comfort of rape survivors as a way of feeling a sense of belonging to their living environment, the mutual ties between rape survivors and trustworthy people, either from their community or not, is still another key component of their safety and support in the preparation for their social reintegration. Rape survivors felt and keep on feeling free to interact with people that trust them and communicate with them on the basis of solidarity principles but also based on the autonomy of individuals, which contribute to reconnecting rape survivors to their society (Gofman 2014). Theorists have often emphasized different dimensions of solidarity in their conceptualizations other than the forms of solidarity developed by Durkheim, such as affective aspects of solidarity (Bartky 2002), reflexive solidarity (Dean 1998) and those driven by the quality of communication. Despite the fact that reflexive solidarity is a concept that emerges from feminist efforts to theorize connections after identity politics, I use the content of reflexive solidarity which is understood in the context of communication and dialogue (Dean 1998) in a purely socio-relational aspect, not in a resistant movement oriented sense (Dean 1997; Browne 2021). Rape survivors stick with the quality of communication which displays respect to them. From their narratives, the way some people handle dialogue and communicate with them is encouraging. It motivates them to try to reconnect to their community using the images of those trustworthy people in order to build self-confidence, hoping to get the same treatment even though their expectation would hardly be met. For instance, rape survivors testified having a good quality of communication and dialogue with people such as researchers, unknown people who helped them regain a sense of dignity through respectful dialogue and protection of their privacy. Thus, good quality of language and communication, as well as the sites through which they establish relationships with others and create a common social space, are included among primary vehicles of social integration.

The idea of sharing common space to create harmony is also defined by the feminist philosophy of reflexive solidarity which lies on the values of togetherness, a “willingness to recognize and strengthen the ties connecting all of us, to let others know that they are neither forgotten nor alone” (Yates 1997: 7) as a universal, moral value of solidarity. Moral solidarity expresses belonging or mutual ties beyond contingent and ascriptive bonds. However, solidarity can also be a phenomenologically highly rich term, referring to any number of greater or lesser forms of belonging or bonding. This can also be understood in terms of affective solidarity, which is a kind of ethical orientation and support for, or emotional bond with, other, intersubjective encounters, where feminist solidarity is conceived as the overcoming of bias and actively working to eliminate rather than share the other’s misery (Bartky 2002). Trustworthy people, such as some categories of women in the community, have demonstrated affective solidarity to their fellow female rape survivors, connected through emotion as basis of relationship to each other. As Bartky (2002:154) argues, “affective dissonance is central to feminism and can be

theorised as the basis of a connection to others and a desire for transformation not rooted in identity, yet thoroughly cognisant of power and privilege” which ideally leads to the desire for social change.

7.3.2.2 Rape survivors’ social reintegration process

Therapy by responsibility is the mechanism that fits for rape survivors to reintegrate socially into their community and be accepted.

7.3.2.2.1 Rape survivors’ therapy by responsibility: Responsibility-based capabilities approach

I here define therapy by responsibility as an attitude and act of playing a role in people’s lives, a state of being proactive to impact other people’s lives, producing material and non-material outcomes in order to receive in turn the desired outcomes with the aim of contributing to one’s own post-traumatic healing and growth processes as well as to one’s own acceptance of the living environment which creates finally an elective belongingness feeling. Therapy by responsibility can be explained partly through capabilities theories based on human development. They often “formulate development as the process of expanding an individual’s freedom to accomplish more and better functioning” (Hoffman and Metz 2017: 162); Amartya Sen’s human development theoretical foundation (Kuhumba 2018) is understood here as growth. I consider the responsibility-based capabilities approach as the responsibility of choice that an individual must achieve as a goal in order to value themselves (social and human capitals). Used in the context of human development theory, the capabilities approach is seen as the ability to relate to others without being ashamed or restricted, where the doing and being is achieved freely. Freedom in Amartya Sen’s capabilities approach is still ambiguous due to the fact that it means independence from others, but at other times it consists in interdependence with others (Hoffman and Metz 2017). Due to the inconsistency of the freedom concept developed by Sen, I consider the added value of Benedikt (2014) on the capability approach to function in terms of freedom of concrete individuals to live the life they have reason to value.

The type of life rape survivors is entitled to value is one of being accepted for their social reintegration. For this, relationship restoration is the most relevant factor that enhances their value. Rape survivors’ capability function is the ability to act in order to value themselves in their relationships where they find a sense of their freedom, to do things that give worth, to achieve a specified set of functioning from an elementary state of being⁸⁰ too complex personal states and activities⁸¹ (Unni 2009). The data gathered throughout our research reveals that it is a wish of many of rape survivors to value themselves through their participation in other lives, whether in their families or in the community. For instance,

⁸⁰ Elementary states of being takes into consideration things like being nourished, going to school, etc.

⁸¹ Participate and appear without shame

being able to cover the cost of the burden of their dependents in the family, assist with some work whenever a family member needs it, or be needed in the community as a way to impact others' lives. However, this seems to be challenging for most rape survivors, who struggle to achieve this goal due to the issue of motivation. The capabilities approach assesses the motivations and freedom people have to formulate capabilities (Unni 2009: 117) which is the doing and the being that people can achieve if they so choose (Robeyns and Byskov 2020). Neither group of authors, Unni (2009) or Robeyns and Byskov (2020), considers to what extent the issue of motivation can be challenging in achieving the being and doing activities. From my research, I understand that motivation for being and doing functioning has to be circumscribed due to the fact that it entails some personal attitudes, well-managed by and limited to those who are proactive, in order to value their being and doing.

Rape survivors' acceptance in their environment is demanding. It starts from survivors' attitudes, behaviour, values, skills, knowledge, relevance, etc., that are appreciated by third persons to allow them to get in touch with others. Because of the challenges that present mechanisms of self-effort to social reintegration, survivors' self-motivation and strong resilience is needed to make mechanisms successful. Rape survivors' acceptance in their environment cannot be taken for granted: there is a price to pay to be accepted. In this approach, some rape survivors are the first to step out and go the extra mile, making sacrifices to attract the attention of their interlocutors to discover how relevant their interventions are so that the act can in turn boost their acceptance. Rape survivors' acts aim to value themselves by contributing to achieving or accomplishing others' needs. For proactive rape survivors, there is a positive correlation between survivors' acts and the process toward their acceptance. The more they show themselves to be helpful and useful, the more they create a safe environment that produces many advantages, such as enhancing a feeling of belonging, restoring harmony and relationships, and boosting solidarity in survivors' environments (whether in the family or with the rest of the community) to fill the gap of rejection and exclusion. The outcomes of proactive rape survivors' acts aiming to fit into their living environment is a mechanism that produces effects on both sides. To proactive rape survivors, the role that they are playing gives value to them and their actions, making sense of their feeling of belongingness which is the achievement of their targeted acceptance mechanism in the process of restoring their relationships. This is to fulfil the need for interpersonal bonds crucial for their survival.

Many theorists claim that "the human drive for social relationships [is] such that forming and maintaining social bonds reflects an innate tendency that is adaptive and crucial for survival" (Lambert et al. nd: 3). Although the hypothesis that people are motivated to maintain interpersonal bonds is not new, this has been demonstrated in many disciplines under several motives. In psychology for instance, Freud tends to see the motive as derived from sex drive and filial bond (Baumeister and Leary 1995a) expressing the need to belong. Attachment theorists, social baseline theorists, self-determination theorists, and personality theorists have all demonstrated this need to belong as well (Hirsch and Clark

2019). However, few are the researchers and theorists that focus on the mechanisms of fitting into their elective belongingness, related to space as well as to individuals. Some theorists such as Lambert et al. (nd), and Abraham Maslow, cited by Aruma and Hanachor (2017), show the need of belonging as a secure sense of fitting in where there are positive relationships, even though this does not influence acceptance (Lambert et al. nd). On this ground, I can argue on the basis of the difference between previous research results, in which a feeling of belonging is distinguished by the need to establish close and safe ties that generate a sense of security, care, and affection (Peter, Peter and Catapan 2015: 95) and the results from this research which show that feelings of belonging, even though they require some level of security for individuals to fit into a relationship that needs to be restored, the contribution of the seeker as mechanism to fit in is inescapable and unavoidable. Most researchers' limit is to circumscribe the feeling of belonging to the fact of the need to establish links. Yet, this goes beyond social bonds and has to be considered as a tool to contribute to building social capital values and a post-traumatic growth tool toward social change.

If this is applicable for proactive rape survivors who are optimistic in their self-effort to fit into their relationships as well as into their community, many of them are still pessimistic about working for their own acceptance which has an impact on their social capital values and post-traumatic growth. Pessimistic rape survivors are reactive. This does not depend on the opportunity or process, but on their way of perceiving the world surrounding them, affecting the level of their commitment. This can be explained partly by the fact that most rape survivors are in the same social class category of poor and jobless. Payment for activities that they do in terms of economic or social assistance do not cover their needs or those of their dependents. This meeting their expectation through their being and doing frustrates them, to making them hopeless about their endeavours to add value and rebuild their social capital value. They do not perceive what little work they do to assist others as worthy enough. For instance, not having a regular job, they do domestic work, or unpaid activities at home like looking after children to support their families. Others do some paid work where the money gained does not cover their needs but instead creates frustration and limits them to act otherwise. As such, the sense of belonging which produces other outcomes like social capital values and boosts posttraumatic growth, is missing to them. Therefore, they are left and squeezed into loneliness.

In the study done by Mellor et al. (2008: 217), the author reports that "people who report a higher need to belong also report higher levels of loneliness". The fact that the level of commitment to their self-acceptance in order to fit into their broken relationships and into their community is weak, automatically puts them in a position of isolation, disconnected from others and feeling like outsiders. Hirsch and Clark (2019) state that when a sense of belonging is missing or threatened, humans strive to belong. This is a huge challenge to pessimistic rape survivors, due to the fact that a feeling of belonging goes together with the sense of togetherness where positive relationships are fundamental and a function of mental stability and a sense of existence. In African thought, relationship is understood in the sense of

communal harmony or fellowship where attitudes and behaviour tend towards togetherness. Related to the *Ubuntu* ethic, relationship is the thinking of oneself as a member of a relationship, as a “we” and not so much as an “I” (Hoffman and Metz 2017). Thus, not being able to socialize, not being able to maintain social bonds, challenges pessimistic rape survivors’ feeling of belongingness due to the lack of satisfaction in their role played in other’s lives, which is the connector toward togetherness. From the findings of this study, there is a difference in the level of satisfaction in the role played by rape survivors in other people’s lives. Most rape survivors whose actions are non-material (such as social assistance, emotional support, social interactions) are more satisfied by the results of their role than those who rely on material actions, such as financial activities, expecting to cover their dependents and others’ material needs. This difference has an impact on the way they value themselves and create an impact on others’ lives in order to be accepted, as their sense of belongingness would produce feelings of self-esteem considered by many to be an index of a sense of belonging, a sociometer (Hirsch and Clark 2019) that is used to measure the quality of their relationships.

Metz (2016), cited by Hoffman and Metz (2017), clearly demonstrates the utility of relationship in the sense that it is:

[t]aking joy and pride in other people’s accomplishments; feeling a sense of togetherness; taking care not to isolate oneself from others; avoiding the coercion or deception of others (who are innocent); cooperating with them; engaging in certain projects because “this is who we are”; engaging in mutual aid; doing so for the sake of others; judging others to have dignity; imagining what it is like to be in another’s shoes; feeling compassion for others 7) Hoffman and Metz (2017:157)

The failure of pessimistic rape survivors to value the quality of their role in others’ lives, however small, has affected their relationships. Instead of feeling valued and enjoying the advantages of positive relationships, their actions increase isolation as they undermine their role played. This has weakened their commitment to handle the situation and causes them not to be free to do so. Freedom entails two valuable aspects, the opportunity, which is the ability to achieve what we value, and the process through which achievement comes about (Kuhumba 2018). In this case, pessimistic rape survivors have resources such as the ability to communicate with others, physical strength to assist others, etc. but they don’t appreciate these opportunities. They fail throughout the process of taking responsibility for their actions in order to achieve their goal of acceptance and making sense of their feeling so as to belong to their living environment and be restored by a feeling of satisfaction from their actions.

Thus, responsibilities that rape survivors have in others’ lives, the role they play to value and assist other people, the level or quality of the satisfaction drawn from their being and doing, make differences between rape survivors, have an impact on their own quality of life, and on their post-traumatic growth.

7.3.2.2.2 Mechanisms used to maintain the sense of belonging: Initiative for acceptance as indicators of positive social interactions

The consequences for rape survivors of soft and harsh exclusion produced in some a positive attitude to fight for their own social reintegration in their community, which can be expressed as a reinforcement and an establishment of their social capital. They have used a social strategic behaviour that grants them space among others. Sharing, greetings, and smiling are the most strategic socially interactive tools that they used and are still using to restore their relationships in their living environment, from families to the community. Greetings have been a recurrent object of inquiry in several disciplines, such as ethnology, linguistics, anthropology and sociology (Migge 2005) but is still a narrow study. Despite different views in the studies based on greeting, they still have similar meanings, perceived as bases of human behaviour and interaction in different societies (Migge 2005) and having several functions as well. Greetings play an important role in defining the nature of social relationships (Migge 2005), such as communication. Many studies have raised the importance of greetings in conversation as a communicative behaviour showing the availability towards the interlocutor (Shleykina 2016), an important part of the communicative competence, a social interaction, establishing the condition for social encounters (Alessandro 1997), an opportunity for dialogue, and a collaborative social practice (Lauren et al. 2020) establishing contacts between people. Greeting has been used by some rape survivors as an entrance point to connect with and reconnect themselves to people in their areas. Greeting is either the tool for rape survivors to communicate with other people or a sign of acceptance. It helps them to get a proper and clear position in the communication and determine their choice of the type of interlocutor who is ready to offer them the space of dialogue (or not), to engage in relational restoration. This is used as an indicator of their social interaction success or failure. As such, it symbolizes a good or bad relationship between them and different members of the community, because people whose relationships are in harmony express it through greetings (Oniangué 2020: 46). Not only does greeting serve as an indicator of social relationship harmony or disharmony, it also promotes cooperation and reinforces social bonds (Jennifer et al. 2011: 401), and promotes socio-emotional well-being (Lauren et al. 2020).

Most scholars who have developed the concept of greeting have limited it to its social interactive functions. Greeting in the case of rape survivors is more than simple reestablishment of individual contacts, more than communicative competence, more than interacting with others: greeting is an opportunity to grab acceptance in the process of social reintegration after rape adversity by trying to be repositioned once more vis-à-vis other people. For them to succeed, survivors have been using another tool, which is the smile. A Smile usually accompanies a greeting. This is to make social interaction

more flexible, with three types of smiles which are the reward smile⁸², the affiliative smile⁸³ and the dominant smile⁸⁴ (Rychlowska *et al.* 2017), showing respectively positive feelings, social connectedness, and superiority. The three types of smiles serve different social functions. A search of the literature has put communication at the centre of the smile function. However, even if the affiliative smile could seem the best fit regarding rape survivors' social interaction, the use of this type of smiling throughout their process of reconnection to people in order to facilitate social bonding is still challenging, as smiling itself should be accompanied by other values such as politeness, humility, endurance, determination, courage, mutual trust, etc. in order to achieve their social interaction success, and create and maintain social bonds. For instance, Liu (2016) claims that the repertoire of politeness serves as means for opening conversations appropriately, establishing, maintaining and negotiating social relationships. Thus, an affiliative smile while it is well applied becomes rape survivors' way to develop their interpersonal relationships and feel connected to others, safe to socially interact and feel a sense of belonging to their people.

These social interactions based on dialogue and communication have been seen as a prompt mechanism of restoring relationships by approaching others. The central elements are personal encounters and the elimination of barriers to communication (Ropers 2004) contributes to their trauma healing trauma process, post-traumatic growth, restoring the sense of their humanity, enhancement of their self-esteem and connecting advantages brought by the feeling of being accepted. The direct effect of this mechanism lies on the transformation of rape survivors through roles played in others' lives as well as in their own lives. These acceptance mechanisms allow rape survivors to get a new version of themselves and identify their capabilities to interact socially and restore their relationships. Thus, non-material and material assistance is considered as the first step of self-effort to fit into the environment again. However, this first step requires some principles for its success. The first principle is survivors' conviction of the relevance of this mechanism, meaning that the relevance of offering-sharing as reported by themselves. The second principle is to obtain what to offer, whether material or non-material. The third is the willingness to offer and share it. The fourth principle is one of motivation, in other words, being resilient and courageous enough to share it despite adversity. The fifth principle is to make the receiver receptive to the offer. The sixth principle is to maintain the equilibrium between the offer and the reception of the offer any time that the act is done, and the final principle is the satisfaction of survivors' offers despite challenges.

7.4 CONCLUSION

82 The reward smile is displayed to reward the self or other people and to communicate positive experiences or intentions

83 The affiliative smile signals appeasement and creates and maintains social bonds

84The dominant smile negotiates status within and across social hierarchies

A feeling of belonging is complex when it comes to rape issues. In their later social reintegration process, the highly confronted period, worsening period of their social cohesion dimensions experience, survivors have gone through a huge and complex reconfiguration of feeling, ranging from feeling another version of themselves, to hardly able feel belonging to themselves, to their families and community. Being involved in rape, survivors have developed many negative feelings from intrapersonal to interpersonal relationships, making emotions dynamically linking, transferrable, and saturating? social harmony in their living environment.

In fact, intrapersonal feelings like shame and guilt are dynamic and provoke other secondary negative emotions such as isolation, self-exclusion, self-pity, etc., leading to self-hate and the maintenance of active trauma intensity. Other negative feelings aggravating this state are the weakness of their state of health (manifesting as psychological disturbance due to the lack of medical assistance from the very beginning of the rape incident up to the present), disfiguration of their identity, with many rural rape survivors feeling another version of themselves., This is the disfiguration of their self-representation and self-perception, and consequently that of their identity.

The psychological and physiological weakness has affected relational aspects in the sense that rape survivors have become reluctant to socialize with other people, socially anxious, living in social ostracism in an environment that does not allow them to be accepted. Relationships are broken, from their very close relatives to people in the larger community. Their decisions to stay isolated and lonely are motivated by a judicious, cautious self-protection attitude that prevents them from being hurt. However, it affects their level of sociability, and they seem to be unable to socialize although needing and expecting other's support to socialize. Furthermore, their dependence on either their husbands or relatives in families is damaging as they are perceived as being responsible for bringing shame on the couple and families and tarnishing their honour.

While there were few exceptions to the harsh treatment and abuse of their children, most of rape survivors who have children born as a result of rape, affected by the maltreatment of their children, have experienced the deterioration, worsening of their feelings of belonging, safety and support to get properly through their social reintegration process and succeed. However, mothers' rape survivors have developed some mechanisms to come out of the complexity of their social reintegration process based on social cohesion dimensions. The attachment that rape survivors have to their children drives them to find ways to overcome obstacles so that their children are welcomed and incorporated into their families and communities. The mothers' financial independence to invest in their children's lives, the prediction of positive names, and ownership of their children, which challenged the established cultural norms against patrilineal kinship system, are other mechanisms they have developed to prepare for the rejection of their children.

In their current social reintegration process, rape survivors have learnt from the negative and positive experiences of being rape survivors, being caught between protracted intra and interrelation confrontations for themselves as well as for their children born from rape (for those who have them) which have worsened their feelings of belonging. To remove themselves from the distortion of relationships and be accepted, therapy by responsibility is a relevant mechanism which exposes rape survivors to being in the midst of actions to gain self-confidence, trust and be valued, for the sake of restoring their relationships. Therapy by responsibility is the “doing and being attitude” and the act of playing a role in people’s lives, a state of being proactive to impact other people’s lives, producing material and non-material outcomes to receive in turn the desired outcomes with the aim of contributing to one’s post-traumatic healing, post-traumatic growth processes, and find acceptance which would create, finally, an elective feeling of belonging. The proactive social interaction mechanisms used by rape survivors require support for their success, as failure will keep them in the same state of weakness.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHILDREN BORN FROM RAPE MALTREATMENT AGAINST THEIR SOCIAL INTEGRATION DENIED: FEELING OF BELONGING AND TRUST DISRUPTED THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS

8.1 Introduction

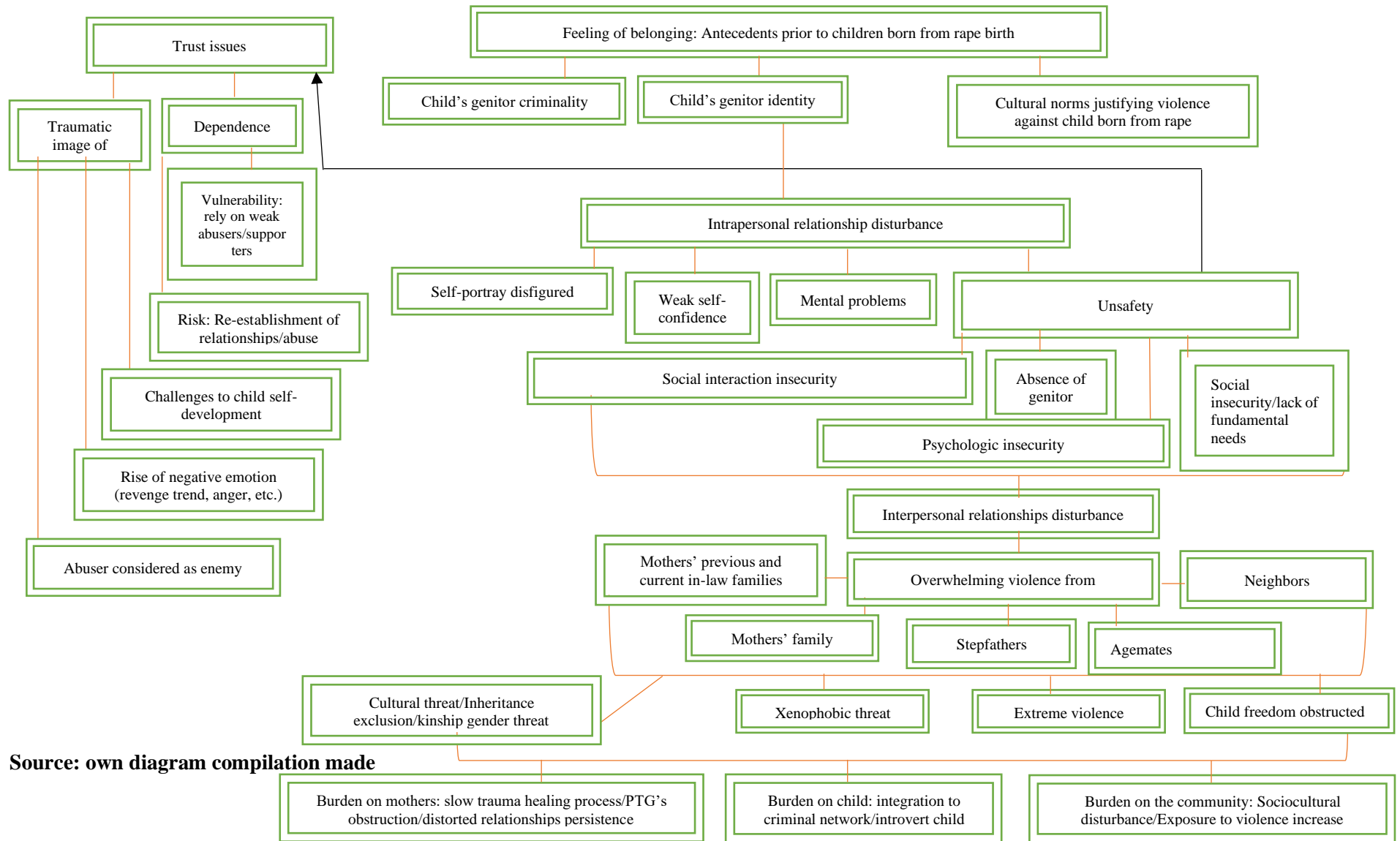
Social integration process of children born from is connected, linked to mothers' rape survivors social cohesion dimensions, pillars to their social reintegration. When mothers testified about their children's concerns in the previous chapter, they did so as witnesses or observers; however, children are the actual victims of child abuse since their experiences with prejudice are different from those of observers. Children's experiences have to be considered as the major source of information because they were the actual victims of abuse. This chapter emphasises on children social cohesion dimensions experiences and conflict transformation practice between them and their abusers for their social integration.

The framework on which the narratives of children born from rape has been organized for further analysis is social cohesion and conflict transformation theories and practices. Feeling of belonging and trust, the latter of which is a cross-cutting word of both conflict transformation methods and social cohesion dimensions, are two aspects of social cohesion that have been applied to children born from rape for their social integration. Feeling of belonging including self-representation, safety, and support. Trust as one of the dimensions of social cohesion includes self-confidence and liberty prior to dependence and support; risk and vulnerability; an image representing the opponent, expectation from the opponent, hope or indifference. Additionally, the management of their abusive relationships, and the re-establishment of their relationships have been relevant to complete the understanding. In order for them to socially integrate into their moms' family or community, the question is who they can trust. The massive abuse of children as a result of social integration denial from their mothers' households up to the community has preceded these portions of data presentations alternately followed by their debates.

Furthermore, traditional leaders have been included as relevant observers and traditional law keepers who influence the cultural attitudes and behaviours of members of the community. Their opinions have been added to obtain a global perspective on the maltreatment of children born as a result of rape, which includes both individual-relational, collective violence, and structural violence, as well as to obtain ideas and opportunities to help those children to culturally integrate into their cultures.

Hence, the chapter presents and discusses the overwhelming maltreatment of children born from rape, feeling of belonging which includes self-portrayal of children born from rape affected by external perceptions, challenging support determining children weak feelings of belonging, children safety threatened by their abusers and reinforced by the absence of their genitors, self-confidence and trust between them and their abusers, confrontation for their social integration, dependence and support, vulnerability and risk to the integration process, cultural influence on children social integration and the consequences of their maltreatment exposing community to the increase of criminality as well as various approaches to social integration of children.

Figure 8:1 Children born from rape's social cohesion dimensions disturbance: Feeling of belonging and trust



Source: own diagram compilation made

8.2 Children born from rape's overwhelming maltreatment

Children born from rape are exposed to abuse by many social categories, from their family to the rest of community, disturbing their intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships. They face a very complex configuration of abusers composed of major and minor categories from inside their families to outside in their local community. The core discriminative issue is based on their identity as born mostly from foreign rebels who have negative antecedents in the community. When asked, "Based on the treatment what have you experienced in your living settings?", answers were given relating to several categories of abusers, turned into traumatic images for children.

8.2.1 Family maltreatment against children born from rape

Children born from rape have been abused by different social categories in their living environment, starting from their closest relatives like half-siblings, mothers' family members, stepfathers, stepfathers' family members, and mothers' late husbands' family members. This constitutes their first layer of traumatising images, seen in their social interactions affecting their relationships as narrated:

"My half-brothers don't tolerate me when I speak at home. They always provoke me" ... "My half-brothers don't love me although I love them" (ChIM1) ...

"They always search how to kill me; they want to kill me. because when they cook, they don't give me their food to eat. They don't speak to me; even when we meet outside the home, they don't speak to me. They used to say that my mum is a witch. They say, they will even kill my mum as she is not the woman who deserves to be their brother's wife" (ChIM2) ...

"They do not accept to see me sitting beside them. If I insist to sit near them, they beat me. If I put my clothes on the line to dry them, my half-brothers, my mother's late husband's brothers, take them off and tear them. When I go to fetch water at the river, they used to go to stop me on my way back home and bully me. ... and sometimes they threatened to sell me to I don't know who. ... Now anytime I see them coming on my way, I escape from them, hide somewhere. Sometimes I even throw away the container for me to hide myself from them as I know already their plan of selling me... They have followed me twice; at the third time my mother was obliged to sell her beans for us to leave them to safeguard and protect me" (ChIM3).

Children born from rape are aware of the weak quality of their relationships to their relatives, who threaten them with death. They have acknowledged the fact that they are hated to death, their lives are in jeopardy due to attitude and actions against them such as lack of love and tolerance, non-communication, non-acceptance, food deprivation, bullying, social distance, family splits, and other forms of abuse. As such, children born from rape are unsafe and living in a

traumatic environment in the very closest relationships, despite their attachment feeling to them. The past negative fragile relational experience that adults have with children born from rape genitors' country (foreign rebels from Rwanda for instance), has been transferred to a younger generation who in turn maintain a negative attitude against their half-siblings born from rape. To react against abusers' criminal attitudes, children try to protect themselves as well as their mothers from abusers using natural reflexes, whether hiding, escaping, or quieting the area. Thus, isolation, social distance, and displacement contribute to saving them from bullying, strong and harsh exclusion (and even death), an uncertain and traumatic lifestyle, frustration at being hated, and attempts at homicide in exchange for their love. From their very close relatives, children born from rape experience xenophobic threats due to their genitors' country of origin or their morphology resembling the "hated nationality" as narrated:

"When I'm at home, my half-brothers used to insult me. They used to tell me that I have long legs like marine ducks and I'm from the jungle, a kid brought from the jungle. Then they chase me away ... when my old sister saw the way there are treating me at home, she complained against their insults, asking them about what the father is telling them about me, then she took me to stay with her to her place" (ChIM4) ...

"In my family, they don't like us, me and my mother. They don't like people from Rwanda. My mother's co-spouses insult us too much. They said that my mother is a witch. It is better for us to leave their house" (ChIM5) ...

"I stay with my half-brothers. They used to tell me that I'm not their sister, I'm not from their family, I don't look like them, I resemble to people from Rwanda. When we are eating, they put my portion aside and tell me to eat alone. They don't want me to share food with them" (ChIM6) ...

"At my maternal uncle's place, they call me 'Hutu child' and insult me: 'vagrant'" (ChIM7).

Children are discriminated against and rejected due to their genitors' nationality and morphology. They are aware of their hated identity from some face morphology. From my observation (researcher observation) while interviewing children on the way they have been threatened, one of the children responded, and told how annoyed she always feels by that insult of resembling a Rwandan. She suddenly became sad, shy, bothered, and kept quiet. This child's attitude expresses how xenophobic attitudes against them make them discomfited. They have witnessed their direct rejection, soft exclusion, and lack of acceptance despite their innocence in the matter of their hated identity. Furthermore, not only do other people in the family and outside the family submit children to xenophobic abuse, but survivor mothers sometimes aggravate xenophobic sentiment while venting their anger and trauma upon their children, using xenophobic insults: *"My young sister and my mother when they got angry they used to tell me that 'a child who does not have a father is full of himself, pushy like you' though I don't think that I'm as full of myself as they say"* (ChIM8) ... *"At home they insult me, telling me that I don't have a father, brothers. In the area where*

I stay, they insult me too much” (ChIM9). Hence, children are sometimes completely squeezed into the whole family levels’ relational abuse. However, this mother’s attitude is an exception and can’t be taken as the general attitude of mothers as many of them behave in a protective manner.

Apart from being in jeopardy and suffering from xenophobia, children born from rape keep on experiencing other forms of abuse, such as forced exclusion as narrated:

“They are discriminating against me. At home they can buy shoes for my half-brothers, not for me” (ChIM10) ...

“Sometimes, my half-brothers menace me and chase me away from the house” (ChIM11) ... “When my brothers find something, they don’t share with me” (ChIM12) ...

“My uncle used to beat me up the day I didn’t go to farm. When one day my mother blamed him, he insulted my mother as she is homeless and insulted her as she does not want to tell me the truth about my father’s identity ...When they insult my mother, I feel like they are insulting me as well. They told me to follow my mother” (ChIM14).

Considered as free labourers of the family, children born from rape are threatened if they don’t behave according to abusers’ wills. Due to a lack of understanding of the ideology in which abusers are operating, children can only be limited witnesses and experience blame, discrimination in terms of less care, lack of sharing, wickedness, and harsh and radical exclusion.

8.2.2 Neighbourhood abuse against children born from rape

There is a reciprocal incitation to abuse children born from rape from family to neighbourhood and vice-versa. People in the neighbourhood are influenced by families’ abusive attitudes towards children.

“Everywhere they go, my half-siblings told people that I’m not their sister, our mother brought me from the jungle, we were chased away from our grandfather’s house. They chased us away from the house and asked us to go as they don’t want us to live alongside them” (ChIM15) ...

“They said that I will train their children into bad behaviour. In the neighbourhood, my mother’s co-spouses told people to tell their children to stop playing with me” (ChIM16) ...

“In my neighbourhood, people incited my half-brothers to keep on repeating to me all those insults for me to decide to quiet them” (ChIM17) ...

“We moved from that area to another one. Our previous neighbours burnt our house to force us leave the area. One day, we went to carry charcoal, when we came back home, we found our house already burnt” (ChIM18) ...

“Here as well, after leaving Bagira where we were staying before, they are chasing us away from their area” (ChIM19).

To get rid of children born from rape, people deal reciprocally to incite each other to abuse children, and create impossible conditions for them. Burning a mother's habitation to force both mother and her child born from rape to quiet the area is a harsh criminal behaviour expressing their lack of acceptance in the neighbourhood. If discrimination and other forms of abuse are predominant inside the family, in the neighbourhood, children are also exposed to outside abuse. Being accused of being morally deviant has created a sort of image sticking in children's minds, directing their attitude and behaviour and in turn giving them a perception of how other people depict them.

"People in the area consider me as a prostitute, a thief. For example: one day, someone stole a hen from our neighbour's house. As they have been accusing me falsely, ... my mother went to consult a soothsayer, clairvoyant, to know the truth. The clairvoyant told my mother that is my aunt who stole it, the one that accused me falsely" (ChIM20) ...

"When I work, they don't help me. They all plot to accuse me falsely. If someone breaks a glass in the kitchen, he will lie to me saying that I'm the one who broke it" (ChIM21) ...

"They are accusing me falsely. They are accusing my mother of being a witch, that's what is annoying me" (ChIM1).

Considered as morally deviant, children born from rape are seen to disturb the established social rules in the community. Prostitution, theft, witchcraft accusations etc. are enough to exclude someone from the family or community living space due to the relational or social order disturbance s/he may cause. For the family or community to always justify their abuse against children, they accuse children falsely. Wrong accusation is used as a powerful tool of fragilizing children's efforts to either keep in touch with old, current, or future relationships, or initiate any action to justify themselves to be cleared of the wrong they do not do.

8.2.3 Agemates abuse against children born from rape

The first challenge children born from rape encounter is being prevented from playing with other children, which is the base line of children's socialisation and the formation of children in sociability which is destroyed by complicity between agemates from within or without the family as well as adults in the neighbourhood as narrated:

"In our neighbourhood, they told me that I'm a Hutu kid, as such I don't have the right to play with their kids" (ChIM2) ...

"My agemates in the area call me 'Hutu child' then beat me up" (ChIM3) ...

“My school mates, on our way back home, they used to bully, beat me. They beat me because I’m a Hutu kid. They say ‘leave her, Hutu child’” ... “My age mates told me that I don’t have a father. It’s shocking me too much” (ChIM4) ...

“They told me that I’m a Hutu” (ChIM5) ...

“At school, my agetates insult me that I’m a child of a prostitute. My aunts could even give me witchcraft because of their bad words against me. People insult me that I’m a daughter of Hutu” ... “My agetates bully and beat me too much. They told me that I don’t have a father. That’s why I don’t eat at home, and we don’t have enough food at our place” (ChIM6) ...

“In the area where I stay, my agetates called me ‘vagrant’, ‘street kid’, because we don’t have a house that belongs to us” (ChIM7) ...

“When other agetates of my area see me, they insult me. They call me a farmer, shepherd as I don’t study” (ChIM8)...

“My mother cares well for me. In the area where I’m staying, people used to tell me that I don’t have a father. They told me that men from the jungle are the ones that engendered me”... “They called me ‘Hutu’ because they said that it’s my Hutu father who killed their fathers” (ChIM9) ...

“When other agetates of my area see me, they insult me. they call me a farmer, shepherd as I don’t study” (ChIM10) ... “When yesterday they heard that I will come here to meet you [researcher], they started telling me ‘can this one as well go to meet someone? What can he tell her, where mum is she taking me?’” (ChIM11) ... “For example: if my mum buys something for me, they say it’s only me who mum used to plead to my step-father for me to get what I need” (ChIM12).

Xenophobic attitudes against children born from rape are transferred from generation to generation as their agetates apply the same threat, imitating adults, to use against those born from rape. Instead of getting refuge and support outside the family, among friends, children born from rape are rejected by their agetates who remind them of their hated identity, how fatherless and unprotected they are without any clear identity. When they associate them with some identity, they are related to Rwandan people in a hated, insulting manner. Because of less care (illiteracy, vagrancy), agetates take advantage of turning into insults labours to which family and community are submitting children born from rape. Those hurting insults violate and disturb their harmony physically, psychologically, and relationally.

While telling the names they are called by their agetates, no child expresses it with joy; from my observation, some say it with a shaken voice, some others with tears, others after saying it just kept quiet for a while before resuming recounting their story. Some were hardly able to pronounce the words “daughter of Hutu” and did it with many pains as if they were not willing to pronounce it at all. This attitude expresses how sorrowed, frightened, traumatized, etc. they are due to xenophobic attitudes making them uncomfortable. To understand how frightened the hated identity is for children, some were very nervous and hesitated many times before that word “Hutu” could come out of their mouths, others just cried, burst into tears when pronouncing that word and even more, knowing that they are fatherless, that is the hardest experience.

Children did interpret the refusal of entertaining with other agemates as sign of harsh rejection among children, a non-acceptance increase linked to adults' influence in preventing their children playing with those born from rape, a segregation among children. From other people's xenophobic attitude against children born from rape, this feeling has been transferred to them, negatively affecting their appreciation of their identity and making them feel embarrassed:

"I've never understood the reason that people are chasing us everywhere" (ChIM13) ...

"In my neighbourhood, I speak well to people but, they are indifferent to me; I don't know why" (ChIM14) ...

"In my mother's family, they don't like us. They don't speak to us, they don't even come where we are staying" (ChIM15)...

I feel very bad and start crying when they say I'm a fatherless child" (ChIM16) ...

"When they told me that I'm a Hutu child, I got angry and went to sleep outside because even in the area, our neighbours won't allow me to sleep in their places" (ChIM17) ...

"When they told me that I'm from Rwanda, I felt very bad and started crying. However, my stepfather does not insult me and does not maltreat me" (ChIM18) ...

"In our neighbourhood, they used to chase us away. They told us to leave their area as my mum is poor and not able to rent a house" (ChIM19).

Children are still confused by abusers' attitudes against them, not knowing the reasons for being threatened, even though they have acknowledged being harshly, forcibly excluded, incomprehensibly rejected, not accepted, deprived of communication etc. For them, xenophobia is not reason enough to be abused, which explains their attitude of being negatively affected, expressed through disappointment, anger, isolation, and child revolt. On the other hand, being dubbed "Hutu child", "child from the jungle", "child from Rwanda", "fatherless child", etc. aggravated by their mothers' misery constitutes a psychological violence against children born from rape as it is disturbing their thought due to criminal depiction of the image of a "Hutu person". This grieves and frustrates children who feel accused of being as criminal as their genitors.

8.2.4 Stepfathers' abusive attitudes and acts against children

In this section, children are the primary victim of abuse whose narratives confirm their stepfathers' abuse and maltreatment against them, as was mentioned in the previous chapter regarding mothers' rape survivors' narrative on stepfathers' criminal abusive attitude toward children born from rape. This is, a burden which disturbed their sense of belonging, delayed the trauma healing process, increased safety, etc. Being given opportunity to express so, children born from

rape in the following sections were able to suggest approaches to overcome abusers' maltreatment and how to re-establish their relationships with their abusers for their cohesiveness.

Despite the fact that some stepfathers are praised due to their care for children born from rape, the majority of them are not appreciated:

"My stepfather does not manage to see me. He chases me away while we are eating. I eat peacefully when he's not at home" (ChIM20) ...

"He did it to me like that because I'm not his biological child and himself used to tell me like that. He does not buy clothes, shoes for me. He chases me from his house and beats me with sticks. I ask him to send me to school to study, he doesn't want to" (ChIM21).

The first impression that stepfathers give to children born from rape is one of a radical denial of paternity. As such, they openly decline any responsibility towards care of children born from rape. Denying being the caretaker, stepfathers create segregation between children in their household through negative discrimination, depriving those born from rape from any rights they deserve as children (fulfilment of a child's basic needs: clothes, education, foods, habitation, safety, etc.).

"One day, my mum told my stepfather that Esther is no longer going to school, he replied that he doesn't care about my issue. If only his children are studying, that's enough for him. For example: when they chase us away from school because we didn't pay our school fees, he will pay only for my half-brothers or negotiate to allow them to go back to school, but not me" (ChIM1) ... "When my father comes back from his job, he is less interested in me. He does not pay attention to me, but rather to my half-brothers" (ChIM2) ... "I got angry when someone beat me. My stepfather discriminates against me. To pay my school fee, is my mother who does it ... my mother must carry stuff for her to be paid to pay my school fee" (ChIM3) ...

"My stepfather used to tell my mother that she is the one who brought me from somewhere else to their house. If I ask my stepfather to buy shoes for me, he sends me to my mum" (ChIM4).

Stepfathers' behaviour is a harsh rejection pushing children born from rape to be reluctant and keep their distance from them. Children feel their rights are violated as they cannot get equal attention from their stepfathers like their stepsiblings. Witnessing differentiation in care between them and biological children, those born from rape turn all their expectation from the missing genitors, concentrating on their mothers' miserable interventions to confront and manage their stepfathers' careless attitude, negative discrimination, physical violence, etc.

Stepfathers, instead of taking care, target maintaining children born from rape in the assigned position of labourers, a free family slave as reported: "

When I work at home, my stepfather prevents my half-brothers from helping me ... sometimes, he complains about my presence and says, ‘Am I your biological father? I didn’t engender a girl with long legs⁸⁵ like this one. Go and ask your mum where your father could be’” (ChIM5).

here is here a xenophobic sentiment expressed through an attitude of slavery, using children born from rape as free labourers of the family. By showing less interest in care of children born from rape, discrimination, rejection, or hatred of morphology referring to children born from rape, and unaccepted identity, stepfathers break children’s solidarity in the family. Furthermore, stepfathers’ family members interference in the issue of children born from rape has aggravated abuse:

“My aunts used to tell me ‘We don’t like you because your mothers’ husband is not your father and us, we are not your aunts even if you call us aunts’” (ChIM6) ...

“At school, my school mates say that I’m from the jungle, a child brought from the jungle. ... The aunt who is a teacher at our school, she used to humiliate me most of the time in front of my school mates. Besides, she made me fail at school purposely” (ChIM7) ...

“My stepfather and his mother insult me too much. He refused to pay school fees for me and told me that he is not my father to pay my school fees” (ChIM8).

Stepfathers’ family members play a catalyst role in increasing abuse intensity against children born from rape. If stepfathers do abuse children or sometimes use an indirect manner of discrimination, stepfathers’ family members are the more dangerous as they abuse children born from rape openly and in a very radical, harsh manner of threatening them. They are traumatizing children by threatening them as soon as they get into a position of power to do so. In asymmetric power, abuse become more intense as they are uniting together (stepfathers and their family members) using harsh open rejection, traumatizing truth, and humiliation against children born from rape. Thus, they are demonstrating clearly hate against children, making their live worse, whether in public or in private space.

Perceived and accused as such, “Hutu children”, “fatherless children”, jungle, savage children” become and remain permanent reminders on both sides, keeping on rejecting children, excluding them from their living environment. Consequently, they must comprise a group of slaves, free labourers. For that reason, there is no need of prioritizing their lives’ improvement through education and care. Hence, they should remain in the category of shepherds, and farmers to feed the family and the community cattle, take care of farms and assist in improving others’ lives, whether in the family or outside it. Keeping them useless, illiterate,

⁸⁵ Long legs are used to refer to people from Rwandan as they are Nilotic and tall

vagrant, homeless, and giving less care and least preparation to their future lives becomes a collective sanction of family and community, venting their revenge upon children. Because of disdain, inconsideration and lack of future life guarantees, survivor mothers have developed mechanisms to support their children, even though this keeps on provoking anger and other negative emotions against mothers' care of their children born from rape.

8.3 Children born from rape's feeling of belonging obstructed

Feeling of belonging is composed of the self-portrayal of children, either felt as such by themselves or got from others (often external abusers), feelings of safety and support or solidarity to children born from rape as well as mechanisms used to socially integrate them into their mothers' community. After being abused, children are able to talk about how abusive attitude and behaviour have affected them.

8.3.1 Self-portrayal of children born from rape affected by external perceptions managed by mothers

Children born from rape determine who they are according to their identity, their origin, their relationship to their genitors and depictions from external observers like their supporters or others who influence their perceptions of themselves. For children, when asked to talk about their lives and the way they see themselves, the first response of children is to speak about their life according to supports that they have from other persons such as their mothers, the threats they experienced, and especially the way they have been perceived by other people in their living environment. Asking them, "How can you tell yourself who you are?" children born from rape portrayed themselves according to the way they have been perceived and to the historical background that they have been told. Regarding the identity of children born from rape, they are still perplexed about their genitors' details. Some do not know who exactly their genitors are, some have been told that they are orphans, some others are still not aware of any details about their genitors' origin:

"They call me 'cow's shepherd'. People don't consider me as a human being because there are places where I pass, sometimes they throw stones at me and bully me" (ChIM1) ...

"They call me wild, savage, or maybe it's because I'm very dirty, the way I appear, I look. But I think that is because at home, they don't consider me as a human being – that's why others are maltreating me as my family does" (ChIM2) ...

"My aunts don't speak to me. When I greet them, either they kept quiet or beat me up because of that greeting. They called me 'ghost', bad spirit, cow, marine duck, etc." (ChIM3) ...

"They consider me like their child, but they don't love me. They do consider me as a child from outside their family, as if I don't belong to their family" (ChIM4).

The deep sentiment of not being considered as a normal human being, a “ghost”, not belonging to mothers’ families, etc. is profoundly embedded into children minds. Abuse’s influential consequence from families has affected their misrepresentation in the local community, a transference of family threat.

“They told me that I’ve never seen my father, I’m an orphan, vagrant, what kind of human being I am I and my mother?” (ChIM5) ...

“I don’t bear with my family. I don’t know my father. I miss where to go. I’m a vagrant as I like to hang out or go to the farm” (ChIM6)

... “I don’t know who my father is” (ChIM7) ...

“When they told me that, I should ask my mother to tell me the truth. I need her to tell me where my father is” (ChIM8) ...

“I don’t know my father and where he can be” (ChIM9) ...

“I don’t have a father. Since my childhood, I’ve never seen my father” (ChIM10) ... “

I don’t study. My father’s name is Mubalama. I’ve never seen him” (ChIM11) ... “

I don’t know who my father is. I stay with my mum and half-brothers at home. We are 6” (ChIM12) ...

“She always tells me to leave that story, we will come back to it later” (ChIM13) ...

“When I ask my mum to show me my father, she kept quiet” (ChIM14).

Not knowing their fathers has many effects on children, such as indifference to other people starting with their own family’s members. Feeling dehumanized, vagrant, sorrowful, frustrated about their identity, they revolt against their mothers’ silence on their true identity. Lacking a genitor, loss of an identity reference creates an empty feeling which makes children socially weak but motivates them to discover the truth. It has also happened that children remained confused, not knowing the right reason for being abused. Confused children adopt a kind of self-defence placing themselves into isolation as narrated:

I don’t study. I don’t have friends because I don’t like to get friends. I like staying alone” ... “I’m afraid of nothing. I don’t like playing with boys” (ChIM15).

Isolation, loneliness, being indifferent to friendship, self-limitation, worries, etc. shape children’s minds, attitudes, and behaviour. Thus, despite mothers’ mechanisms developed to manage the issue of children’s identity reference needs, they fail due to the deep need for clarification on the part of their children. These mechanisms increase children’s trauma and identity disfiguration due to external perceptions and knowledge about children’s identity. External perceptions about children born from rape’s identity increases their trauma and lack of comfort in their environment. Children are aware of to whom they were born and how they have been depicted in their area.

8.3.2 Challenging support determining children born from rape's weak feelings of belonging

Children born from rape perceive their lives as limited to a kind of protective support from which their needs are fulfilled despite the weakness:

“For me to get clothes is a big deal if my mum does not work as hard as she can” (ChIM16) ...

“I was staying at my grandparents' place, then I came to stay with my mother in her marriage” (ChIM17)

... “My mother always refuses to offer me to those who want to sell me to be killed, (ChIM18) ...

because of that, my paternal uncles have stolen cassava from her farm and sold it, they sold our yard ... my mother took beans that she had already harvested, sold them to get money to rent a house in another village where we are living now. That's how we moved from that village to Kalonge village” (ChIM19) ...

“My life is not good. My grandmother is the one who feeds and takes care of me” ... “We used to go to the forest with my mother. I help her to carry a half package of charcoal to sell. We assist people to carry their goods, charcoal to their destination” (ChIM20) ...

“My stepfather has dumped my mother from since she gave birth up to the present. He went to an unknown place” (ChIM21) ...

“I like eating, being well dressed, being clean” (ChIM1) ...

“I stay at my mum's place with my half-sister. I like studying. After leaving school, I wish I could have my small business, going to farm, and breeding animals” (ChIM2) ...

“The way that I'm living is not good. Even in the area where I stay, people don't like me” (ChIM3) ...

“I don't appreciate the fact that I sleep on the ground because we don't have a bed. I like doing business. I'm studying, I'm in grade 4” (ChIM4).

Children born from rape have acknowledged being the result of their survivor mothers' struggle to bring them up, protect them against criminal abusers and fulfil their basic needs. To protect their children, mothers are constrained to expend money and financial resources, quiet their habitation, or split from their husbands, be displaced, and accept every consequence of the loss. As main supporters, mothers, even though they are abandoned, and lack support themselves, their battle (opposed to criminal family decisions) ensures their children's support, meanwhile influencing children's attitudes towards them. Due to their attachment, children's attitudes consequently become one of relying on them, contributing to their mothers' activities in order to get means to fulfil their basic needs or to be protected. On the other hand, children deplore the condition of the lives which they are living. They do not appreciate the fact that they are living miserably, lacking proper basic needs like habitation, education, food, clothes. Thus, the need to improve the quality of their lives is great but with little expectation to compensate their misery.

8.3.3 Children born from rape's safety issues

Children born from rape determine their safety regarding the interpersonal relationships and the quality of social interactions they have with other people, supporters or not, involving several types of those who represent traumatic abusive images to them. Answering the question of “How you feel yourself, being involved in such a situation of being a child born from rape – is there anyone with whom you feel safe, secured, or protected?” interpersonal and social interaction are the main complexifying issues obstructing their safety.

Children born from rape's interpersonal safety issues: When asked “Is there any worry you feel by living in this environment?”, children born from rape feel safe with some categories of people such as their mothers, half-siblings (but under conditions), friends, and other people in the community. However, there are other categories who keep on being hurtful and unsupportive regarding children born from rape, like stepfathers, agemates and others where confrontation between the two groups does not allow children to live in a safe place.

The first group of supporters inside the family who provide safety for children are mostly their mothers, as narrated:

“I feel safe, at peace with my mother because she is the only one person who loves me and is happy with me” (ChIM5)

... “I feel safe when I'm alongside my mother's sisters, half-siblings, grandmother. I feel protected” (ChIM6)

... “I feel safe when I'm with my mother's sisters, brothers, because they buy stuff for their children and me as well. They do consider me as their child, young sister, etc.; they don't discriminate against me, it's only my uncles' wives who did it to me” (ChIM7) ...

“When I'm at my sister's place alongside my mother and siblings, I feel safe and protected” (ChIM8)

... “Children of my mothers' sisters and my mother” (ChIM9) ... “I feel safe with my mother and brothers” (ChIM9)

... “I feel safe with some people of my mother's family, my mother and when I'm with my grandmother” (ChIM11)

... “My aunts, grandparents, my mother as well” (ChIM12) ...

“My grand-mother and my mother's family” (ChIM13).

Rape survivor mothers constitute the first and most relevant pillar of support for children born from rape. Almost 50% of children acknowledged the fact that they feel safe being in their mothers' presence, and with female family members of their mothers and rarely with males from their mothers' families. Children

justify their safety by the level of care, protection, joy and happiness, consideration, love, etc. offered and provided to them. Mothers and female family members' attachment to children is enough for their safety as caregivers, made possible by a feminine complicity working for the good of children.

Outside the family, the first level of children's safety is their friends, who represent 22% of the pillar supporters:

"My friends from our neighbourhood contribute to consoling me, telling me to avoid paying attention to all those insults. My mother's family console me as well" (ChIM17)

...

"When I'm alongside with my friends, I feel well" (ChIM18)

... "When I'm with my friends (Mugisho and Espoir), I feel safe and well. My friends are also cow shepherds like me. I'm at peace when I'm alongside with my mum as well" (ChIM19) ...

"My friends make me happy when we play together. Friends are the ones that console me and tell me to avoid and not pay attention to those labels of 'child from the jungle' that people stick to you. They told me to not pay attention to those who make me cry, my half-brothers" (ChIM20).

Friendship comforts children born from rape, as they have in common something to share which is entertainment and consolation, advice diverting their attention from abuse and abusers. Even if the percentage (only 4 out of 22 children) who get support from their friends is small, this is the first relevant outside supporters of children. From my observation, while speaking about their friends, children's faces showed how joyful they were and satisfied with their friends' company. Thus, entertainment and advice reinforce their friendship, and make children recover their sense of humanity.

The last category of people with whom children feels safe, only 16 %, is other people in the community who care about their good, as reported: "*People who gave us the house where we are staying and people who assist us with food.*" ... "*Some of our neighbours who love me. they help us when we are in need* (ChIM21)". Assisted to fulfil their needs by other persons outside the family, means love to them –, in other words, support is equal to love. As they are among poor people, any person who assists makes children feel rescued, saved, and safe, loves them. Thus, there are two relevant pillar supporters of children born from rape who are mothers and female family members (females of the same generation as the mothers) and friends of children born from rape. Others come as a complement of supporters.

However, there are categories of people, whether inside the family or outside, who make children born from rape uncomfortable. The first inside circle of children's insecurity is their family members as narrated:

“In my family, they don’t bear with me (my uncle, aunts, and neighbours). When I greet them, they keep quiet. They have stolen my mum’s farm” (ChIM1) ...

“My grandmother. She frightens me as she poisoned me previously. She gave me human flesh to eat. She gave to my sister *ombeni*, the flesh of dog. It’s when my mother went to consult a Soothsayer (clairvoyant) that they told her all these stories” (ChIM2) ...

“I feel unsafe when I’m alongside my mother’s co-spouses. My heart is grieved too much” (ChIM3).

Family members who make children uncomfortable from inside are mothers’ parents, aunts, grandparents, mothers’ co-spouses, etc. and some males of the family. This category is accused by children for being destroyers of their lives through witchcraft, non-communication, making them frightened, sad, grieved, etc. This category, composed by only 13%, are the close family members who disturb children’s peaceful atmosphere. The further, or more distant their relationship is, the more they are abusive towards children. The rest (87%) of people outside the family make children feel unsafe. Male adults and stepfathers constitute the first group of outside people who make children feel unsafe: as narrated,

“My stepfather is a source of my unsafety as he does not love me. When they send me to search for cassava, if I don’t bring it, they beat me” (ChIM5) ...

“I feel unsafe when I’m alongside my stepfathers’ brothers, grandparents. Children of those uncle also make me feel unsafe. When they see me, they behave as if they are my friends, but I consider it as a clever way to catch me to take me to suckers?? to kill me. The husbands of my stepfathers’ sisters did the same. They asked me to escort them to take something to my grand-mother’s place, yet they are targeting to catch me” (ChIM6)...

“My aunts, stepfathers’ sisters don’t speak to me” (ChIM7) ... “When I’m with my other brothers, my stepfather even though he never stays at home, he came for a while and went back, when I’m with my aunts (stepfathers’ sisters), I feel unsafe because they don’t like me. They told me that it would be better if I was born a savage animal instead of staying with them. When I stay at their place, during the night I feel unsafe because they will be insulting me every moment, even beating me” (ChIM8).

Stepfathers are intermediate between the mothers’ family and mothers’ husbands, all considered as mothers’ relations or family members of children born from rape. This is the reason of classifying stepfathers as the first outside layer for children born from rape’s connection to a larger family. Male adults, stepfathers, constitute the second important outside group of child abusers, making them feel unsafe, uncomfortable. 27% of outside people show abusive attitudes like bullying, murderous attitudes targeting to kill children, non-communication, dislike, hate, hypocrisy, and physical violence. The following category of abusers are children born from rape’s neighbours:

“My neighbours make me unsafe because of their negative criticisms against me” (ChIM9) ... “People who criticise and insult me” (ChIM10) ...

“My neighbours because they speak badly against me” (ChIM11) ...

“Those who insult and criticise me” (ChIM12) ... “I feel unsafe with our neighbours because they insult me” (ChIM13) ...

“Adults shepherds bully me when I’m feeding cows alone with them in the bush” (ChIM4) ...

“Some neighbours who threatened me and chased me away from this area” (ChIM14)

... “I feel unsafe when I’m with people who grieved my heart, insulting me. Those people, I have put a sign of cross on them and put a full stop and tell myself those people will never be my friends. I suspect some women of my neighbourhood [cited them]” (ChIM15)

... “People that I used to confuse with Hutus, those who look like Hutus make me afraid. Soldiers, policemen because I compare them to Hutus. Hence, when I see them, I run away from them. Witches, those who insult me and beat me” (ChIM16).

People in the neighbourhood make children feel unsafe for two major reasons: negative criticism and insults, and those who represent the traumatic image that children born from rape associate with their genitors – Hutus and security people, as their genitor fathers are rebels wearing military uniforms. This is to say that insults on xenophobic issues traumatize children. This group is the largest category making children feel unsafe, 36% of people in the community.

Another category is composed of agetates as reported:

“My agetates in the neighbourhood make me feel unsafe because they threaten to beat me. My neighbour agetates beat me when my mother is not home” (ChIM16) ... “I feel unsafe with other agetates as they don’t like me” (ChIM17) ... “My schoolmates insult me too much, telling me that I’m a child of a prostitute woman, even people from our neighbourhood told me the same thing” (ChIM18)

... “My agetates of this neighbourhood insult me too much” (ChIM19) ...

“People that insult me, my agetates of my neighbourhood who make me think about my father who I’ve never seen” (ChIM20).

Children born from rape’s agetates, who are different from their friends, constitute the second relevant group of children’s abusers due to the transfer of adult xenophobic attitudes. Agetates apply the same attitude as adults do against children born from rape, through insults. As such, this becomes a reminder of the traumatic situation that previously disturbed children’s minds, bringing back bad memories of fatherless children from “prostitute” rape survivors. Agetates as the third important abusive group with 22%, make children feel unprotected, as they have been bullied, disliked, humiliated, not appreciated, etc. because of insults against them.

Thus, children born from rape define their level of safety through certain concepts and realities like love, communication and care making them feel protected. However, the contrary becomes the proof of their insecurity. Among safety pillars the most relevant support is still their mothers and same generation females from their mothers’ family, and their friends and half-siblings are influenced by the mothers’ resilience. However, family members who belong to the second

generation from their mothers' generation, like grandparents and mothers' other family members, as well as stepfathers and their family members, constitute the most dangerous category making children unsafe, as they are the first category targeting children for murder. Xenophobic attitudes based on the hated identity of children born from rape remains the major reason for all categories disturbing children's safety such as stepfathers, neighbours, male adults, agemates, etc. composing 87% of those who make children feel unprotected and in jeopardy.

Acknowledging not being protected, children narrated how this constitutes a burden on their relationships in their living area:

"Missing where to go, beating of my young sister by other children of that area is bothering me. One day, a boy menaced to beat Ombeni, my young sister, [both brought from the jungle] because he wanted to grab a paper from my sister's copy book" (ChIM21) ... "In the community, when my half-brothers' friends meet me on the road they told me that I have a right to be beaten, because beating an idiot like me is not a problem. Then they cut sticks and started beating me. They said, 'I want to cut a stick to beat a cow' and I thought it was a cow but surprisingly, it was me whom they named cow. They have compared me to a cow" (ChIM1) ...

"Apart from that, I don't have other complains or annoyances" (ChIM2) ...

When they insult me or my mother, I feel my heart grieved and stopped passing by those neighbours' ways" (ChIM3).

Lacking protection in their living area, children born from rape are exposed to many kinds of abuse from the benign up to the extreme, and unstable lives which increase and strengthen their challenges to overcome other people's perceptions upon them. Turning a human being's name into an animal one to be violated expresses the need for extreme violence, a dehumanization process as one of the stages of genocide.

In the area, worry about seeing those capable of committing crimes like murder made children uncomfortable:

"The presence of militias because when they attacked, we went to the bush to hide. Massacres that they are committing annoyed me as well" ... "When I meet my uncles' parents who wanted to kill me, she gave me a fright, I got afraid, and my heart grieved. Because I told myself, surely, she is sent by her children to catch me and take me to them ... Some of those uncles are studying here in Kalonge. When I saw them, I got angry. The only thing I do is to leave that place or run away to avoid being caught by them" (ChIM4).

Worries of children born from rape are justified by the presence of any person who is able of committing murder, such as the military, those resembling their genitors, depicted as rebels, those who aim to murder them. Those frightening images they made them frustrated and living in anxiety. Witnessing massacres, children are traumatised by the criminal father represented by those wearing military uniform, and those killers aiming to murder them, deeply weakens their

energy to search for an integrative way. The first reflex therefore becomes the one of fleeing, running away from the family and the community, creating children's instability.

Unsafety feeling created by the absence of the genitor: Children born from rape's safety is fragilized by the absence of an unknown father, which is strongly embedded into their mind, sometimes making them prefer death to lives that have become meaningless but can be saved only by their mother's support. Children born from rape's involvement in the rape issue is seen through parental issues. Being caught by the unsafety feeling regarding the missing father and a miserable rape survivor mother affects their quality of life compared to their agemates.

Being a fatherless child born from rape determines the whole meaning of self-perception and feeling of being unsafe, as narrated:

"I consider myself as orphan, fatherless child" (ChIM5) ...

"I feel very bad. I hate it when someone tells me that I don't have a father" (ChIM6) ... "I don't know how to define myself because at the moment that I speak to you, my heart is grieved as they used to tell me to follow my father" ... "I feel like dying is better than living because of those sufferings I'm experiencing. When they told me that I'm Hutu, I cried" (ChIM7)

... "I feel like it would be better for me not to have been born than living this kind of life, full of grievance" (ChIM8) ...

"The lack of family. I feel alone without a father, a sibling. The ones with whom we stay together at home are my half-brothers, they don't like me because they are always insulting me. I feel alone. I don't have a father to defend and protect me" (ChIM9) ...

"I feel a fatherless child because the stepfather does not take care of me" ... "I ask my mother to tell me the truth if it is people from the jungle who engendered me. She denied it and told me that my father was taken away and has disappeared" ... "I cried when they told me that. Because I ask myself if people from the jungle or things from jungle can engender a human being like me. I feel grieved" (ChIM10)

... "They do consider me like an orphan ...I cry. I feel miserable and concerned" ... "I feel miserable as I don't have a father. We have difficulty finding food. My mum does not have enough means to rent a house" ... "I feel bad. When they tell me that I don't have a father, I start crying. If it's in the night, I won't eat, I lose appetite, I go to bed hungry" (ChIM11).

There are two scenarios for children's representations. There is a category of children who represent themselves as orphans, and those who deny being fatherless and are not convinced by that status. Those ones are forced to believe that they are fatherless children. From this comes different feelings and ways of perceiving themselves. Those who already consider themselves as orphans, do not feel deeply unsafe, miserable. However, there are those who despite the absence of a

genitors, keep on believing that they have a father and need to know and benefit from the advantages of having a father. This category is still fragile as they see every act against them as being not protected.

As a general trend, children born from rape are all fragilized by the absence of their fathers, replaced and depicted as criminal genitors, a hated identity. As expressed by themselves, this representation of their fathers has developed into a hate feeling, a deep grievance, a preference of death instead of life, a preference they had not been born, a deep loneliness, being thoroughly unprotected, completely disrespected, and undermined, and frustrated and traumatised. Those feelings are developed by every child born from rape whose genitor's absence makes him/her unsafe and miserable. The unidentified father, unknown truth about the genitor's identity, has overwhelmed, devastated, and destroyed the quality of life of children born from rape, from their inner to their relational quality of life.

In contrast, if the absence of the unknown father has created a painful feeling of unsafety, their mothers' presence, for some, concomitantly compensates for the absence of the unknown father and creates a protective feeling:

"I'm a child of my mother, that's all. I don't know who's that father they never stop telling me about, the one from the jungle" (ChIM12) ...

"What I acknowledge is, my mother is a biological one, but the husband of my mother is not my father. That's my conclusion, he is not my father" (ChIM13),...

"I like living where my mother is, alongside my mother. But when I go to my mother's household, those who stay with her manifest hate against me" (ChIM14).

Some children born from rape compensate for their fathers' absence emptiness by doubling their attachment to their mothers and convincing themselves that they are mono-parental children. They try to satisfy themselves by ignoring the absence of the unknown father. From this attitude, children born from rape deny the recognition of the stepfather as a father substitute by relying only on their mothers' protection and attachment benefits. This attitude from resilient children born from rape prevents them from being affected by deep negative feelings of exclusion and rejection.

Insecurity from social interactions: The quality of interpersonal interactions of children born from rape has been considered by children as an indicator of their non-acceptance, which procures their unsafety. Some indicators can express this, like communication or lack of communication, psychological violence like insults and threats of murder, avoidance of the contact with children, exclusion, etc.

“I’m living in my family. But the bad and negative attitude against me that of my stepfather, his discrimination, shows me that I don’t belong to this family. He speaks, makes conversations more with my half-brothers than with me” (ChIM15) ... “The fact of refusing to speak to me shows that they don’t like and accept me” (ChIM16) ...

“When I speak to them, they don’t answer me. Those people forbid their children to play with me and make me feel out of my community” (ChIM17) ...

“My half-brothers try always to convince me that I don’t belong to their family. When I reach home, if I find my half-brother eating, or cooking, and if only my mother is not around, they won’t give me food. Insults and discriminatory behaviours don’t make me feel at home” (ChIM18) ...

“My paternal aunts and uncles don’t love me or appreciate me. they don’t like me to go to their places” (ChIM19).

Lack of communication, not being willing to be in touch or contact with children born from rape, avoidance of those children and other personal feelings like not being loved and appreciated, of being discriminated against, of not being favoured, deprivation of some children’s rights, deprivation of entertainment, etc. – those attitudes shape the feeling of belonging to their family and local community of children born from rape. Children are confused by acknowledging being in their family but meanwhile not feeling as sense of belonging to their family, making them perplexed and their feelings frustrated.

Also, open exclusion demonstrates how children born from rape are not accepted and made comfortable in their living area:

“The fact that they are selling me to take me to those suckers? to kill me, makes me uncomfortable and understand that I’m not one of them” (ChIM3) ...

“When my mother’s husband is drunk, he always chases me in the night to sleep outside the home. In my neighbourhood not everyone will welcome me. Sometimes I sleep outside” (ChIM4) ...

“They beat me up a lot” (ChIM5) ...

“The fact of beating me up” (ChIM6) ...

“People from my neighbourhood chase me away and tell me ‘Can you go to search for your father?’ (ChIM7),

... “When I’m at my neighbours’ places, when they are about to eat, they chase me” (ChIM8) ...

“When our landlord and people from our neighbourhood chased us away from their area. They don’t assist me when we are in need” (ChIM9) ...

“My stepfather. When he paid stuff for children at home, he never gave to me, only to my half-brothers. When my aunts, my uncles’ wives, chased me away and asked me to follow my mother where she is. In my mother’s family my aunts chased me away as well. They told me to go to my grandparents’ place” (ChIM10).

The fact of being always chased away from half-brothers, neighbours, their home, or the stepfathers’ household, refusing to share with them or assist them, etc. demonstrates how hated they are, from their families up to the community. It has created feelings of rejection, being harshly excluded from their relatives and

people in their living environment. The cruel exclusion, willing at any cost to exterminate the children born from rape, is an extreme physical violence ranging from being beaten up to murder and is a trend frustrating children and confirming their exclusion.

Victim of financial insecurity: They are frustrated by factors that they are not responsible for, such as poverty, when asked “How does your life seem to be, as a child born from rape?”

“The bad condition in which we are living annoys me” (ChIM11) ... “The fact that I don’t study, chasing me from my mother’s household, the way they are maltreating me at home, is annoying me” (ChIM12) ... “When my mother is absent, there are times that my half-brothers make food and refuse to give some to me. Sometimes they do it in the presence of my mother” (ChIM13) ... “Our way of eating is very bad, only vegetables” (ChIM14) ...

When they chase me to school, and my stepfather didn’t pay my school fees, it annoyed me” (ChIM15),

“When we need salt or any assistance, people in that area don’t assist us or do it with many hesitations. That’s what annoys me most” (ChIM16) ...

“We eat very badly, or we sometimes don’t eat [telling me that, he burst into tears]” (ChIM17) ...

“They ask my mother to leave that area. If I ask for clothes from my half-brother to wear, they told me ‘Is it possible for us to share clothes with a miserable child from the jungle like you?’” (ChIM18).

The fact of having their safety wrongly threatened lies in the weak quality of life that children born from rape are squeezed into. Poverty, and the miserable conditions in which children born from rape live do not depend on them but ended up turning into a tool to annoy them. Some of them, by telling how poverty annoyed them, burst into tears because of the pain of being poor. Hence, poor conditions of life, discrimination, less attention, a lack of fulfilment of basic needs and assistance, mockery for being poor, etc. increase the misery of children born from rape, consequently making them weak to confront the possibility? to come out of it.

Knowing that children born from rape, as well as their mothers, are financially weak, some people have an increased sentiment of rejection as they perceive them as a burden to get rid of since they are disturbing others (financial) stability:

“At my mother place they don’t stop chasing me away. When my uncle gives his wife money to buy stuff for the children, she bought only for her children not for me... When I saw that unfair way of doing things, I went to the farm to glean or harvest potatoes then took them to market to sell. Then I bought my clothes” (ChIM20) ...

“They don’t buy stuff for me, saying that I don’t belong to list of their priority. I feel like quitting the house and going anywhere. Then I tell myself, leaving my mother in this environment, where she is hated, I feel pity. That’s the reason which maintains me near, beside my mother, I don’t want to leave her. I tell myself, maybe they will hurt her or do something very bad to her, maltreating her. Even if I’m not able to defend her, I must be present just to watch, beside her” (ChIM21) ...

“I don’t have clothes. My appearance does not please my agemate” (ChIM1).

Being a family’s burden, expenses for children born from rape are avoided at any cost, be it by soft rejection or exclusion. Some of them have learnt to develop the ability to self-care to socially stabilise themselves and cover their expenses, a positive transformative change, although other children still are passive but have developed strong feelings of attachment to their mothers, also victims of abuse.

8.4 Self-confidence and trust issues between them and their abusers

Trust as one of the dimensions of social cohesion includes self-confidence and liberty prior to dependence and support; risk and vulnerability; an image representing the opponent, expectation from the opponent, hope or indifference. The issue here lies on who they should trust in order to socially integrate into their mothers’ family or community. To confront abusers as their preparation for self-efforts at social integration, children born from rape need to be confident and feel free to do so. Hence when asked, “From your experience as a child born from rape, what kind of life are you living? Do you feel free or not?”, children have expressed their limits regarding confidence and freedom.

Whether children born from rape are radicals or not, resilient, or not, their confidence is affected by the issue of being born from rape when they compare their weak quality of life to those who are not born from rape:

“When I see other children clean and well dressed, I feel miserable and start crying” (ChIM1) ... “I see myself very minimal, small, inferior compared to my half-brothers” (ChIM2) ... “I feel bad to see myself in that position of being inferior to others even if I’m older than them” (ChIM3) ... “I see myself very badly. I realise that my agemates who are going to school, tomorrow, some among them will become teachers, and other authorities, but I can’t expect to be at their level one day. I feel like I’m nothing, nowhere” (ChIM4) ...

“I feel strengthless. I’m afraid of myself and my life” (ChIM5) ...

“I feel as if I’m not a normal human being like everyone, or other agemate children. My heart is always grieved. Sometimes, I feel lost and without any identity” (ChIM6) ...

“I don’t appreciate what they used to tell me. I feel very bad. My heart is grieved because of that” (ChIM7) ...

“When I see other children, I realise that I’m the only ugly, skinny, dirty, child among others” (ChIM8)

... “Nothing! When I see other children studying, eating well, well dressed, I feel nothing” (ChIM9)

“Worthless because I’m uneducated” (ChIM10) ...

“Most of the time I ask myself where I should go as my half-brothers say that I’m not their sister. I always cry as my half-brothers ask me to follow my father. I feel lost. ... If I could get married one day, that will resolve that issue to feel free.” ... “I feel isolated” (ChIM11) ...

“I was grieved, feeling like there is a wound in my heart at the time we were living in the previous village ... since we left that village, I feel a bit free” (ChIM12).

Children not born from rape constitute the “mirror” from which those born from rape discover how different they are. Each child born from rape is individually psychologically deeply affected by the difference in the quality of life compared to agemates and assumes that they are unfortunate children with no present hope of improving their lives while being completely, deeply desperate to have better future lives. As such, children born from rape have feeling of being insignificant, null, worthless, nothing, inferior to everybody, minimal, small, strengthless, an abnormal human being, lost and without any identity, miserable, uneducated, etc., modifying their personality. Frustration, worries, uncertainty about their future life, grievance and a wounded heart, an inferiority complex, humiliation, shame, etc. fragilize and paralyze children’s self-esteem, squeezing them into a suffocated circle of traumatic life which difficult to come out of on their own. This is the conclusion of their self-analysis on the fragile quality of life, an impression given by themselves from agemates’ quality of life challenging their appreciation of their lives, from which many negative consequences emerged.

Hence, for some, the need to be freed from those negative feelings becomes higher, creating needs for a stable life as narrated:

“I need a stable place to stay. Leaving this family will make me free. I must assist my mother carrying stuff to be paid for me to get clothes. I’m not stable” (ChIM13) ...

“As they don’t consider me like other children in the family, their only benefit to me is the dowry. But I’m asking myself who will benefit from my dowry? Will it be my uncles, yet they don’t take care of me”? (ChIM14)

There is a gendered divergence in the perception of the solution to escape from the cycle of frustrating lives of children born from rape. For them to be free from the cycle of the traumatic life, some male children born think about hard work contributing to their mother’s effort to improve their quality of lives, while some female children born from rape think about marriage.

There is the issue of a traumatic weak quality of life making trapping them into a long untended desperation for a better future life. For the change, some children try to solve the issue by a change of perception of their lives from fragile and unappreciated to a positive strong appreciated life, motivating them to search of

freedom. For this, there is a gendered orientation to find freedom applied differently from one gender to another: as escaper, male preference lies in hard work although female preference lies in an early marriage.

Reaction against abusers - price of freedom: Freedom is the greatest battle of children born from rape to feel a sense of belonging to their living area and a mechanism to integrate into their community. There are many factors constraining its process and facilitating its achievement. Their reaction towards abusers determines the trend of the process, supported or solo. Children born from rape's reaction is supported by their mothers to defeat abusers, which impacts children's reactions. Children's reactions are somewhat confusing and perplexing, as narrated *"I don't know more answers to their criticism against me, because if I try to answer them, they will all come against me alone. I decided to keep quiet"* (ChIM15). Children apply a reluctant attitude to react against external threats due to lack of support and protection. Children are unempowered to react directly but use isolation and silence to overcome the threat. Some did not trust or rely on their mothers' support to defeat abusers as they considered their mothers' support weak as reported, *"My mother used to cry and sometimes she is nearly in tears. Sometimes she went to bed and slept. Or calmed me down, cosseting my heart and telling me 'Calm down, my child. Only God will answer to your situation. Calm down, don't cry'"* (ChIM16). Mothers' support is still not helping children, as they are also trapped into an attitude of isolation and trying to hide in divine hope to manage threats against children. This reluctant attitude is applied on both sides, of children and mothers. This is since both are in a weak position, lacking support and protection. Hence, isolation, silence, and reluctance better manage threats against children and avoid worse reactions from abusers than applying a hopeless confrontation which would raise worse threats.

Children's appreciation of their living environment: For children whose support is still weak, cohabitation is one of the most relevant tools of staying comfortably in a living area. To make it happen, there are feelings that are needed in order to feel belonging to the area. Children born from have developed a particular feeling which either prevents them from feeling free to live in their environment or makes the cohabitation happen. The children's environment is constituted by the social frame of socialization, such as family, school, church, neighbourhood, etc. Living in their environment, children's responses are emotional reactions like anxiety, frustration, etc. as narrated:

"I feel bad living in this area" (ChIM17) ...

"I hate the way that I'm living in this area. At home in my family, I don't feel belonging to them at all ... I feel bad living there. I'm afraid of them repeating me that I'm a Hutu child" ... "It's every time that I feel my heart grieves because of bad actions done against me" (ChIM18) ...

“I don’t feel free. I feel vexed” (ChIM19) ...

“I feel very bad. I cry, cry and cry. When I report it to my mum, she tells me to forget about it” (ChIM20)...

“I feel bad, ready to cry because I don’t feel protected” ... “I feel orphaned and very bad” (ChIM21) ...

“When I try to tell them that my heart is grieved, they insult me again ‘shut your mouth, how come a kid at your age feels their heart grieved?’” (ChIM1) ...

“I feel like in my heart they have put a heavy and big stone. My half-brothers are the first to insult me and humiliate me. They asked me where mum picked me up ... If mum is absent from home, I miss peace because they are provoking me. In the area my brothers incited other children to insult me. my elder brother brought his friend to insult and beat me up telling them ‘Can you please help me to beat this thing that I don’t know where they collected it’ and his friend beat me up” (ChIM2).

Children born from rape do not feel comfortable living in their environment. Anxiety, frustrations, grievance, insecurity, humiliation, lack of being trusted, lack of freedom and liberty, lack of peace, incitements to bully, physical violence, hate, incitement to anger, all constitute emotions that destabilize children, making them disconnected from their living environment. Those deep emotions have made children become another version of themselves as they become sorrowful children not considered as human beings, confused children as their grievance is neglected and cannot be trusted, frightened children due to lack of safety and peace, frustrated children as their worries are not considered or resolved through silence or avoidance, deeply traumatized children because of being enfolded in negative emotions which keep reminding them of bad and negative memories and abuse, etc. and they are therefore exposed to extermination or genocide due to lack of being considered as human beings, exposed to hate.

Children born from rape are against their living environment due to the rejection from external people:

“In the neighbourhood, people started telling me the same thing; they are insulting me at home. It’s bothering me” (ChIM3)...

“People from my neighbourhood don’t speak badly against me. Rather they accuse me falsely. When something is lost in our area, they will say that is me who steals it. That’s why I no longer used to go to my neighbours’ places. They don’t like to see me in the area” (ChIM4) ... “My heart is grieved. I feel pain in my heart, especially when I approach other children from the area I stay, they chase me away and refuse to play with me” (ChIM5) ...

“I like going where other children are playing but they chase me away, they don’t like to play with me. They fling stones and call me ‘Hutu child’” (ChIM6).

Given that children born from rape are denied their right to sociability through entertainment with their agetates, they are limited to their own childhood development skills. This is the effect of transfer of abuse from family to neighbourhood, influencing third persons’ attitudes against children. The fact of refusing to allow children born from rape to gather with other agetates, followed by physical violence, expresses to those born from rape how hated they are in their neighbourhood. This is a deprivation of childhood, fragilizing children’s self-confidence due to their isolation.

Furthermore, children's rejection is increased by not being trusted in their living area because of false accusations. Hence, these factors make children unhappy in their living environment, inciting children to quit their area, as reported by them:

"I think of quitting home. My heart is grieved" (ChIM7) ...

"I feel like quitting that area and going to my grandmother's place" ... "I feel bad. I feel like death is better than living. I feel like quitting this area" (ChIM8) ... "I feel afraid to stay home alone because of that treatment" (ChIM9) ... "I had better follow my mum everywhere she is going for me to feel safe as people from the area don't like me" (ChIM10) ... "I wish I could shift from the school I'm studying at to another one to avoid being humiliated at school" (ChIM11), ...

"I feel bad living in this area. If only my mum could take me somewhere else to stay, I would be happy" (ChIM13)

... "I feel very bad living in this family. I wish I could get someone who will free me from this family. That one would do a great thing for me" (ChIM14).

Acknowledging that their living environment, either their family or neighbourhood, has become a sort of prison, a traumatic area to live in, children do prefer quitting the area in one of two ways. They prefer physically quitting the area temporarily, or quitting the area definitively by death, a very extreme decision for an extreme violence. This gives a sense of their intense pain, grievance, hatred of living in their area. Because currently they are not able to commit suicide, they have become and do prefer to become vagrant, displaced children, sticking to a protective figure, due to the high level of trauma, fearing for their safety. Consequently, they are focused on looking for a hidden refuge as an open door to their freedom, instead of staying in an unpleasant area. Facing this unpleasant situation in their living space, some children found a way to get out of the traumatic cycle, whether by developing a friendship attitude or taking revenge:

"I feel my heart grieved me, but I don't have anything to do" (ChIM15) ...

"I try to approach those who hurt, insult me and try to become their friend and forgive them" (ChIM16)

... "I make him become my friend for me to feel free" (ChIM17)

... "I tell myself no one can live without a friend; we have to stay together for life or for death" (ChIM18)

... "I was sad, timid, warm less? Even in the area where I stay, I don't feel like someone who is living in his family, community. I didn't want even my half-brother to talk to me" (ChIM19) ...

"For example, last night I wanted to go outside. I feared obscurity as I was thinking I could meet those uncles who used to purchase me to sell me. I was in trouble" ... "I get angry. I feel like if they offer me my abuser, I will kill him" (ChIM20).

To confront the unpleasant situation, children's perplexity has produced two sorts of reactions. Children with strong resilience and a sense of humour, use friendship tactics to approach people, acknowledging being powerless to make the change. Others have chosen to take revenge despite their weakness. The first

stage of a self-strategy towards positive change begins with the decision and plan to overcome abuse for better cohabitation, a process towards self-integration. By making friends, they need to overcome some of their traumatic attitudes like fear, hate, etc. and decide secondly to forgive those bothering them or their abusers as a first strategy or mechanism towards positive change. Thirdly, they approach them in a very tactical way to make them friends in order to stop abusers from abusing, to get their freedom and enjoy the living space. This friendship mechanism makes those children turn the negative attitude into a positive one, a way to a positive transformative change for their acceptance and integration through the creation of their liberty-freedom. These apply all their efforts to make their tactic succeed as they have assumed that there is no need of displacement or quitting the area; a better life is in togetherness. Nevertheless, there are children who have chosen the opposite side to friendship, using revenge. Embedded into fear of the abuser and trauma, their preference is one of revenge, even though they are powerless.

There is a need for positive change, whether for those applying the friendship mechanism or for those preferring revenge. The friendship mechanism, to feel free and enjoy the togetherness, is the most successful method which has already been applied by one of them, considering it as a must for better cohabitation even though this mechanism demands a strong personality.

Hypothetical children's freedom: Many factors have made children born from rape does not feel free in their living environment, such as non-acceptance, insecurity, conflictual relationships, non-bearable quality of life, etc. which affects the lack of their freedom where they are oppressed. They determine their level of freedom according to the current quality of life they are experiencing:

“I don't feel free like other children. Because they don't consider me as a normal child, they consider me like their enemy” (ChIM21) ...

“Not at all because they don't appreciate me. what I do is not appreciated. That's what makes me not doing things freely” (ChIM1) ...

“I don't feel free doing what I have to do because of those insults” ... “I don't feel free because of insults and the fact of missing a proper house to stay in” (ChIM2) ...

“I don't feel free in my neighbourhood because of insults and false accusations against me” (ChIM3)

... “No! because of false accusations of people” ... “No! because of the insults” (ChIM4) ...

“I don't feel free because people speak badly against me”, ... “I don't feel I'm living freely like other children” (ChIM5)

... “No! I feel like an orphan without father and mother. I feel alone” (ChIM7).

Children born from rape compare first their quality of life to those not born from rape to determine whether they are living a free life or not. Compared to other children, those born from rape acknowledge living in their living space as an enemy of others. They and their actions are not appreciated, fragilizing therefore any effort to self-improvement. Self-improvement works for them under condition of liberty. The fact that they are still not appreciated, they have been considered as wicked, negatively criticized, falsely accused, deprived of support, protection, etc. limits their self-esteem, fragilizes their positive energy to initiate any action for good, disempowers and discourages them, makes them less resilient to resist abusers' actions against them, and significantly restrains children's liberty, to live a normal life.

Because of trauma from abusers, children's freedom is restricted: "No! I'm not feeling free because of the insecurity. I don't feel safe because of my stepfather. I'm afraid of his presence at home. I'm expecting to be insulted, shouted at or beaten up or more, chased away when he is at home" (ChIM8) ... "No! I don't appreciate the way that we are miserably living. I must carry stuff for others to pay back that service for me to get food" (ChIM9). Insecurity, either personal or alimentary, and poverty or weak quality of life constitute another spectrum of constraint to children's liberty. Abusers, a traumatic image for children, constitute a constraint to children's liberty. Their presence brings back abusive memories of what they used to be exposed to. Permanent worries from stepfathers, dismay, frustration, and humiliation due to a miserable life limits children from feeling free in their living space.

Some children determine their level of liberty by their entertainment: "I don't feel free as they hate me in this neighbourhood. I can't even be playing with my agemates" (ChIM10) ... "No! I don't feel living free. My agemates in this neighbourhood refuse to play with me. I lack a space of land for me to cultivate as other children do in the area" (ChIM11). Children's freedom is related to their possibility of gathering with agemates through entertainment. As entertainment contributes to children's capacity for development, they feel free to play to develop their sociability which connects them to each other. Hate, being prevented from playing or restraining their right to play with agemates, becomes therefore a tool to reject them and make them isolated.

Children born from rape acknowledge their responsibility regarding their liberty as main actors of their own freedom as reported:

"My liberty it's determined by my behaviour. Because I don't steal others' stuff. That's why I feel free to live in this neighbourhood" (ChIM12) ...

"Yes! Even if other children insult me, I keep doing what I must do" (ChIM13) ...

"Yes! I live freely because if someone asks me to assist him, I feel obliged to do it for my liberty. This allows me to feel free to live alongside others, especially for them to accept me, otherwise, they will bully me" (ChIM14).

The great responsibility for children to live their freedom is their contribution to offer services, which makes the issue of appreciation central to their freedom. For them, appreciation comes from an accepted attitude or behaviour which allows other persons to accept them. As such, good behaviour becomes a tool to determine their liberty, therefore creating self-determination to achieve what is acceptable; services offered by them turn into occasions to prove to themselves how capable they are of creating a free space for their liberty. This is a hypothetical liberty, which needs to resist overt threats, to assist, and be humble in order to be accepted as the price to pay for their liberty. From my observation, while telling me about resistance to threats to get appreciation, a child cried because of the pain of sacrificing herself for her freedom.

Hence, there are factors contributing to children born from rape's constraints to their liberty, such as abuse and abusive attitudes and behaviours, the permanent presence of abusers constituting traumatic images for children, deprivation of children rights to play, which constitute a spectrum of tools oppressing children, limiting them from feeling free. However, children's resilience motivates them to be engaged in activities to fight for their freedom, such as overcoming threats through offering service, humbling themselves, etc. despite the challenges and sacrifices, to grant a space for their appreciation to get freedom from others, freedom under conditions, a hypothetical liberty.

8.4.1 Representation of abusers' images in children's minds and attitudes adopted to manage their effects

Most children born from rape consider their abusers as traumatic images that hardly deserve trust. As such, being face to face with abusers raises emotions expressing stress and trauma, although some of them are indifferent or positive. Each child has a particular attitude, however.

Emotions rise in the abusers' presence: The presence of abusers provokes feelings according to the image that children have of them. Some in the presence of abusers have positive emotions, but the majority develop negative emotions. Most children consider abusers as the first challenge to their self-improvement in every domain. When asked if there is difference between them and other children and what kind of thought they always have when seeing their abusers, they answered:

“I do consider them like my enemies, I hate them” (ChIM15) ...

“The fact that they are chasing me from school because I'm lacking money. If my mother doesn't work for other people to be paid, I can't get money to pay my school fee, there is all the difference between me and other children” (ChIM16) ...

“Yes, there is a difference between me, and children not born from rape according to the words they fling at to me. They are threatening me as if I’m nothing, not a human being, null, someone who won’t be able to do anything in her/his life” (ChIM17).

Hatred has developed from the abusers’ threats against children born from rape. Hence, feelings of hate, when in front of the enemy, and abuse become two sides of the same coin, a reciprocal attitude. Given that children are considered as abnormal human beings, useless human beings, all threats follow this trend, a range of deprivations from the basic needs up to all human rights benefits to be recognised to them. This raises children’s trauma and every negative emotion against abusers, who keep accusing them of being the source of their misfortune. In this regard, children do not see at first glance their own responsibility to overcome abusers’ depictions. Nevertheless, there children who have positive emotions in front of their abusers, even though this category is still a minority. They expressed their emotion as follows:

“When I’m in front of abusers, there is no problem because I feel well. My heart is at peace, calm. Like when I’m with my friends, mother, and uncle, etc.” (ChIM18) ...

“I keep on believing that one day, they will consider me like a human being” (ChIM19) ...

“I understand. Now, I allow them to do what they want to do to me. That’s what I tell myself” (ChIM20)

... “I always dream how it could be so heavenly, marvellous for me to play with those children, my agetates, speak to them, etc. It could be interesting if we could move from our neighbourhood to another one” (ChIM21) ... “If I couldn’t be working for them at home, they could have been chasing me away a long time ago” ... “If they would love me, they could be playing with me. We could be playing together” (ChIM1).

Children who have positive emotions while in presence of abusers strongly believe in a future reconciliation opportunity and healing process for their traumatic relationships. Their positive dream, connected to that future hope, strengthens, and keeps up their emotions vis-à-vis abusers. Their strong resilience contributes significantly to maintaining this positive emotion. Others are more confident in the service rendered to their abuser as maintaining them in a good position and boosting positive emotions. Positive dreams and results from their service to abusers positively change their mindset and make them more resilient while perceiving abusers in front of them. They therefore develop peaceful emotions, feeling, very calm, blissful, etc. and are in advance openly prepared to get into a future reconciliation process as dreamed, and eager to see it realised. But some are still on a quest to understand the motive of abusers’ attitudes against them:

“I usually ask to myself, why do my uncle, aunts not want to talk to me but talk nicely with other children of my uncles and aunts” (ChIM2) ...

“I start questioning myself if we were born from the same mother with my half-brothers” (ChIM3) ...

“I ask myself the reason that I was born. I say if they could only stop discriminating against me. I think, it’s because of their insults that people in my neighbourhood have insulted me as well” (ChIM4).

Existential question on the reasons for their birth, on the fact of being half-siblings to abusers, and the uncertainty of that fact, on the lack of proper collaboration: all those questions rise in children's minds and make them perplexed, without any clear position.

However, the majority of children have developed negative emotions while in the presence of abusers, such as a return of abusive memories, the need for revenge, etc. and the most dominant emotion is that of bringing back traumatic events, reminding them of their position held vis-à-vis their abusers:

"I think very badly. I tell myself if I had a father, he could protect me" (ChIM5) ...

"I always think that they will sell me out or kill me. When their mothers give me food, I refuse to eat it because I think they have poisoned it for me to die. I don't trust them, even their children" (ChIM6) ... "When I see them, because they told me that they will kill me, I always think about that word. I think and consider them nefarious, able to kill me" (ChIM7) ...

"I think, they will hurt me again (give me poison again and try to kill me)" (ChIM7) ... "I think, it's because I'm a Hutu child; that's why they are insulting me. Yet, a Hutu person is wicked one, nefarious. For me, I do consider that I'm not the child of a wicked person, a person that people don't appreciate" (ChIM9) ...

"I think about insults that I've experienced. I feel my heart grieved" (ChIM10) ...

"I always think that they will accuse us falsely as we don't have anyone to plead for, defend and protect us" (ChIM11).

For most children born from rape, being in the presence of their abusers keeps the traumatic image permanently awake, reminding them how they are hated, not appreciated, seen as wicked as associated with their fathers, not considered, undermined, bullied, and may be facing death. Hence, in the presence of their abusers, children born from rape feel vulnerable, lacking protection, exposed to death, and lacking confidence. and. This attitude produces many negative effects:

"I'm afraid of being beaten. I always run away" (ChIM12) ...

"I feel unsafe. I'm afraid of being chased away from home" (ChIM13) ... "I feel afraid of them. I think, they will catch me to take me to those killers" (ChIM14) ...

"Sometimes in my dreams, I see them coming to catch me. One day I had a dream. I saw a big car coming towards me and there were people jumping off the car to catch me in order to take me away with them" (ChIM15) ...

"I do consider them my enemies, bandits, wicked people, I have to avoid them otherwise they will make me suffer, chase me away during the night as they used to do. My blood will be upon their head" (ChIM16) ...

"I think that those people will bewitch us" (ChIM17).

The children are frightened by the abusers' presence due to traumatic memories that their presence brings back: causing nightmares and expecting to be abused more and more. This creates and develops in children an avoidance attitude, as they try to protect themselves against abusers' hurts. The most dominant feeling remains permanent insecurity, an unstable mind, lack of self-confidence, and resistance to abusers' behaviours against them.

Sometimes, for the sake of protecting themselves, they think about taking revenge as narrated:

"I don't even want, need to hear from them, I don't bear with their presence of seeing them" (ChIM18) ... "I get angry and tell myself, if only I was strong enough, I would beat them properly to make them respect me and stop maltreating me. I feel like I'm about to jump on them and beat them" (ChIM19) ... "I get angry. I think at that moment, if my father was here, none of them would mock me like this" (ChIM20) ...

"I'm angry. I think it's because of them that my stepfather does not pay my school fees" ... "I think very bad thoughts. I think of taking revenge against them" (ChIM21) ...

"If my mum would blame them, in the neighbourhood, people wouldn't be criticizing and discriminating against me" (ChIM1).

Children have developed great hatred against abusers, thinking of taking revenge to protect themselves, for their safety, to impose respect and stop abuse against them. The presence of abusers raises deep emotion like anger and anxiety, and which go as far as blaming their mothers' lack of reaction against abusers, which motivates them to think about taking revenge as their mothers are unable to do so. This makes them think about the absence of a father as missing a proper symbol of protection able to secure their lives and compensate for their mothers' inability to protect them.

Others in turn, think about an auto promotion to protect themselves against abusers: "*There are times that I feel like my stepfather is not normal, has become crazy, because even when I call him 'dad', he answers me 'I'm not your father. Ask your mum where your father is and from where she brought you', ... as soon as he answered me like that, I think to get married as soon as possible*" (ChIM2). For some children, the only way to deal with the abusers' presence is to comfort themselves through an indirect response against their abusive attitudes and traumatic events. Thus, they react to abusers' behaviour which leads them to take that opportunity as an advantage to think further on their future lives and apply the decision as soon as they get opportunity to do so. Unfortunately, as they are still children, they could make the wrong decision due to lack of maturity, such as premature marriage. This gets them freedom from abusers and keeps children away from them.

Behaviour in front of abusers: The children have particular behaviours while in the presence of their abusers as they have previous experience of abusers' capacity of nuisance. Rare are those who can confront abusers either in a very strategic way or not like the following child, "*When the guy who gave us a house*

to stay started to menace us to quiet, I negotiated with him to let us stay there” (ChIM2). This is a rare attitude of children born from rape, to defeat abusers by this capacity of negotiation, attracting the abuser’s compassion and to make him give up the advantage to the abused – physically unempowered but strategically powerful to gain the abuser’s trust and compassion towards them. Apart from this case of a resilient child, the rest demonstrate an unempowered attitude while behaving vis-à-vis abusers. In reacting to abusers’ presence, a huge number of children born from rape are introverts:

“I feel unsafe, I keep quiet, I pretend to see him/her and listen to what is saying” (ChIM3) ...

“I kept quiet. Become sad. I put my hand against my cheek, I feel miserable, become pensive. I start thinking about my father” (ChIM4) ...

“Most of the time, I kept quiet. I stop talking to people or ran away from them. When I meet people while I’m running, I pretend walking as if nothing happened. When I’m alone, I restart again running. Or I hide myself for them to pass” ... “I kept quiet and obey what they tell me” (ChIM5),

... “There is times, I got angry or kept quiet only” (ChIM6), ...

“I kept quiet. Especially when he told me that ‘I’m the father of your brother, not yours’, I just kept quiet” (ChIM7).

Children born from rape behave by secluding themselves from abusers. Keeping quiet, developing listening, self-pity, isolation, constraint to obey to abusers, are the most dominant attitudes of those children in front of their abusers. Silence keeps children born from rape in a very pensive attitude, making them miserable, powerless to react to abusers’ actions as narrated below:

“I become sad, pensive, especially when I meet them on the road outside home, I greet them even if they won’t answer me. I always regret their way of behaving” (ChIM8) ...

“I felt grieved” (ChIM9) ...

“I behave like an orphan. Someone who does not have family. I feel pity for myself, I cry and go to sleep” (ChIM10) ...

“I feel grieved. I eat with one hand against my cheek. I feel sorry for myself” ... “I feel like dying is better than living” (ChIM11).

As introvert children, they are dominated by self-pity as a feeling while in the presence of abusers, which leads them to isolation, grievance, disappointment, sadness, desperation, a preference for death, and find it difficult to react against any abusive act or attitude and paralysed to stand up for their rights. This introvert behaviour increases their misery and disempowers them.

Others, however, try to avoid abusers:

“I walk far from them to avoid them” (ChIM12) ...

“I hide from them to avoid them seeing me” (ChIM13), ...

“Sometimes when they pursue me, I run away to hide in our house. When I see them, I feel very bad. I cry. I feel like following my mum to the place where she went” (ChIM14) ...

“I run away because my mum told me if I see them, I have to run away to avoid them catching me even if they insult me” (ChIM15) ...

“I’m still sad. Stay alone at my own place” (ChIM16)

... “I stay at home; I won’t leave any more. Or I go to weed the farm for people to stop undermining us” (ChIM17) ...

“I run away from them to avoid them beating me” (ChIM18) ...

“I just look at them. As I couldn’t do anything, I left and went somewhere else” (ChIM19).

Introversion has produced effects on children born from rape that hinders them from avoiding abusers’ contact, avoiding being criminally hurt, and escaping and hiding from abusers’ wickedness.

Hence, children born from rape’s behaviour in the presence of abusers is more introverted as in advance they are aware of abusers’ capacity for pain fragilizing them in advance from confronting abusers. Furthermore, children, being aware of their mothers’ weak capacity for protection or not receiving as much protection as expected, try to protect themselves by hiding, avoiding contact or through silence. This introvert attitude which motivates their behaviours becomes a mechanism of managing their behaviour in the presence of abusers despite how grieved or disappointed they are.

There is no hope to be expected from the presence of abusers. A small number of children born from rape remain indifferent while in front of abusers. Nevertheless, most children are indifferent to them as their presence can only bring trauma and every negative effect. Indifferent children are those who can minimise abusers’ traumatic presence, as narrated:

“I am still indifferent to them” (ChIM20) ... “I’m still indifferent to them. Because I tell myself, God will take revenge for me” (ChIM21) ...

“I stay indifferent to them. Whether they speak against me or stop it, I don’t care about it even if my heart is grieved” (ChIM1) ...

“I’m still indifferent to them. I don’t care about them” (ChIM2) ... “I’m not indifferent. It’s them who are indifferent to me. I’m afraid about them because they don’t speak to me. At the end of the day, I don’t know what they think about me” (ChIM3) ...

“There is no hope that they give me. I’m still indifferent to them. I’m uninterested in them” (ChIM4).

An indifferent attitude is applied on both sides but mostly on the part of the abused towards the abuser than the contrary. Indifferent children do not think deeper about any negative alternative but rely on divine or unexpected intervention as a solution to their issues as they are unempowered to react against the abusers' presence. Before the divine intervention comes into reality, children try to manage the abusers' presence by diverting their attention from them and being uninterested in them. On the other hand, it happens that abusers have an indifferent attitude towards the abused, blocking communication between them which destabilises children, leaving them in a perplexed traumatic attitude, not knowing how to behave and actually fearing unpredictable actions against children. For the rest of most children born from rape, the abusers' presence brings them fear:

"I'm afraid when I see them. I'm worried to see them" (ChIM5)

... "I'm fearful. I'm afraid" ... "They made me afraid" (ChIM6) ...

"They made me fear, ... "I'm afraid of their behaviour. I always keep on asking myself what I did to them to deserve what I'm enduring" (ChIM7) ...

"I fear being chased from their house" (ChIM8) ...

"I'm very afraid of their insults" (ChIM9) ...

"I'm afraid of them when they tell me that I'm not from their family" (ChIM10) ...

"There is no hope. Rather, fear of being beaten, insulted by those children" (ChIM11).

Abusers inspire fear in children born from rape. Most can justify the reasons for their fear: the relapse of abusive behaviours, fear of enduring pain, trauma, and rejection, exclusion. Abusers' wickedness is the most feared by children born from rape. Moreover, children are fear for their lives, always targeted to be murdered, as reported:

"I'm afraid. I'm afraid of seeing them. I think I will die or be sold" (ChIM12) ... "They don't give me any hope. Rather, I'm worried to die outside my house. I tell myself; a chief remains a chief, that's his time. Me as well, I will have my time to react" (ChIM13) ... "I fear to be killed by them, those who speak against me" (ChIM14) ... "At that time, I felt in danger of dying. And I told myself, if only someone gives them poison, they will kill me without hesitation" (ChIM15) ...

"It brings me fear. I feared to see them. I lose courage for playing like other children. The fact that they speak against me, I fear to be prevented from having food, and unfair treatment" (ChIM16).

Deeply bothered, wanted so that they can be caught and sold or killed, children born from rape deeply fear the abusers' presence which represents death for them. Being aware of their evil project to terminate them, children are living in a permanent deep fear of abusers which has a double effect on children born

from rape. For some, they are and remain in the position of taking revenge due to the trauma endured, the dangerous life they are experiencing. Others just lose energy to act on their own because of the fear of the abusers' presence.

8.4.2 Dependence and support issues

Being asked, "On which structure or support do you depend to exist, live, and integrate into your family and community?", the most relevant supporters on whom children born from rape rely on are their mothers and mothers' families, able to motivate their integration and their basic need fulfilment. There are children who rely on their mothers only as narrated: "*I rely more on my mother*" (ChIM17) ... "*My mother*" (ChIM14) ... "*My mother*" (ChIM15) ... "*My mother only*" (ChIM16) ... "*Mother*" (ChIM17) ... "*Mum*" (ChIM18) ... "*My mother*" (ChIM19). Those relying on their mothers only are limited to external support from their family in their living area, as they and their mothers are both subjected to the same threat. This support is strengthened by love and mothers' attachment to their children. However, those who rely on their mothers *and* other people got support both from their mothers and mothers' families:

"I rely on my mother only and my aunt a little bit" (ChIM20) ...

"My uncle (stepfather's brother). At least him, he bought for me one day a T-shirt. The aunt bought to me shorts. My grandmother gives me food like my mother" (ChIM21) ...

"My uncle (mother's brother), grandmother and my half-brothers" (ChIM1) ... "My grandmother and my mother" (ChIM2) ... "My mother and grandmother" (ChIM3) ...

"My mother, my friend as well" (ChIM4) ...

"My mother and the persons who offer me work to do for them" (ChIM5) ...

"My mother and grand-mother" (ChIM6)

... "My mother and her brother who gives me food when my stepfather refuses to let me eat and prevents me from eating" (ChIM7), ...

"My grandmother and two other persons: the one who gave us a house to stay in and the other one who allowed my mother to go to his farm to glean food" (ChIM8) ...

"My friend and mother only. Because my friend advises and consoles me. My mother takes care of me" (ChIM9) ...

"My aunty because at her home we can eat, me and my mother. Even my mother as she works to take care of me" (ChIM10) ...

"My mother and grandmother who take care of me" (ChIM11).

Mothers who have support from their families, and other people in their neighbourhood helped their children benefit from their larger relationships in the community. Mothers' supports automatically become advantages to children born from rape composed of mothers themselves, their family members' support

such as fulfilment of basic needs, despite how poor they are, and children's friends due to their advice and consolation. Here children are not only benefiting from their mothers and mothers' family members but also are learning some skills like a sense of sharing. This constitutes the first realm in which children born from rape can get the psychological, physical, material, and emotional, supports for their integration mentioned below.

Based on kinds of support (material or non-material) they would like to get from their supporters, their eager answers were clearly based on the improvement of their human capital to value themselves and boost their self-integration process, referring to their needs and wishes, as narrated:

"I'm the third born of my family. If I could study, one day I would be able to organise my life"... I like going to school. Well dressed, eating well also" (ChIM12) ...

"I like studying but I've never gotten a chance to get someone who will send me to school and pay my school fees" ... "I dropped out of study at grade 4 because of the lack of money" ... "I like studying. I've never been to school" (ChIM13) ...

"If I was studying, after leaving school, I could go to farm but not have cultivating as my main activity" ... "I like being well dressed and eating well. I don't like carrying stuff to be paid as my mother used to do and ask me to help her to do so. I don't like the fact that we don't have a farm to cultivate" ... "I like studying, doing small business, breeding animals and cultivating at the same time" (ChIM14).

Children expressed their needs, especially basic needs, by prioritizing education as a human capital which could impact and improve the rest of their lives. Children need better lives to defeat their misery and live as any other normal human being. Expressing their need therefore becomes the expression of their lives' desperation. These are the reasons justifying their wishes for their mothers' involvement in the fulfilment of their basic needs, related to the three dimensions of human capital, material, and emotional issues.

The majority (or 78%, 14 out of 18 children born from rape) or need improving their human capital, mostly through education:

"I need her to pay for clothes and my school fees" (ChIM14) ...

"I need her to pay my school fees and provide food, clothes, etc." (ChIM15) ...

"May my stepfather feed me and pay my school fee as well" ... "I would like her to pay my school fees" (ChIM16) ... "If she can get shoes for me, pay my school fees" (ChIM17) ...

"May my mother pay my school fees. I need her to buy good clothes for me. I don't even have a bed sheet to cover me in the night when it's cold, I'm suffering (ChIM18) ... "I need my mum to pay my school fees, feed me" (ChIM19) ... "May my mother feed me, pay my school fees" (ChIM20) ... "I do prefer my mum to pay my school fees, feed me, provide a good place for me to sleep" (ChIM21) ... "May she pay my school fees, clothes and food" (ChIM1) ... "May she get for me someone who will support my study" (ChIM2) ... "If she could get money to pay my school fees, feed me and get clothes for me" (ChIM4) ... "May my mother feed me, pay my school fees" (ChIM3).

Almost every child who has participated in this research needs have proper basic needs taken care of. The most important is education, to enhance their human capital. Educational conditions improvement for the 4 out of 18 who are studying, and education assistance for the 14 out of 18 of those who are not studying are in much needed for those children. Every child prioritizes education as the first need to be fulfilled. Education is relevant as it equals their safety, granting acceptance, integration in a new environment, inclusion, and improvement of their relationships. Education is more valuable to children born from rape as it impacts and determines their lives in their mothers' community. This constitutes their first level of inheritance from their mothers and mothers' families. Besides education, there are other basic needs which should be associated and not separated, which are food security, habitation, and clothes which are also important as their health and appearance contribute to enhancing their value in their living environment.

Some children raised this need in particular as mentioned below. Material needs are as relevant as human capital needs for children:

“I need material, food and clothes” (ChIM4) ...

“Clothes to wear, wear properly like other children, health care, food. Study, it's the only thing that I wish I can get from parents” (ChIM5) ... “She is working for other people to get money to take care of me (food, clothes, etc.) (ChIM6)”

... “May my mother feed me properly, pay for clothes” (ChIM7) ... “If we can get our own house to stay in. if she can feed and buy clothes for me” (ChIM8), ... “I won't feel bad if my mother could give me money to start a small business” (ChIM9) ... “May my mother feed me properly, pay clothes” (ChIM10) ... “If we can get our own house to stay in, if she can feed and buy clothes for me” (ChIM11) ... “I need from her money for me to start a small business” (ChIM12) ... “If my mum can supply me with food, clothes for me, ... and give me money for a small business and study” (ChIM13) ... “give me money for a small business” (ChIM14).

Children always associate education with other basic needs like clothes and food which are needed for them to survive. Because of the unfulfilled needs, children tend to look for a financial activity to cover their need despite being underage, an immature child. Above all, children need emotional support for their psychological stability:

“If she can find where we can live in peace, treated well and love me like other children in the house and family” (ChIM15) ...

“May my mother help me to convince other children to play with me. because they hate me” (ChIM16)

... “Help me to fetch water as my agemates bully me on my to fetch water from the river” (ChIM17) ...

“I wish my mother could get me somewhere to stay as my stepfather considers me like a house worker, a maid. For him, I'm a free labourer. Money, I gain from my small job has become a source of problems” (ChIM18) ...

“If I leave home that’s another problem because my mum will suffer a lot. My father will menace her to bring me back as I’m the one who is contributing to feeding people in my house and fulfilling other needs” (ChIM19)

... “I blame my half-brother for their bad, discriminatory behaviour and treatment against me” (ChIM20)

... “If they can consider me like their biological sister and an entire human being” (ChIM21) ...

“Take me somewhere where we will live in peace” (ChIM1) ...

“May she help me to calm my emotions and heart when I’m worried. Peace from my half-brothers and other people in the neighbourhood, even emotional support, I should find from her” (ChIM2).

Other needs, such as psychological and emotional, are also needed by children. They need peace of mind as they have been always traumatized either by not being considered, or by being considered as slaves, houseworkers of the families. They would need protection, defence and safety, acknowledgement of their humanity, facilitation of cooperation with their agetates, psychological support and emotional stability, and improvement of their freedom and self-esteem, which are so valuable as those are the missing pieces of their lives’ puzzle.

Mothers as the primary supporters of children’s process of integration are supposed to assist children, who trust in their efforts to contribute to their integration despite the weakness of the mothers’ acceptance as well. This may seem to be a complex process of relying on someone who may not or would not succeed in helping, providing, or satisfying the needs, but because of children’s confidence in their mothers and being witness to their attachment and love towards their children, they truly believe in their mothers’ support.

For children, if only those three needs are fulfilled or assisted to be fulfilled by their mothers and mothers’ families, on whom they rely first, their lives will be transformed for the better, and perfect. Their suggestions on improving human capital, material, emotional and psychological needs as fundamental, basic needs is all they need for their social integration in their mothers’ families and local community. Children show how satisfied they would be if those three levels of their lives were supported by their mothers.

Responding to the question of “Can those supports make you feel that you are living a normal life?”, one hundred percent of children answered with a big YES! Others even tried to intensify their answers by saying “*That is more than enough for me to live normally*” (ChIM3) ... “*Yes. If I have a matric and they feed me properly, I won’t be upset, bothered*” (ChIM4) ... “*Yes. I can live normally like other children*” (ChIM5). Some others responded with much excitement and more confidence (researcher observation).

8.4.3 Vulnerability and risks to rely on others for their social integration process

“How vulnerable do you feel relying on them for you to feel integrated into your mother’s family and community?” To this question, the children’s trend was mostly oriented toward avoidance of both weak abusers and weak supporters to assist their integration process, instead relying on powerful people, either abusive or supportive, as this enhances their vulnerability, bringing hope even though it is challenging to meet their expectations.

Preliminary values to the integrative process: Vulnerability management: Children born from rape’s first impression of the sort of people who could and would constitute their supporters through the process of social integration lies in the influence that those supporters could have on their families and communities. On the issue of vulnerability, from their experience, children born from rape have acknowledged that most of the expected supporters are too weak to integrate them into their families and community, starting with their natural supporters like their mothers:

“Depending on, relying on my mother for me to be integrated into our family is not enough” (ChIM1),

“My mother does not have enough things; I don’t have someone else to take care of me. I don’t think that through my mother or relying on her I will be integrated into this family or be in good relationship with my uncles and aunties who don’t accept me. Even in our neighbourhood or community, my mother won’t be able to help me be accepted” (ChIM2) ...

“I don’t trust my mother and uncles to help me to integrate into their family” (ChIM3) ...

“No! I can’t rely on my mother for people to stop insulting me, telling me that I’m a Hutu child” (ChIM4)...

“My mother would be able to help me integrate the community if she could blame and dissuade people in my neighbourhood to stop provoking me. My neighbours because of their provocation won’t help me to integrate into the area as well” (ChIM5).

Children born from rape do not expect any positive contributions from their mothers as agents of their integration process, either in their families or in their local community and in improving their relationships with abusers. Mothers seem to be powerless, undermined by abusers, too limited by their miserable conditions to influence any positive change for their children to be accepted. For them, only those who have a strong personality, power to confront and subjugate abusers would be able to contribute to the children’s integration process. Children do not trust their mothers’ efforts. They need more than a mother (love, attachment, basic needs fulfilment, etc.); they need direct fighter mothers for their integration process, who have a strong personality and who have overcome their victimization in order to contribute to their integration process to make children accepted.

Children do acknowledge mothers' efforts to care for them, but not to help them integrate into their families and local community. Nevertheless, the fact that mothers could assist children to get education is an indirect expectation for children to integrate into their mothers' families and local community. Indirectly, mothers' values added to their children's lives could contribute further to their integration process. This self-integration process could come from mothers' effort to fulfil their duties as reported, *"My study can contribute as well to my integration. If my mother could pay my school fees, this could further help me to integrate into their families"* (ChIM6). Education could enhance children value, which will by itself allow children born from rape to integrate and therefore positively transform their acceptance and relationships. Hence, human capital is still relevant to the children's integration process, whether in the short or long term.

Apart from their natural supporters, who are their mothers, children born from rape do not expect other persons to help them integrate into their families and local community.

"No! if I rely on those who don't love me, I won't be able to integrate the family. There is no one who can help me integrate my family or my mother's husband family" (ChIM7) ...

"No! because they don't love me. As me and my mother are not at home today, in our neighbourhood they will say that we went to get assistance from an NGO" (ChIM8) ...

"No! I don't think that those half-brothers who are making me suffer will help me to integrate into their family as they don't consider me as a human being" (ChIM9) ...

"I don't think about relying on them for my integration in the family" ... "I think if they can accept my integration, as they hate me" (ChIM10) ...

"They are not able to contribute to my integration in the neighbourhood" (ChIM11) ...

"My half-brother can't help me integrate into the family, and less to integrate into the community" (ChIM12) ...

"They are not able to help me integrate as they are even not willing to approach me" (ChIM13).

For a strategic tactic to integrate into their families and local community, children do not expect to get any positive support from abusers. For children, it is contradictory to count on abusers, those who have negative attitudes against them, for their integration process. Contributions to children integration process require conditions such as love, acceptance, consideration of the child's humanity, closeness, etc. In contrast, any person who is animated by hate, lack of love, lack of consideration of the child's humanity is not able to contribute to the integration process. which is a matter of love, acceptance, respect for humanity, consideration, and the quality of relationship existing between the seeker and the provider or facilitator of the integration process.

Stepfathers in particular could be in the position of contributing to the integration process of children born from rape, as narrated:

“My stepfather is able to help me integrate into the family because if only he accepts me, everybody in the family will accept me as well because they will be influenced by him” (ChIM14) ... “I don’t think that my stepfather will help me to integrate into the family because he himself maltreats me” (ChIM15), ... “It’s all depending on them, I won’t be able to because even if I ask for forgiveness from my father, once he is drunk, he will chase me again from the house” (ChIM16)

... “I’m not sure that my stepfather’s family will allow me to integrate into their family and live in peace” (ChIM17).

Children trust that stepfathers could contribute to their integration process, but under conditions as well. Stepfathers are powerful persons in the families and community and the most influential persons. The acceptance of children born from rape by their stepfathers is enough to boost the process. Contrasting but true, their power has the same influence when they reject children: children are automatically rejected by their mothers’ household, stepfathers’ families and more in their local community. Children need the willingness of their stepfathers to boost their integration process. On their own, children seem to be weak, less likely to influence their integration process due to the powerless position they hold. This is despite their efforts towards the integration process. As reported by some, *“I’ve tried everything I could for me to be accepted, but people don’t accept me in my neighbourhood. They don’t accept me only”* (ChIM18). There is a deadlock throughout the process due to the lack of acceptance obstructing self-effort in the process.

Hence, children’s integration process is a matter of values such as humanity consideration, communication, dialogue, closeness, willingness, or value enhancement, acceptance, trust between seekers and provider, and a facilitator of the integration process contributes efficiently to boost it. This has a positive transformative effect on abusers’ attitudes towards children’s integration process. Power is the most relevant value in cases of no expectation of an integration process. Power is needed where there is no will allow children to integrate fully into their mothers’ families and local community. The person in a support position should be powerful to influence other acceptance. Authoritarian mechanisms could be applied here to boost the integration process. Also, stable, peaceful relationships free from violence, and the willingness of other people by whom the integration process is negotiated, is relevant to achieve the goal.

Relationship re-establishment - challenge and hope: Challenges are related to the risk of relying on their abusers for such a process. Children have acknowledged this when asked, “Is there any risk you feel in engaging in such a process of being closer to your abusers?” Their overall answer is that despite the deadlock in the process to integration of children born from rape, there is hope to go further and get through the process. However, there are challenges that children born from rape have raised for a successful integration into their mothers’ families and local community. The integration process deadlock has two major challenges,

which are children's attitudes of avoiding being hurt and the unexpected response to their endeavours to re-establish their relationship for their integration. The first obstacle lies in children born from rape's attitude of self-reluctance to try the process, as narrated:

"The risk is there! When I'm alongside them, I feel as if there is a pain which is hurting my heart because they don't count me as a member of their family. Myself, I don't agree with the re-establishment of our relationship with them because of the risk that will occur, the one of grieving my heart every time" (ChIM19) ...

"Trying to re-establish our relationship and start approaching them has a risk. I'm afraid of being accused falsely as usual. If something gets lost, they will say I'm the one who stole it again" (ChIM20)

... "I don't like living alongside my half-brothers as they don't love me" (ChIM21) ...

"There is a risk! Even if they pretend to consider me as their friend, my grandmother prevents me approaching them to avoid them hurting me" (ChIM1) ...

"It's not good trying to re-establish our relationship because the risk is that they keep insulting me" (ChIM2) ...

"It is so risky. If I try to re-establish our relationship, I risk them killing me as they don't love me, they don't bear with me. that's what could happen" (ChIM3).

The huge emotional deadlock in the process is the unwillingness of children born from rape to commence the process. Traumatized by abusers' threats, children are in advance frightened, and demotivated to try any initiation which will put them closer and cohabit. For some children, this won't work as they are targeted with extreme violence, even murder. To prevent themselves from being hurt, they prefer not to try, as they risk the relapse of the traumatic events. From this position, children on their own block the process to re-establish their relationship and cohabitation.

Desperate to positively influence abusers' change for their good, and worried about the lasting abusive behaviour against them, this reduces the chance of change:

"The risk is their abusive attitude which won't change. They won't change their attitude because they will say 'it's because of wellbeing, interests, advantages you can get from me, that's why you come to negotiate'. That's the risk of trying to re-establish our relationship" (ChIM4), ... "The risk is their wicked heart and attitude towards me" (ChIM5) ... "The risk is to keep on insulting me again, more and more" (ChIM6) ... "The risk is to increase abuse against me, ... this family bothering and disturbing me too much" (ChIM7).

As they do not master and do not have control over abusers' reactions, prejudice constitutes another level of deadlock in the process. Children's attitude to the process is central to either confront or remain reluctant. For most children, trying to commence the process seems to be a vain endeavour, but there is a small hope for the process that could be exploited.

Rare are those who do not see any risk to start the process as reported,

“I don’t have idea about the risk that I can experience. I don’t think that there is any risk” (ChIM8) ...

“I don’t have any idea about the risk that could be experienced” (ChIM9) ...

“There is no risk” (ChIM10) ... “There is no risk. On the contrary, it will be okay” (ChIM11).

Those who do not see any risk in re-establishing their relationship for their integration focus on the advantage that they could gain, ignoring the unpredictable reactions of abusers, or just lack initiative to start the process instead of focussing on the disadvantages as challenges to the process. Some reported,

“There is no risk if it is my mother who helps me to make it happen” (ChIM12) ...

“Trying to re-establish our relationship (uncle, aunt, and me) will make me blissful” (ChIM13) ...

“There is no risk to try re-establishing our relationships. I will always be approaching them” (ChIM14).

Even though some need to be supported to get their integration process started, children who focus on the advantages motivate themselves to achieve the process. Advantages become their motivation to overcome challenges to accomplishing their process. This reduces the risk of failed negotiation and prepares children to confront the process hoping to live a better life of relationship re-establishment and cohabitation. Expecting the best through positive change demands a positive mind, a strong personality, resilience, and being ready for change.

8.5 Cultural influence on children born from rape’s social integration and consequence of children’s mistreatment exposing community to the increase of criminality

Cultural norms have a strong influence upon integration of children born from rape, justifying the rejection and maltreatment of children through customary norms instead of resorting to modern law that protects children. Community leaders and traditional law-keepers’ perception on children born from rape social integration explains causes and manner of this particular category of children have been considered as such, mistreated. On the other side, children being violently abused, rejected by their relatives and community have learnt violent way, applied violent approach to protect themselves.

8.5.1 Community leader's perceptions of child social integration

Traditional practices or customary law is the basis on which the community addresses the issue of children born from rape and that of their rape survivor mothers.

Cultural perception of child born from rape: Culturally, children born from rape don't have any particular value in the community, as community leaders reported: "Culturally, they mean nothing. They are considered as incapable, powerless persons, without any value. They are those who have been hated. Called Mushana Ngozi⁸⁶, a picked-up child" ... "A picked-up child has affected, provoked stepfathers' behaviour and ways of reacting against them. That's a justification of stepfathers which mistreat them and don't grant any value to them" (CLFGD). Children born from rape are considered as worthless, lacking identity. As such, no value is granted to them, but in contrast, they are accused of disturbing individual and relational harmony and of being the cause of their own abuse. In other words, as they mean nothing to other people, and their presence is enough to provoke people's negative emotions or abuse against them. Stepfathers, for instance, take advantage of this perception to abuse them, which maintains them in abusive relationships.

Limited advantage from children born from rape: community perception: Being aware of the consequences of having children born from rape in the families and community, the benefit of having these children has hardly been acknowledged by community leaders. Body language was the most expressive answer to this question as expressed here:

At this question every man kept quiet and scream? Some kept quiet, others screamed, some others made exclamations, others stayed thoughtful, others breathed deeply and were short of words. Finally, they spoke. "What good thing can someone say about a criminal or got from a criminal?" (CLFGD) ...

"We don't expect something good from those children" (CLFGD) ...

"Maybe as they are there to help us cultivate our farm, feed our cows because physically, they are strong" (CLFGD).

Great silence, deep breaths, exclamations, being astonished, overthinking, being out of their mind and short of words to think about the benefit that they can get from these children expresses how desperate the community is from these children. There is no expectation that male community leaders or male traditional

⁸⁶ From Mashi tribe

leaders are expecting to get anything from them towards their families and community, and complete ignorance on the advantages from those children. The question calls upon their consciousness to examine the benefit to be got from those children, even if they seem never to have thought about it. Convinced by a complete acknowledgment of the dangerous presence of these children, they have already in advance lost any positive expectation from them. The only aspect of benefit they could expect from them is to use them as labourers, submitting them to slavery. From negative expectation of these children, male community leaders ended up by speculating and provided their position and argument on their expectations.

“Things that we experienced here don’t give hope. For example, Rwandan adults keep on saying that they will come back again to Kalonge to take over their lands as they will claim them back” (CLFGS)

... “There is a woman who passed away before yesterday in our neighbourhood. She was a Tutsi woman married to a Congolese guy. She had children with that Congolese guy and had lands here. One day they decided to go back to Rwanda to stay there after their father’s death. But their mother swears not to be buried to Rwanda the day she will pass away. When she felt like she is about to die, she asked her children to take her back to Congo, to Kalonge. She passed away here in Kalonge and was buried here. The day the mourning was over, her children said to us ‘We know that we have lands and goods here in Kalonge. One day, we will come back to take over all our goods and lands’” (CLFGS)...

“We have been experiencing many of those kinds of conflicts here in Kalonge. Conflicts from Rwandan children born on our soil. Especially those born at the period of our independence, around 1960” ... “That new generation of Hutu children are aware of the insults, that the community has been telling them indirectly their stories and origins, they will do the same” (CLFGS).

A radical, abusive, exclusive attitude of male traditional law keepers comes from community frustration from a long experience rooted into their conflictual story between Rwandan children who have turned later into enemies of the Kalongo (Congolese) community who considered themselves as victims of Tutsi cruelty on their soil. Fearing to become once more victim of the same people originating from Rwanda and avoiding a second wave of criminality of Hutu rebels who recently subjugated Kalonge community using high cruelty, their children, Hutu children born from rape, have become victims of community frustration through rejective reactions using abuse and harsh exclusion. The community attitude is understood as a protective approach to escape the worst, but they have meanwhile trapped themselves in mechanism of protection, creating new abusers due to transmission of abusive attitudes influencing children’s cruel attitude against the community.

Thus, male traditional leaders’ language expressing their relationship to those children is folded into a dominative discourse fearing that they will take over again and dominate their community. They are assured of consequences of their abusive behaviour against those children, as the story is told to them is unfortunately via a wrong abusive manner. As mentioned above, the Kalonge population, due to the experience they faced regarding Rwandan foreign children,

he first wave of Tutsi children who later became rebels, integrated into Rwanda's army, and militias in Rwanda are afraid of a repeat story, a scene of war from this new generation of Hutu children born from rape, who will one day become enemies of the Kalonge community. Community abuse is therefore based on the assumption of history repeating itself, of evidence from past criminal experience such as claim of lands, goods, and the need to take over Kalonge people by a Rwandan Tutsi generation, as tangible proof of Tutsi and Hutu hegemony in their community.

Conflict of identity related to inheritance is still the core of the dispute influencing behaviour on both sides (lands and identity). Thus, male traditional law keepers, males of the community, male leaders, etc. prepare themselves to avoid the worst by limiting those children to small tasks that won't allow them to go further in their search for inheritance or identity, keeping them as labourers of the community for those resisting harsh exclusion, preventing them from cognitive capability (education) that could enable them to plan against the community.

"We do consider and use them as free labourers of the family" (CLFGS). As slaves, free labourers, the community limits their capacity of self-improvement. However, some male community leaders have acknowledged the wrong operative mode of dealing with the issue of children born from rape, which is the abusive rejective attitude. For them, the contrary attitude could save the situation, and the community: *"If those children weren't discriminated against and stigmatised, the peaceful cohabitation could contribute to prevent further wars and worries" ... "That could also contribute to socialise or to re-socialise those children in order to let them integrate properly into the community"* (CLFGS). Those who believe in a pacific approach for their integration confirm the fact that caring about those children could lead to peace and cohabitation with the effect of further avoidance of criminality from these children. This approach challenges the one of self-protection leading to violence. Thus, the community should be prepared for the consequences of each form of management to integrate children born from rape. Future peace cohabitation depends on the present treatment of those children born from rape, which will need a resocialisation of those children, a psychological intervention to integrate children into the community to prevent violence.

Child born from rape's influence on culture and morale modification: Their presence has a modifying effect on cultural practice, which is the core node of traditional values leading male perception, attitude, and behaviour towards these children. When I asked traditional leaders and community leaders about the cultural possibility of integrating those children into their genealogic line and how this can modify the culture, reactions from leaders were surprising in a negative way.

A wise man screamed and exclaimed "What? Mixing modern law and customs to integrate those children is astonishing me and gave me fright. I'm worried!" (CLFGS)...

“Introducing those children in our clans is to weaken our customs” (CLFGS)... “The thing that a father said, remains yes and unchangeable. Clan, it’s an issue of blood, it’s an abomination to mix blood. We can’t mix our blood!” (CLFGS)...

“Law and legislative law are an issue of white people, western civilization. For us, customs first!” (CLFGS)... “Law comes later and does not have the same value as customs. For example, alliance by blood (*kunyanana*), law can’t reach the energy of that alliance in terms of respect, etc.” (CLFGS)

... “Modern law could allow those children integrate into the clan. Because as long as a person is not yet accepted into a clan, the integrative process to get inheritance does not exist to him/her” (CLFGS)

... “From Mobutu, customs have a deep influence on the psychology of people, more than legislative law” (CLFGS).

Exclamative language expressed by those known as traditional wise men of the community, the traditional customary law keepers, from the kingdom of Kalonge community, shows how outrageous, scandalous, shocking is the issue of children born from rape’s integration into a community’s legitimate offspring. For them, integration of children born from rape into community offspring is first an issue of blood, not an issue of human rights. As such, the issue of blood becomes primordial, the basis of decision-making determining the acceptance and integration of those children, or not. Tradition and custom take precedence over any other system to integrate children into the family or community. Thus, integrating those children into their mothers’ families, into the local community, is seen as an abomination as the clan cannot mix blood. Tradition keepers worry that on mixing blood lies the worst consequences, which means in other words weakening custom.

Given that the integration of these children involves rights of inheritance and the recognition of being heirs, the issue of blood is therefore complexified when it is mixed with modern law. According to tradition keepers, custom considered as issue of blood carries energy that weight and cannot reverse, embedded into belief more than law (which is imported from outside) is.. Behaving contrary to custom, or prioritising modern law instead equals uprooting society from its values which becomes at first glance destabilizing and traumatizing. Deep custom melts to a psychological aspect of belief and constitutes a deadlock to children’s integration due to unequal energy between customary and modern law. On the other hand, mixing customary and the perceived western modern law, an unfitted and incorrect law to apply, frustrates those who are supposed to protect and integrate children, creating therefore a clash aggravating children’s soft exclusion through deprivation of inheritance.

Thus, acceptance becomes prior to an integrative process requiring equilibrium between traditional customary and the so called “white western modern law” which is an open door to children’s integration into the mother’s clan. Otherwise, modern law in terms of respect for human rights respect is seen as an imposition

which in the end will obstruct the process, their customary law. As some male community leaders saw the legal approach as an opportunity benefiting those children to the integrative process, the only strategy to resume the integrative process is through negotiation to find traditional male custom keepers' consent as common ground for integration of children born from rape.

Given that children have been abused day-to-day and do not have hope for their future due to the radical attitude of traditional male keepers who are embedded into a traditional customary respect, this has modified mothers' attitudes as well as the approach to taking care of their children born from rape as narrated:

"That discriminating behaviour has motivated women, mothers' survivors to develop a mechanism of creating heritage for those children. Women have started taking care of those children more than other children, which has created a new kind of conflict, division in the family among children and has increased anyhow discrimination against those children" (CLFGS)...

"We have been observing a new wave of creating heritage for those children despite the way of getting that heritage. Here in Kalonge, they are looking at any way to get something in terms of heritage to leave to their children" (CLFGS)...

"Women have reached the stage of stealing from their own husbands in order to get money and things for those children. They now develop a system of getting their own richness, investing in secret without making their husbands aware of the process and strategy or about the source of their richness for their children's heritage. That has led to divorce of some of those wives" (CLFGS).

Mothers' positions towards children's harsh/soft exclusion or rejection have developed an approach to overcome the abusive issue in order to safeguard and guarantee their children's future. Women have been using a positive discrimination based on special care of those children. Consequently, techniques to reach their goal, and the consequences of their positive approach, have been depicted as immoral and more discriminatory. Positive discrimination among children has created division and conflict between legitimate children and children born from rape raising negative emotions, and abuse against those born from rape.

On the other hand, women, especially those who are married, use a clever hidden approach to forcibly create a heritage, a forced investment for the children's heritage. To create an inheritance and grant space for the integrative process, mothers focus more on the goal, and less on the means to achieve their goal and even less on the consequences of the mechanism of integrating those children into families and the local community through inheritance. Surprisingly, this positive discriminative approach has strengthened women. They have become resilient and economically empowered, getting a sense of financial independence to achieve their goal. Meanwhile, they become vigilant, prepared to remove any consequences that could disturb their mechanism of forcing their children's integration. For instance, they are ready to divorce their husbands in case their hidden approach is discovered and not supported and negatively perceived by

their husbands. This is to show how determined some mothers are to grant inheritance and space and secure their children's integration into their families and local community for a stable identity. Mothers' positive discrimination has therefore been challenging the established traditional law preventing those kinds of children from inheriting.

Thus, mechanisms applied by both sides, traditional males and mothers on children have challenged the base line of traditional masculine rules set to manage children born from rape's acceptance and integration into the community, even though this means modifying cultural values. Traditional custom has been disturbed due to the complex issue of the presence of children born from rape, as narrated:

“Before a parent pass away, s/he used to share her/his worth. That's why even those children could get something of the heritage” (CLFGS)...

“Those children have found refuge in security services, militias and rebellion movements to protect themselves against the family's discrimination and killing issues” (CLFGS).

Because of the disturbance of traditional rules, traditional gender relationship disturbance (male and female disagreement on children social integration of children born from rape), and social relationship disturbance, community leaders ended up acknowledging the fact that there is an opportunity for those children to inherit, overcoming rules set. Here, they are calling upon a sense of humanity to solve and find solutions to acceptance and integration of children born from rape.

However, children experiencing negative discrimination and witnessing confrontation between positive and negative discrimination find themselves squeezed into conflictual relationships motivating them to search for and get a secured space for their refuge. Security services, rebellion and militias have therefore become for some children born from rape, especially male children, a way to integrate. Thus, the lack of male traditional leaders' flexibility on the customary law and the forced change provoked by women has created a clash that made children victims seek refuge in criminal groups to protect themselves in addition to their mothers' protection.

Source of community disturbance: As mentioned above, the presence of children born from rape has affected relationships, from the family roots in the community up to clans. They have directly or indirectly disturbed relationships: “*The issue of children born from rape has divided households, families*” (CLFGS)... “*It destroys marriages when the husband discovers that his wife has been investing secretly and without informing him for that child's legacy*” (CLFGS). Families and households are split apart, disturbing relationships from the roots. Children have been protecting themselves from the abuse by taking revenge or

get a powerful support, as reported: “Children on their side try to take revenge against the family which rejected them. Therefore, children look for refuge outside home and become street children”. Children are taking revenge against abusers to protect themselves, and others become vagrants in the community. On the other hand, cultural values have been modified due to the worry about mixing cultures:

“We are worried about the mix of culture, Rwando-Congolese culture. The reinstallation of those children born here in Kalonge a long time ago, around 1960, is still a very sad experience that we are still worried about. It was those children who went to support Kagame, the Rwandan President, to fight against Hutus to freed Rwanda. We are worried to go back again to that cycle of war (CLFGS),

“Those children are a bomb that will explode later. Previously, it was Tutsis but tomorrow it will be Hutus. It’s those children who will accomplish the balkanization project of the Congo” (CLFGS).

Community experience of previous wars around the independence period of Africa and that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo) did not leave them without negative reference. Given that foreign children from Rwanda born in DR Congo at that period who were left and grew up in DR Congo and have turned into rebels who went back to Rwanda to support the rebellion there in the 1994 conflict, has awakened traditional community leaders and provided them with evidence as an argument for rejecting the recent Hutu Rwandan children born from rape of. Their presence in the community does not convince elders to accept and integrate them into the local community. Worry about a mixed culture therefore becomes a strong feeling to reject them, accusing them of being criminal, from criminal genitors and going as far as incriminating them of a being further source of political balkanization of the DR Congo. There is here a mix of cultural and political issues aggravating rejection and reluctance to accept and integrate those children into local clans or communities and recognizing them as belonging to their mothers’ families.

8.5.2 Consequences of children’s maltreatment in the community: Community exposed to an increase in criminality

If maltreatment of some children born from rape has been cruel (up to causing their death), those alive have learnt to protect themselves using violence against people to balance their insecurity in their mothers’ community. To understand how the Kalonge community is exposed to an increase in criminality, statistics of children born from rape provides insight to get an image that can illustrate safety of the community of Kalonge. The Kalonge chieftaincy has six villages, which are Rambo, Fendula, Caminunu, Cibinda, Mule, and Cifunzi. The following demography includes the population of four of these six villages of Kalonge sector. Only four villages have been considered due to the high frequency of children born from rape. Villages that have a high number of children born from rape are Fendula, Caminunu, Cibinda and Cifunzi.

Table 8:1 Statistics of children born out of rape of Kalonge villages

N°	Villages	households	Sub-villages	Households	Household with CBOR	Houshold without CBOR
1	Cibinda	1504	Cibeshero	347	12	335
2			Bugaru	329	9	320
3			Misimba	203	-	203
4			Iremya	304	-	304
5			Muhaki	321	3	318
Sub-Total of five sub-villages of Cibinda					24	1480
6	Caminunu	2810	Bigizi	290	29	261
7			Lubombo	236	16	220
8			Kalonge	380	31	349
9			Candahi	200	15	185
10			Kanvunyi	360	6	354
11			Muganzo	188	13	175
12			Magunga	120	21	99
13			Nkono	236	26	210
14			Ciguko Bisisi	242	7	235
15			Ngenje	93	3	90
16			Kabukana	252	-	252
17			Cihira	213	14	199
Sub-Total of twelve sub-villages of Caminunu					181	2629
18	Fendula	3893	Kabingu	334	15	382/319
19			Mamba	246	59	187
20			Kazirhu	335	33	302
21			Kakunda	332	27	305
22			Mushadu	355	17	338
23			Kacuba	337	21	316
24			Ntulu	211	47	164
25			Rwamikundu	332	23	309
26			Magunga	251	9	242
27			Cibanda	238	13	227/225
28			Buhasha	213	22	191
29			Nshungurhi	221	31	182/190
30			Cibumbuji	173	7	166
31			Maziba	154	12	142
32			Centwali	161	9	152
Sub-Total of 15 sub-villages of Fendula					345	3548
33	Cifunzi	3416	Colobera	284	56	228
34			Bumoga	175	32	148
35			Mutale	145	38	102
36			Bulungu	121	22	98
37			Kashesha	297	59	239
38			Cigiri	116	12	104

39			Cirega	118	3	115
40			Butwashenge	152	17	135
41			Buguli	149	18	132
42			Mushingi	111	33	77
43			Nyatesa	101	19	82
44			Cirhulo	107	6	106
45			Mihinga	115	15	95
46			Mushadu	208	18	182
47			Lushenyi	222	21	209
48			Cibanda	112	5	106
49			Bweranvula	118	2	115
50			Bushahi	187	24	156
51			Karama	141	18	132
52			Misinga	125	21	99
53			Nguliro	65	17	53
54			Murhobo	93	20	70
55			Misinuta/Murhobo	79	7	75
56			Muvumo/Kajeji	75	3	72
Sub-Total of twenty-four sub-villages of Cifunzi				11623	486	2930
Total of four villages out of 6 of Kalonge groupement/chefferie ; 57 sub-villages					1036	10587

Source: investigation done by Mauwa Kimanu Josephine, Kujirakwinja Bafunyembaka Sylvain and the Officer in charge of census (recenseur)⁸⁷ of each village, Kalonge, South-Kivu, DR Congo, July 2019. **JK Mauwa's own compilation.**

Table 8:2 Children born from rape integrating into militias

N°	Villages	Sub-Villages	Name	Sex	Age	Study	Trend/behaviour
1	Cibinda	Bugaru	Francine	F	19	Not educated	Disturbing
2			Merci	M	15	Grade 7	Very capricious
3			Biko	F	16	Not educated	Disturbing
4			Bikulo	M	16	Not educated	Integrated Armed Group (AG)
5			Claude	M	16	Not educated	Integrated AG
6			Byetu	F	17	Not educated	Calm

⁸⁷Officer in charge of census from each sub-village of Kalonge chieftaincy.

7			Shamamba	M	18	Grade 5	Calm
8			Promesse	M	18	Not educated	Integrated AG
9			Profine	F	17	Not educated	Disturbed
10		Cibeshero	Jonathan	F	17	Grade 7	Calm
11			Neema	F	18	Not educated	Disturbed
12			Shukuru	M	18	Not educated	Integrated AG
13			Cakupewa	F	17	Not educated	Disturbed
14			Atosha	F	20	Not educated	Disturbed
15			Kesheni	M	17	Not educated	Integrated AG
16			Buzima	M	16	Not educated	Integrated AG
17			Reponse	M	20	Not educated	Integrated AG
18			Shukuru	M	15	Not educated	Integrated AG
19			Asifiwe	M	19	Not educated	Integrated AG
20			Dieu Merci	M	20	Not educated	Integrated AG
21			Germain	M	19	Not educated	Integrated AG
22		Muhaki	Rodrigue	M	20	Grade 7	Integrated AG
23			Dany	M	19	Not educated	Integrated AG
24			Levy	M	17	Not educated	Integrated AG

Source: investigation done by Mauwa Kimanu Josephine, Kujirakwinja Bafunyembaka Sylvain and the officer in charge of census (recenseur)⁸⁸ of each village, Kalonge, South-Kivu, DR Congo, July 2019. **JK Mauwa's own compilation.**

From the above tables, it can be seen that many households have children born from rape. Almost 10% of households, or 1036 household out of 11623, have each at least one child born from rape. However, there are some sub-villages where most male children born from rape have integrated into militia groups, such

⁸⁸ Officer in charge of census from each sub-village of Kalonge chieftaincy.

as Cibinda village. This village has 25 children born from rape, 8 girls against 17 boys, among whom 15 boys have integrated into armed groups or militias; i.e., 68% of children born from rape in this village have integrated into armed groups and 88% of male children born from rape have integrated into either armed groups or militia groups. This village can illustrate the reality of the trend for children born from rape to integrate into criminal groups, increasing therefore the insecurity and criminality in their own villages. Given that most of those children born from rape are not educated and do not have activities that occupy them, they are easily attracted by those criminal groups to get easy and fast money. For them, this is an opportunity to get position, refuge and self-protection against family and community abusers. In this regard, the community is paying the price of abuse and mistreatment of children born from rape, ; meanwhile, children as immature, are losing and destroying their lives. Hence, there is a reciprocal destruction between families, the community and children born from rape, a consequence of asymmetric abuse leading to destructive self-protection.

8.6 Abuse of children born from wartime rape obstructing their social integration

Social integration of children born from rape is a complex issue, which explanation fits under the ecological model of child maltreatment. The issue of child maltreatment is a phenomenon as old as mankind (Garbarino 1977), although the evolution in the field of child abuse inquiry has improved understanding of it. Dominated primarily from the beginning by clinical studies interpreting child abuse as pathological, then professional and public policies defining child abuse as qualitatively deviant from normal caregiving in which a child abuser means a psychopath (depicted in the sense of “only a crazy person would abuse a child”) (Garbarino 1977: 721), the theory has evolved toward a socio-ecological model which includes a range of layers that explain the complexity of child abuse in its extensive approach at four main levels including family, community, environment, and policy – in other words, microsystem, the mesosystem, the exo-system, and the macro-system (Aytur *et al.* 2021). For other scholars these four levels are named as individual, interpersonal, community and societal levels (Austin, Lesak and Shanahan 2020), which shape a child’s development. In this research, I use the socio-ecological theory to understand maltreatment of children born from rape at individual, interpersonal and community levels where children born from rape’s presence and interactions clash into abuses. The socioecological model is a framework to understand complex associations between multiple factors that affect health and development, contributing to the aetiology of maltreatment (Austin, Lesak and Shanahan 2020) in which divergent etiological viewpoints of child abuse stress psychological disturbance in parents, abuse-eliciting characteristics of children, dysfunctional patterns of family interaction, stress-inducing social forces, and abuse-promoting cultural values (Belsky 1980).

If the socioecological model provides concepts to understand the aetiology of child maltreatment, this is well done and understood in peacetime where discrete problems in families regarding child maltreatment can be identified and revealed. In wartime and post-conflict periods, children's maltreatment starts as a global issue but ends up being a group issue, and much more an individual issue, particular to each child under a condition of maltreatment. In general, the aftermath of war on children is devastating. Millions of children are left orphans, disabled, displaced, confined in refugee camps, incarcerated in concentration camps, or injured. Some are killed in war zones, millions face death due to an institutional crisis unable to care about issues of children's basic needs such as food, health, etc. (Plunkett and Southall 1998; Save the Children 2018). In such circumstances, the socioecological model clarifies child abuse at all the four levels. Nevertheless, understanding the issue of children's maltreatment as a group, like the one of those born from rape, from individual challenges that they have been going through in the post-conflict period in society more than 10 years later provides a clear illustration of the ecological model in a complex setting involving several layers of abusers with complex factors underlying their actions against children born from rape, as is the case in this study. This section discusses the issue of children born from rape, the complex configuration of abusers, reasons underlying the causes of abuse of children born from rape and the process toward their social integration.

8.6.1 Maltreatment: traumatic relationships

Post-conflict society is always characterized by many weaknesses and difficulties, from relationships up to the institutional level, making consequences hard to deal with, especially as policies and public health programmes have not yet systematically addressed issues of this population of children. Practitioners, academics, or scholars must boost the process to make policy makers take the issue into consideration and engage them in the implementation process applying the socio-ecologic model⁸⁹. In the case of children born from rape, the post-conflict period, their teenage age has caused to emerge issues of their identity, where

⁸⁹ An "ecological" approach can cope with the complexity of child maltreatment. The essential elements of such an ecological approach to human development can be detailed. First, an ecological approach focuses on the progressive, mutual adaptation organism and environment (Hawley, 1950). Second, it conceives of the environment topologically as an interactive set of systems "nested" within each other, and sees the prime dynamic shaping experiences as social reality. Third, it focuses on the issue of "social habitability- the question of environmental "quality" and the means for achieving it (Willems, 1975). Fourth, it asserts the need to consider political, economic and demographic factors in shaping the quality of life for children and families. Garbarino, J. 1977. The human ecology of child maltreatment: A conceptual model for research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 39 (4): 721-735.

genitors' antecedents have affected their intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships, breaking the connection of solidarity, support, and destabilizing harmony in their living environment.

8.6.1.1 Overwhelmed children born from rape abusers: complex configuration

Violence against children is complex and bound by multifaceted socio-cultural norms, values, practices, power relations, and structures, which are underpinned by strong, longstanding traditional tenets and beliefs alongside written formal laws (African Child Policy Forum and African Partnership to end violence against children 2021). Besides the complex layout of factors that children face, they have been encountered a complex range of actors. Children born from rape are confronted with a complex configuration of abusers who have been identified from their family, in their relationships, in their neighbourhood and in their community. The complexity of abusers is devastating in the sense that in each setting, there are many types of abusers. For instance, at the level of family, children born from rape have been dealing with four types of families. They have been confronted with some of their half-siblings from their mothers as the first level of their family, some mothers' family members such as uncle, aunts, mothers' relatives in the larger family as second levels of family. For those who have married or remarried mothers, their mothers' in-law families become their third families, composed of stepfathers, stepfathers' brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts of their half-siblings from their stepfathers, as well as their relatives from their mothers' in-law larger family. In the case of mothers who have lost husbands during the rape capture operation, for those who have widows' mothers who have remarried, they have been confronted with in-laws of their mothers' late husbands and the family members of that family as the fourth level of family. Outside their families, in the community, children born from rape have been dealing with their agemates in their neighbourhood, classmates, and adults in the community. As complex as the configuration of the family and people in the community is, this intensifies levels of fragile and unbearable relationships between children born from rape and their abusers in their living environment. This is the first major reason for children born from rape's insecurity and traumatic relationships.

Findings have shown the weak quality of relationships of children born from rape, embedded into various types of violence such as physical but primarily psychological. They have acknowledged the fact that they are hated to death, and their lives are in jeopardy due to nefarious attitudes and acts against them such as lack of love and tolerance, non-communication, non-acceptance, lack of sharing, food deprivation, bullying, social distancing, family splits, and other forms of abuse which are traumatic events, attitudes and behaviours experienced from their an early age when they are too immature to bear the burden of such psychological violence. Children born from rape experience deep, extreme violence and live in a constant, repeated traumatizing situation, with no hope of

ending. At institutional levels their issues are not yet taken into consideration or even known as such. Rohwerder (2019:2) asserts that “children born of wartime rape are at risk of violence, abuse, abandonment, discrimination, and marginalisation, at the hands of both families and communities. They often have less access to community resources, family protection and education or livelihood activities, and are likely to grow up in poverty” . Not only is the composition of abusers’ configuration higher, but also the issue is not taken seriously at community level. This intensifies their traumatic situation and lack of safety in their living environment. Even if at a younger age, children are not able to commit suicide, they are exposed to infanticide due to the poor quality of relationships and maltreatment. “Children born of rape may be neglected, stigmatized, ostracized, or abandoned. Infanticide may occur”(Denov 2015: 64) due to lack of support.

Because of asymmetric power between them and their abusers, their social support network is restricted. Menaced on every side by abusers, children born from rape lack support from their families (apart from the limited support that they can get, primarily from their mothers, and modest support from their friends, which are still weak supports due to the immature age of their friends and the state of victimization in which their rape survivor mothers live), and this does not allow them to feel comfortable and overcome their maltreatment in their community. Much more, those from whom they could get relief like substitute fathers, or stepfathers’ as symbols of support, are denying and declining every responsibility for caring about them. Garbarino (1977) argues that abuse perpetrated by "normal" individuals may be described as a form of situationally defined incompetence in the role of caregiver. It stems from the intersection of social stress and a relatively low level of skill as a caregiver.... Directly shaping the interaction of family members, the fact of denying and declining the responsibility of being a caregiver to children born from rape has to be taken seriously, as it goes beyond the simple fact of caregiver incompetence, as I will present in the following sub-section. In the socioecological model, a lack of social network is a tool to increase violence against victims, as the principal vehicles through which a support system’s functions are accomplished are social networks (Garbarino 1977). Therefore, being surrounded by abusers, children born from rape’s social network is still very weak, almost inexistent. This is the reason for the increase in their maltreatment squeezing them into isolation and all the consequences related to it. Also, a child's characteristics, their relationship to the perpetrator, and access to a supportive caregiver can also influence the effects of maltreatment (Englis 1988).

Experience of maltreatment is unique to each individual child, and reasons underlying hostility may also vary from one individual, one group or category of children born from rape to another. In the case of children born from rape in the Kalonge community, reasons like displacement of aggression of abusers upon children born from rape may justify the intensity and frequency of maltreatment. Hostile interaction sometimes occurs in a displaced manner not only directly

against the opponent but also against the representation of the opponent, called displaced aggression. Woollett and Thomson (2016) argue that “displaced aggression can occur when someone cannot aggress towards the source of incitements or provocation, and instead takes it out on some-indicated”. For instance, children who are experiencing displaced aggression whether from IPV or direct child maltreatment in their early life, are likely to repeat and re-experience violence, and it is very difficult to change the trajectory (Woollett and Thomson 2016). Their young age or young adulthood is influenced by parental rejection and most resort to violence as an appropriate approach to resolve conflict, as learnt from what they have experienced (Ehrensaft et al. 2003; Franklin 2010; Lünemann et al. 2019). In the case of children born from rape experiencing an overwhelming violence from every layer of their relationships, intrapersonal and interpersonal, from the closest relatives up to the community, they are affected internally and externally by violent attitudes and behaviour against them. Physically abused, children exhibit externalizing and aggressive behaviour problems. According to the findings of this research, powerless to take revenge against either their peers or other abusers, children born from rape pour out their anger upon their mothers by behaving aggressively and rudely, blaming them for either being powerless to support them (as they don’t understand the motive of abusers’ aggressive displacement over them), or for not being by themselves able to directly challenge abusers.

This attitude has raised difficulties in addressing their relationship problems, and it has maintained and worsened the weak quality of relationships with people, making children less socially involved, less socially skilled, less socially mature. When mixed with internal problems (psychiatric or psychological ones like depression, agoraphobia, and anxiety disorders, as maltreatment is still permanent and it is difficult to dissociate the time of being traumatised and when post-traumatic disorder starts), this complexity increases children’s developmental deficits in their relationships, with the risk of deficits in cognitive skills which could have long-term consequences even in their late adolescence and early adulthood due to multiple mental health problems. Hence, the maltreatment against children born from rape living in the Kalonge community is rooted in many sources, but the feeling that animates the abuse lies in xenophobic sentiments against the origin of those children born from rape embedded in a long complex history of war. War crimes and their consequences have produced many victims in the community in several ways and there is a worry of repeating the same story of crimes from foreigners throughout the history of the Kalonge community.

8.6.1.2 Xenophobic threat against safety of children born from rape

Xenophobic feelings as one of the major motivations and reasons underlying maltreatment of children born from rape cannot be a simple prejudice against people from another country or nation without involving antecedents. Although mankind’s violent actions, behaviour, and attitudes have led scholars to consider

the causes of violent impulsion (like irascible behaviour, in which primordially, theories have focused reasons on inner forces in terms of needs, drives, and impulses, often operating below the level of consciousness) (Bandura 1971), cognitive factors have played an important role in maltreatment of children born from rape as historic antecedents and strategies to get rid of them have been mixed with impulsion and reasonable rational plans. The mix of impulsive, cognitive, and historical background of their origin and the context in which children born from rape were conceived has provoked xenophobic feeling against them in their living environment.

In fact, “children born of war commonly refers to children who have one parent usually the mother that is a member of the local community and the other parent usually the father that is part of a foreign army or peacekeeping force, have been born as result of armed conflicts throughout history, presently being born in ongoing conflicts and are likely to be born also in future” (Mochmann 2017: 321). As such, those who are already born, at their early childhood did not seem to be a problem for their community as social interactions had not yet taken place. Evidence has shown that at the very beginning of children’s maltreatment, in their early childhood, children born from rape’s identity problem was kept inside their mothers and/or their mothers’ in-law families, first with their stepfathers then with the rest of the stepfathers’ families, where the worst was done in term of risk of children born from rape losing their lives, being murdered. In their childhood, there was nothing on the surface that disturbed community harmony, peace, and safety. The pressure was put more on their mothers to authorise the murder to happen, up to being punished, sanctioned, and forced to comply to the will of criminal abusers.

Nevertheless, in their adolescent age, while children are at the age of interacting, their social interactions have provoked clashes which have intensified the configuration of the procedure of their maltreatment. Instead of directing maltreatment toward mothers first, then children, maltreatments were directed straight at children themselves and/or then to their mothers. Denov (2015) argues that children’s views on the mother-child relationship, their experience of community belonging and stigmatization in the post-conflict context, and the meaning and implication for social identity and legal citizenship remain largely unexplored, but the issue of xenophobia still in practice, menacing people at both levels, individual and relational, in the community is hard to cope with. Children have been accused wrongly, blamed for being engendered by wicked criminal genitors and therefore seen as deserving to be hated based on their Hutu morphology resemblance and based on their origin, the hated nationality of their genitors, which has created a disconnection in their feeling of belonging to their mothers’ community. Being repeatedly insulted due to their morphology and their fathers’ origin, constantly reminds children born from of not being part of their mothers’ community which is a traumatising issue for children who have only one parent on whom they must rely.

Despite the fact that xenophobia has a weak theoretical foundation, its normative concepts are symbolized by race, nation, ethnicity, and a culture which promotes self-centeredness? and constitutes precisely the kind of cognitive framework within which xenophobia is spawned, articulated, and disseminated (Wicker 2001). Commonly, the term is used to denote a dislike of foreigners, characterised by a negative attitude towards foreigners, a dislike, a fear, or a hatred (Harris 2002). Children born from rape, regardless of their age, have been hated for being born from a detested genitor first and foremost. Criminality that their genitors committed on Congolese soil and in the Kalonge community made their offspring hated, not because of their nationality, but because of the wrong done by their genitors. Since genitors are from another nationality, foreigners, committing those offences in a host country in wartime has been interpreted as humiliation of the host country, frustrating them. This has increased their hatred for their genitors as they defeated host men on their soil. Hence, the fear of repeating the same story of criminality with their offspring, has been transformed into hate against their children, a kind of displaced aggression over them, as asserts Sundstrom (2013): xenophobia terrifies the host who sees the possibility of a guest that will never leave and forever ruins the act of hosting, sheltering and giving sanctuary. The host community of Kalonge is terrified by the background story of the criminality of foreign Hutu rebels. The assumption that their attitudes and behaviours are passed on means that keeping their children would turn later against themselves. Hence, excluding the children and applying deprivation of nurturing would protect the community against the worst that could happen later. From this assumption stems the rest of the attitudes, such as denigration of individuals or groups based on perceived differences (Hjerm 1998: 336).

As mentioned above, xenophobia is a threat against belonging and identity in terms of cultural differences through exclusion when people expect inclusion, and seeking to justify such exclusion with porous arguments, stereotypes, stigmatisation and scapegoating (Nyamnjoh 2010). Confrontation between exclusion and inclusion wishes or needs has clashed into traumatic events, attitudes, and behaviours that children born from rape are not mature enough and too fragile to handle. Not understanding the reasons for being maltreated based on their identity has become the painful traumatic reality that they have been and will be dealing with for the rest of their lives. Findings have provided evidence of children's complaints since they have not yet understood the motives of abusers assimilating them to the wrong of their genitors that they do not know and to the offence that they are innocent of. The gap between claiming their innocence and the unfair threats, even murder, experienced from their families to their communities has provoked, maintained, and squeezed children into a traumatic perplexed style of life.

To forcibly exclude children born from rape from the Kalonge community, there are many arguments and scapegoating that have increased xenophobic tensions. The most relevant has been the cultural, customary practices to justify families' and communities' negative attitude. If in the typical model and form of African

xenophobia, like the one in South Africa, factors increasing xenophobic sentiments are still resource competition, poverty, relative deprivation, frustration with the government, mobilization and symbolic threat (Claassen 2017), factors that increase xenophobic sentiments against children born from rape seem to be the preservation of the culture, and avoiding the mixing of blood in the local community genealogies as I will develop in the following chapter. While modernisation theory and its teleological assumptions of progress and development are largely passé in serious scholarly circles, some organic intellectuals persist in protecting “ancestral customs” from historical deconstruction. It is for these reasons that any primordial or exclusionary claims of cultural difference based on assumed purity of racial or ethnic belonging are inherently problematic, even when understandable (Stolcke 1995). To exclude children born from rape from the “pure kinship” of their mothers’ patrilineage they have used the cultural argument to do so, even though the argument in itself is still weak as “making sense of cultural diversity without losing sight of shared humanity” is fraught with “formidable difficulties”(Stolcke 1995: 1).

Hence, xenophobic attitudes against children born from rape are operated in two main dimensions, done individually and collectively. The first dimension is personal xenophobia where individuals fear or resent foreigners. This is related to stereotyping of foreigners as socially undesirable people. The second dimension, of communal xenophobia, occurs when communities identify themselves as being different from foreigners, and hence they exclude them socially and culturally (Masikane, Hewitt and Toendepi: 202). Children born from rape in the Kalonge community, as well as others illustrated in other settings (like children born of wartime rape in Bosnia, Rwandan children born from genocidal rape, Northern Ugandan children born of wartime rape, children born from wartime rape in Iraq, children of Yezidi women (Rohwerder 2019), those in Sudan (Martin 2007a)) have gone through the two dimensions of xenophobia whose specific needs have largely been overlooked and unaddressed at local, national and international levels. However, the gap to fill and the contribution of this research to the broad literature based on children born of rape and xenophobic sentiments, is that the children born from rape in the Kalonge community in the eastern part of DR Congo are in danger of extermination from their mothers’ families up to community level, where there are going through a dehumanization process, depicted as animals not having a right to live; this is the dark side of xenophobic sentiments against those children that has not yet been discovered by scholars and practitioners outside the Kalonge community. This is one of the stages toward genocide that has not yet attracted the attention of institutions which aim to protect such children. This goes beyond the meaning of simple hate and fear of foreigners, but is much more a criminal pursuit, a crime against powerless immature children, a continuation of war crime which should be considered as a crime against humanity to enhance more protective policies.

8.6.1.3 Liberty obstructed

Children born from rape's freedom is conditional. They determine their level of feeling of belonging through liberty. However, they still not feel free to gather with other children for amusement, which is their indicator of being accepted, loved, cherished, and belonging to their mothers' community. Fragilized by xenophobic maltreatment, children born from rape's liberty is obstructed. Communal xenophobic sentiments have pushed people, mostly men, in the community like community leaders, customary law-keepers, stepfathers, and even some family members to consider them as free labour, those who deserve to serve people from their mothers' community. This is done purposely to maintain children born from rape in a position so that they will never be in the position cognitively and socially of leading their community. Keeping them uneducated, for instance, could contribute to achieving this purpose. They should remain in the category of shepherds, farmers to feed family and community cattle, taking care of farms and assisting to improve others' lives, whether inside the family or outside it.

The service that they must provide for the community differs according to the gender of children born from rape. If male, boys have been serving as free labour for the family and community, while girls have been serving through prostitution to take care of families. This has affected boys and girls differently in the approaches to their self-adaptation in the situation. Moreover, the transfer of xenophobic feelings from adults to children against their agemates born from rape have been manifested through deprivation, refusal of connecting to children born from rape through play in their living environment, isolating therefore those born from rape with all the consequences of this, and restraining the normal development of children born from rape to confront and challenge maltreatment in order to come out of a systematic maintenance of socio-cognitive inadaptation and exclusion.

In fact, if the law protects children born of war⁹⁰ and other children in wartime and post-conflict periods, as for instance, "States Parties shall ensure that persons who have not attained the age of 18 years are not compulsorily recruited into their armed forces" (United Nations 2001: 5), less has been said regarding specific

⁹⁰ Children born of war can be categorised in four main types: children of enemy soldiers, children of soldiers from occupational forces, children of child soldiers and children of peacekeeping forces. **Children of enemy soldiers:** These children are fathered by foreign soldiers who are located in the country or region and clearly defined as enemies. **Children of soldiers from occupational forces:** In this case the soldiers can be seen as enemies or allied, depending on the view of the local population. **Children of child soldiers:** In recent years, the topic of children born of child soldiers has reached the public agenda. **Children of peacekeeping forces:** The issue of sexual exploitation and abuse arose at the end of 2004 with the revelation that UN peacekeepers had engaged in such practices in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Mochmann, I. C. 2008. *"Children born of war"*. Cologne: CENTRAL ARCHIVE FOR EMPIRICAL SOCIAL RESEARCH.

protection of those born from rape, despite the numerous protocols and conventions protecting the rights of children⁹¹. Children born from rape have been purposely used as free labourers, as findings showed. While asking community leaders and customary law-keepers about the management of children born from rape in the Kalonge community, most of the answers depicted them as not having specific value in the community and as such, they must be kept being used as helpers of families and the community. For that reason, there is no need for prioritizing their life improvement through education and care; they should remain in the category of shepherds and farmers to feed the family and community cattle, take care of farms as mentioned above and assist to improve others' lives whether inside or outside families. The community has been behaving against the International Labour Organization standard which protects children against the worst forms of child labour, such as bonded labour, slavery or practices similar to slavery (International Labour Office 1992). Girls on the other hand, have been forced to become prostitutes to contribute to fulfilling family needs. Although underage prostitution is prohibited by Law, ("child prostitution means the use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other form of consideration" (United Nations 2000: 1), some stepfathers have been applying it against those children to maintain them as slaves of families, sexual labour. Unfortunately, laws protecting children regarding the situation of sexual exploitation or sexual labour (Council of Europe 2007; The United Nations Children's Fund 2009) are neither known by children's abusers nor by children themselves.

Families' and the community's slavery maltreatment of those children have shaped their way of perceiving their lives. According to the findings, most boys were limited to doing manual work, independent jobs, but the trend among girls was oriented toward precocious marriage to save themselves from family and community slavery. Keeping them useless, illiterate, vagrant, homeless, and providing less care and little preparation to their future live has become a collective sanction of the family and community, venting their revenge and hate upon children. An exception is made for those who received support from their mothers who battle, despite their financial weakness, to support their education.

Most children born from rape of the Kalonge community not only have been isolated from the community through slave labour, and cognitively weakened but they have been made socially unfit and prevented from the social and cognitive development that they would get from children's amusement, play, and

⁹¹ UN Convention on the Rights of children (CRC), the most widely (word missing) UN treaty; Paradigm shift: empowerment of children from duty-bearers to rights -holders; Principles of the best interest of the child and participation; Protection of children in situation of armed conflicts; Protection of children against child prostitution and pornography; Access to education; juvenile justice systems; institutionalization of children, etc. (Global Campus, Manfred).

entertainment. Children interviewed on their liberty in the community with the aim of understanding their level of a feeling of belonging mostly responded by not feeling free to live in their community because of the lack of play with their agemates, either because they had been prevented by their parents or by themselves, influenced by adults' negative depictions of those born from rape, portrayed as immoral, prostitutes, thieves, vagrants, and as such dangerous for agemates. Hence, persistent play deprivation has caused negative consequences for children born from rape's development, as without play, health and development are likely to be impaired. (Mrnjaus (2014) argues

Persistent play deprivation during the period between birth and seven years of age has been linked to impaired brain development, lack of social skills, depression and aggression []. It may disrupt emotion-regulation systems, which in turn will diminish children's physical, social and cognitive competences... Evidence suggests that limiting children's freedom in the local area can restrict their opportunities to create social networks and hinder their ability to build strong, trusting relationships... Children with poor play opportunities were less likely to have friends in their community and that this had an impact upon their social well-being and sense of the self (Mrnjaus (2014: 32)

Play deprivation of children born from rape, on top of being used as labourers, has manifested in their incapability of making friendships. Among 21 children born from rape who participated in this study, 4 only were able to get friends in their area. Among those 4 children, 2 have friends from their relatives and 2 others have friends from outside their family members, which shows how low is their level of sociability. This statistic can determine consequences of play deprivation in children born from rape's lives, affecting their social skills, disrupting their emotional, physical, and cognitive abilities against their well-being. Jean Piaget cited by Nicolopoulou (1993) and (Blake and Pope 2008), demonstrates the relationship between play and cognitive development. Play is essential to development because it contributes to the cognitive, physical, social, and emotional well-being of children and youth (Ginsburg 2021); their mental, and spiritual development (Majumdar 2020: 9); is important to the human being; and is pure assimilation, an operative function deriving from the child's own actions or mental construction (Christie and Johnsen 1983). Given that play has a positive impact on children's physical, psychological, emotional, spiritual, and cognitive development during the process of growth, maturation, and preparation for adulthood, but is obstructed, the quality of adult born from rape's human and social capital outcome seems not to be promising. This is a generation of current children and future adults devoted to failure, whose dreams have been put hopelessly on hold. They will remain a burden for their families and communities with harmful consequences.

8.6.1.4 Children's reaction against threats: self-defence mechanisms

For young children born from rape at the age of transition, understanding self-defence is crucial. Adolescents go through a transitional period where they start to feel less emotionally connected to their parents, especially their mothers, and acquire a sense of who they are. During this time, Myeong (2001) found that feelings of insecurity and rejection are more intense. As a result, using a self-defence mechanism to protect themselves becomes a powerful strategy. Children that were born through rape have various reactions when they are mistreated.

In fact, children born from rape are suffering from hate and rejection at every level of relationship due to their identity. They have been abused as if they deserve such threat, and maltreated psychologically, physically, emotionally, etc. From their narratives, I find two characteristics of children born from rape which are introvert and extravert children. Introvert children don't react openly. They isolate themselves and keep the pain, responding through crying, silence, withdrawing and hiding themselves. Meanwhile, they unburden their anger and disappointment upon their mothers. However, extravert children respond openly to abusers. They are self-defensive, and strongly resilient to challenge abuse and abusers. To protect themselves against individual, relational, and collective abuse, some children born from rape have resorted to criminality. They have used this approach to balance the intensity of the abuse. By integrating into criminal groups such as militias and armed groups, they expect to equalize their pain, and the unfair way in which the community maltreats them, for some up to death.

Krause (2007) understood self-defence as a legal doctrine that, in limited circumstances, would render an otherwise criminal act of violence legal. Krause's statement emphasizes the continuation and escalation of violence through self-defence, which is a practice that can be initiated naturally through instinct, either unconsciously or consciously. Several social groups such as women, men, and vulnerable people, mostly composed of adults, are allowed to apply self-defence, training themselves for their safety against violence (Saunders 1986; Hollander 2014; Hollander 2016). However, children's self-defence has been undermined or less explored. Instead, apart from individual natural self-defence, children's protection is claimed to be provided by adults, social groups, and institutions.

As discussed above, mothers are known and recognized for ensuring children's protection and safety. At the institutional level, children are protected by some organizations by law (Hyslop 2009; Medrano and Tabben-Toussaint 2012). Unfortunately, there is no measure for children's training in self-defence. The promotion of a normative basis, such as child protection, human rights, social justice, and individual liberty (Parton 2015), without any concrete actions to protect children, does not prevent their exposure to maltreatment, crime, and extreme violence, such as murder attempts. In the case of children born from rape,

lacking the training for better protection has justified their tendency to resort to self-defence via extreme violence and criminality. Findings have shown that such children, especially boys who do not trust their mothers' protection, have integrated into criminal networks. To make their defence efficient, and given that the term *child protection* refers to any action that aims to prevent, protect, and respond to violence (Search for Common Ground 2013), children have chosen to integrate themselves into criminal networks where they can learn to carry out the same crimes that have been committed against them, a dissuasive approach. Gorman and Kopel (2000) emphasized that guns were often presented as the “equalizer”. Hence, children born from rape are integrating into criminal groups where they are learning to use guns and gaining power by equalizing themselves with their abusers in order to protect and stop the extreme violence or murder attempts made against them. This is to balance and act equally to the magnitude of violence against them. Children's self-defence can be justified by what Kaufman (2007) called the traditional doctrine of self-defence, which is an act that is necessary, proportionate, and imminently used against an unjust attack. The justification not only needs to be reasonable but also needs to have the honest belief of imminent danger (Mamo 2020). In this regard, the use of violence to protect against violence remains the preferred approach of children to defend themselves, even though the outcome would escalate violence and maintain a culture of systemic violence in the community

8.6.1.5 Destabilization of cultural practices when right of integration through inheritance is denied to children born from rape in the community

The difficult issues that have undermined customary law and traditional practices regarding the integration of children into their patrilineal line have been inheritance, acceptance, integration into mothers genealogical lineal, and management of the care of children born from rape. These have been complexified by historical antecedents against the origin of their genitors, driven by the cultural norms.

Cultural norms can play a double function: causing violence or building peace. Cultural norms are the source of rising violence and the marginalization of children born from rape (Neenan 2017). In the case of South Kivu, in the community of the Kalonge chieftaincy, cultural norms have caused more violence than peace; as argued by the World Health Organization (2009), the influence of norms within cultural groups has driven violence.

The responsibilities of traditional community leaders and local associations like those which participated in this research (*Solidarité des personnes marginalisées dans la communauté* (SPMC) [Solidarity of marginalized people in the community], *Action d'Encadrement de Famille pour le Développement Intégrale* (AEFAD) [Family Support Action for Integral Development], *Comité locale Communautaire* (CLOC) [Local Community Committee], and *Comité de médiation et de conciliation* (CDMC) [Mediation and Conciliation Committee]) are to protect citizens, socialize people, build communities, and advocate for and monitor

accountability. Such functions would serve as the basis of managing children born from rape. The issue of children's acceptance and integration into families and the community is widely rejected by the belief that clan blood relationships need to be preserved against any external threats. The belief in the conservation and protection of the bloodline on the part of traditional community leaders and local association leaders could provide a foundation for building communities with unity, cohesiveness, solidarity, and togetherness (Ibuot 2013). In other words, there is the possibility of integrating others into the clan bloodline, but under the conditions of a blood covenant with the benefit of togetherness. Kenyon (1969) asserted that because of the fragility of friendship, the concept of a blood covenant had been used in African societies to guarantee the continuity and strength of friendships and relationships, an old practice applied by many primitive societies, which also include the society of the Kalonge chieftaincy. This could be used as an open pathway to adapt the covenant to integrate children into the clan bloodline in order to limit the violence against them and their maltreatment. This inclusion mechanism functions under the principle of "do no harm" in order to protect, build, and strengthen social relationships (Ibuot 2013). Hence, cultural norms allow for inclusion either by blood or by the creation of bonding from social relationships (Beidelman 2012).

However, the complexity of children's inclusion in the community and clans, in order to benefit from the protection of traditional community leaders and local leaders' associations, lies in the attitude of displaced aggression, as argued by Woollett and Thomson (2016: 1069): "displaced aggression can occur when someone cannot aggress towards the source of incitements or provocation, and instead takes it out on some-indicated". Children born from rape are paying the price of being rejected and excluded due to their genitors' criminality, and, in turn, the community members take revenge using cultural norms to justify their attitudes. As noted, however, there is the possibility of adapting their inclusion using social relationship bonds if a blood bond does not justify their inclusion in the clan.

Given that wartime rape, pregnancy, and children born from rape have been used as a way of disrupting ethnic bloodlines (Martin 2007b), the likelihood that traditional law-keepers and the community's leadership will be reluctant to protect the children is increased. Reluctant attitudes of traditional community leaders as well as local associations (SPMC, AEFAD, CLOC, and CDMC) to offer protection are justified by cultural norms and produce many disadvantages. They encourage maltreatment of the children, as findings provide evidence of violence to the level of extreme violence (murder) from families to the community level, consequently maintaining a culture of systemic violence and destroying and weakening community safety and peace, where advocacy fails to initiate, for instance, judiciary actions against abusers to hold them accountable. Therefore, the only source of protection remaining for children born from rape is their mothers' affection and the children themselves, given the failure of local Civil Society Organizations.

The fact that children born from rape's integration into families and the community is first an issue of blood, not an issue of human rights, is a great blockage for children born from rape that traditional and custom law-keepers have set. The attitude of rejecting and excluding the children is reinforced by the patrilinear system which determines the group membership, considering the line from the male population (Gupta 2009) and, therefore, excluding female children, whose genitors are ignored. This is since "in a patrilineal kinship structure, persons belong to the father's descent group that brings together persons tracing origins to male ancestors... Succession and inheritance is between a senior male of one generation and another male of another generation within the kinship group" (Vubo 2005: 149). Children born from rape have critical antecedents in the family and community to be recognized from their mothers' male line.

Organized in between unilineal descent systems of patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems, lineage and inheritance are traced through one of the two parents (Lowes 2020a). Furthermore, kinship relations operate towards preserving not only the memory of a people, but also the estate and the continuity of identity (Vubo 2005), yet identity of children born from rape is not accepted, and their mothers kinship system, which is patrilineal, does not grant them the right to be considered as a member of that social group of men from their mothers' families. Consequently, the right to inherit like other children is automatically denied, which causes many troubles in their mothers' lives.

8.7 Various approaches to social integration of children born from rape

Among approaches of socially integrate children born from rape in their mothers' community and lineal kinship there are approaches regarding self-effort of children, strategy for their change, community and the traditional system solutions which is based on the cultural system of the area.

8.7.1 Children self-effort to their social integration

There is a mixture of feelings of belonging and trust components, and mechanisms to understand children's process toward social integration such as self-effort to re-establish their relationships with their abusers and suggestions for change.

Social integration is a challenging issue which needs the involvement of all parties, abusers and abused, as well as that of their supporters. For this reason, the socio-psychological status of children born from rape is the key factor for their preparation to confront the process. Despite their vulnerability, there is hope of re-establishing their relationships. The re-establishment of the relationships of children born from rape with their abusers is still a tough issue for children

themselves, even though they have been trying to develop mechanisms for self-integration. The involvement of abusers throughout the process is the missing piece of the restoration of their relationship puzzle. Expectation and hope have opened up the debate on various suggestions from children, implementation of which would contribute significantly to the success of the mechanisms. Suggestions for a successful integration and re-establishment of their relationships is still a field to be explored later for further process and research.

Relationship reestablishment benefits: The children expect to get many benefits from the re-establishment of their relationships. Those benefits are factors that would transform the relationship for both abusers and abused towards a positive change, as children narrate. As a first expectation, children are eager to experience the end of abuse by abusers, as reported by some of them:

“Discrimination will stop, I will start eating well. People will respect me as well. Those who were bullying and beating me will stop doing it. I will get friends as well” (ChIM15) ...

“My heart and even body will appreciate it. People will stop criticising us, they will be giving us food, a land to cultivate, share the fruits of harvest” (ChIM16) ...

“They will stop insulting me, we will be sharing stuff, going together to the farm and gleaning together” (ChIM17) ...

“I will feel well because every day they have been insulting me. My heart will be happy. I will be working at home without any fear. I won’t be bullied on my way to fetch water from the river” (ChIM18),

“I will feel great, at peace because they won’t touch me anymore” (ChIM19) ... “I will live without crying” (ChIM20),...

“One day, my aunts told me that they will poison me, they will send people to take me hostage, etc. I don’t really understand why they used to say that to me, ... I will feel blissful because those kind of hurting words and murder projects will stop. Maybe it will be the day that I will gain weight because of the joy. Because I will be eating at home like other children as well” (ChIM21).

Children are expecting that an end to discrimination means for them access to some social, economic, and psychological resources like friendship, freedom and liberty, land to cultivate, happiness, peace, physical health, freedom from murder, etc., exposing them to new behaviours such as sharing, closeness, togetherness, communication, and boosting their energy to work. Hence, from the end of discrimination society would get children transformed from traumatised to healed children, from isolated to free, blissful and protected children.

Dialogue and communication will be at the centre of their relationship which will boost positive feelings as narrated,

“The re-establishment of our relationship will make me blissful. It will make dialogue vivid, talking between us would be better” (ChIM1) ...

“If the relationship between me and my stepfather is re-established, he will be henceforward talking to me, dialoguing with me. I will feel loved, protected” (ChIM2) ...

“I will feel well. Eating together, having good dialogue, my stepfather will be happy as well” (ChIM3)

... “Myself I will feel happy. We will share stuff, eat together, make well the dialogue, etc. They will consider me like a human being at the same level to them. We will be sharing clothes with my young half-sister for me to go to church clean” (ChIM4).

Dialogue will produce great benefits to children as well as to the abusers, as it makes them understand each other, creates reciprocal, mutual feelings like pity, love, attachment, protection, transfer of happiness, reconsideration of children’s humanity, joy of sharing, etc. Children born from rape have high expectations and expect to benefit more from the advantages of the healed relationships between them and their abusers. They expect to experience first-hand positive change from the abusers towards them, for them to be influenced by the change, as some narrated:

“If I notice that they have started to love me, I will love them as well” (ChIM5) ... “I will feel blissful because I will be staying alongside with my half-brothers. When I will see my stepfather taking care of me as he does it to my half-brothers, I will in my turn love them, appreciate the fact that my half-brother could assist me when I’m working. They will be considering me like a human being” (ChIM6)

“When they will appreciate and accept my services. When they will send me and I agree, accept to do it” (ChIM7).

Children’s expectations of the benefit of the re-establishment of their relationships is under conditions. They need to see first the abuser’s effort, their will to change their negative attitude towards them. This will become an easy way of confirmation of their change, which lies on the principle of reciprocity conditioned by the abusers’ first step. For them this could be a successful approach to expecting any transformative positive change benefitting from the quality of their relationship improvement for the sake of harmony.

The end of discrimination will also produce secondary positive results at the children’s personal level:

“The fact that we will be living together, they will pay my school fee and allow me to stay in peace in their house” (ChIM8)

... “They could be willing to pay my school fee” (ChIM9)

... “When they will be blaming me like other children for their education, for me to stop bad behaving, I will be happy” (ChIM10)

... “I will study like them” (ChIM11).

Human capital improvement will be the effect of the end of discrimination. Children’s education will be considered as equal to every child, and they will be brought up in a normal way, including punishment oriented in order to make them responsible children, as is done to other children.

The benefit goes also to the result they could get from re-establishing their relationship with their agemates, as narrated: “When I will see them start loving me, seeing that we are playing with other children, I will be delighted. They will stop henceforth discriminating against me, beating, and insulting me” (ChIM12) ... “I will be happy as well to see myself speaking to my agemates in the neighbourhood” (ChIM13) ... “I will feel happy to speak to them, play together, accept to eat together” (ChIM14). Children are expecting to live a better childhood. Playing freely with other children will contribute to significantly reduce the level of discrimination among children, and meanwhile increase their level of sociability through the development of some values. As play advantages, children will benefit from their agemates closeness, sharing, dialogue, communication, love, respect, humanity reconsideration, respect, harmony, cohesion, and positively change perceptions of each other.

However, not all children acknowledge the fact that re-establishing their relationship with their abusers will produce positive benefits, as reported one of them: *“I don’t think so, I don’t trust the re-establishment of relationship benefits between me and others. This will increase frustration”* (ChIM15). As an exception, this child does not trust to get any benefit from their relationship re-establishment due to the trauma that children have in advance from their abusers. For him, there is no hope to a transformative positive change from this process. He perceives the process as resulting in negative issues. His pessimism does not allow him to perceive the change positively.

8.7.2 Strategy for change

The change should be made, and strategies established for both parties, abusers, and victims. Both should accept the change. There are three approaches to change which should be applied: forced, constrained and diplomatic.

a) Suggestions on the process of change

Children born from rape have provided some suggestions for their relationship improvement such as creation of a buffer zone, dialogue, justice, and respect of children born from rape’s rights:

“We shouldn’t live together. Live among them to allow me to study and be free” (ChIM1) ...

“If they could invite us together to a dialogue to talk openly about the deadlocked dialogue at home. They should tell me the wrong that I have done to them, then manage to solve the situation” (ChIM2) ... “I need them to abandon their nefarious project against me” (ChIM3) ...

“If we can get someone to bring us together to advise all of us, it will be good” (ChIM4) ...

“I need them to be beaten like they did to me. They must be punished by the police” (ChIM5) ...

“We may find somewhere, a land for us to build our house. And if only my mother would be able to send me to school that would be better” (ChIM6) ...

“If they can advise him. But I’m not sure if he will change” (ChIM7) ... “May mum tell them to stop maltreating me. They should bring us together to tell us that we are brothers and children of same mother” (ChIM8) ... “They should change their attitude and way of considering me. They should be like other people who do not maltreat me or keep quiet. They should consider us as normal human beings. They should respect us” (ChIM9).

For children’s freedom and for the sake of their relationship improvement, children suggested that a buffer zone should be created, separating abusers from abused. This separation could be something like not staying together, whether in the same habitation or in the same village. This separation will allow both to stop experiencing the abusive situation. The second suggestion lies in dialogue, dialogue for a fair positive change of abusers’ negative attitudes. While deciding whether to stay together, there should be running sessions of dialogue or mediation that will try to bring them together through understanding of the situation in order to stop abusive behaviours and attitudes. While discussing abusive issues during dialogue sessions or periods, issues of human rights and respect for children born from rape should be raised to find solutions, especially the issue of inheritance, which is the backbone of their rejection. In case of deadlock, force should be applied. This means that abusers should be prosecuted, taken to court for justice, to get a forced solution for the sake of their cohabitation. These suggestions will produce many advantages. For children’s togetherness, unity brings many advantages like acceptance, love, and compassion among children of the same mother. Dialogue will allow them to understand the node of the problem, of the abuse, in order to get the correct solutions for both sides and reconcile them. While talking about dialogue, there were those who suggested it was so sad (researcher observation) because of the pain they hold in their hearts. Justice is still another way of punishing abusers in order to force them stop abusing children born from rape, a dissuasive approach, the correct route for children’s revenge.

b) Desperation and hope for change

Children born from rape are desperate for positive change. For some, there is no hope to get their abusers to change for good. The following statements provide their narrative.

“I don’t know what could have been done for the situation to change. I’m questioning myself up to when this situation will end up?” (ChIM10) ...

“I don’t think one day they will change. I don’t believe in the change of this situation at all” (ChIM11)

... “I don’t know if one day we can be friends. Even if they stop provoking me, we will never be friends” (ChIM12) ...

“I’m not sure if those people will change their bad behaviour against me. It’s better for me if I could leave my neighbourhood” (ChIM13) ...

“I don’t think about any solution” (ChIM14) ... “I don’t have any idea” (ChIM15).

Some children are completely disappointed by abusers’ behaviours against them. Because of extreme abuse they have been going through, this category totally denies expecting any change, despite the interventions that could be applied. Others are just passive, as they could not think of or have any correct solution. Children born from rape are confused, lacking solutions for a strategy to make abusers change, and refer to the current abusive situation they are experiencing. They are pessimists, too locked into their hidden trauma and perceive any suggestion as failure in advance. For them there is no way forward for a positive change. On the other hand, they themselves are powerless to make any positive change. So, the only solution would be the buffer zone, separation.

c) Use of influential people to contribute to and speed the change process

The last suggestion is the use of an influential person who should be able to constrain them to act positively towards children born from rape, as suggested: *“It’s only my step-father who can save me from that situation that makes me worried”* (ChIM16) ... *“May my stepfather blame them for maltreating me. Unfortunately, he is doing nothing about it”* (ChIM17) ... *“I don’t have any idea. I think, it will be better if other men talk to him, advising him to stop maltreating me”* (ChIM18). Children born from rape trust in male intervention, as male symbolizes force. They think men are the ones who should make others think reasonably on the issue of children born from rape’s safety, to stop the abuse. As most abusers are men, intra-masculine influence including stepfathers and other men in their living environment could work and convince them to behave vis-à-vis the abused. This is to call upon abusers’ mercy and force them from their abusive project. The men-to-men strategy could stop abuse of children born from rape for the sake of liberty and relationship improvement.

8.7.3 Community solutions for children born from rape’s social integration

Mothers’ efforts to protect and grant their children space in their community and questions for introspection from the researcher of this inquiry has influenced people in the community, customary, traditional law-keepers, as well as community leaders to rethink, reconsider their attitude to children’s rejection and exclusion. This has made it possible to talk about and develop to some valuable conclusions about the problems preventing rape children’s social integration and how to solve them.

Deadlock factors to solutions: Despite their antipathic attitude against children born from rape integration, the community tried to solve the issue by suggesting mechanisms of children's integration:

"Integration has failed because of the deeper misery the population. Myself I have 18 children to pay school fees for. Among them, only 5 are studying. Others are not studying" (CLFGD)

... "Among those 3 'picked up children', only one is studying. How can I privilege those picked up children and leave my own?" (CLFGD)

... "A deeper and intense awareness, sensitization in the community to accept that painful wound (children born from rape)" (CLFGD)

... "That painful wound is making our community fragile. This is increased by the lack of plan and lengthy hospitality" (CLFGD) ...

"Preparation of Congo balkanisation through rape of women and children born from rape as a stock" (CLFGD)

"Create an African solidarity. If the government could take in charge school fees of those children. Poverty makes people incapable of assisting those children. they are discriminated against from studying for poverty. For instance, legitimate children are a priority to be served, then those born from rape" (CLFGD).

The hell of children's integration concerns both levels of relationship, collective and individual. If at the collective level male community leaders have acknowledged failure on the issue of integration of children born from rape, at the individual level, men, families, and the community have also failed to integrate them due to intense poverty. Children born from rape are the first victims of poverty, ejected from families' benefits as soon as there is a lack of means to take care of them. As such, they are seen to be a useless burden for families to get rid of. Depicted as wounds of the community, children's misrepresentation expresses the traumatic status of the community, complexifying children's acceptance and making people from community not ready to engage in sensitization of acceptance and integration of children born from rape. Instead, they call upon external intervention to make the mechanism possible. Broad interventions taking care of these children and interventions to relieve people from the community would have a positive impact on acceptance of children born from rape and grant space in families and the community. Assistance from external organisations like the Congolese government's intervention to educate children, political African solidarity preventing balkanization, etc. would contribute to mediating and finding solutions to community violence.

Collective community wisdom to manage social integration of children born from rape: although previously accused of causing tensions and raising negative emotion due to their presence and existence in the community or families, there is an approach set by the community to assist children from abusive relationships, especially protecting them from stepfathers' complaints and abuse, as narrated by community leaders:

"They used to leave that child in their mothers' family to avoid those children being killed by their stepfathers" (CLFGD) ...

“It’s because of the experience that people have adopted that system” (CLFGD).

Community leaders’ statements on the poisonous relationship between children born from rape and their stepfathers reveals and confirms how criminal are stepfathers against children born from rape. Stepfathers’ capacity for murder has made the community protective towards children, making them play a crucial role in allocating children space to be protected from murder. For the sake of protection, parents, relatives, and families of mothers have made a factual decision to keep children in their mothers’ families, which unfortunately affects their attachment to their children who already don’t have genitor’s parental support, therefore increasing children’s vulnerability and exposure to family abuse. The system should not be considered as cultural custom, but from the experienced outcome of criminality against children born from rape in the community from their stepfathers.

The purpose of community and family interference in children protection issues is also to protect the mothers’ household, a marriage which is built on a fragile relationship. To protect it, the community has taken the decision of keeping children in their mothers’ family as reported, *“The fact that grandparents want to protect the marriage of their daughters, they agree to keep those children at home in their families. That is just to avoid conflict in their daughters’ marriage”* (CLFGD). Keeping children in their mothers’ families has become an approach of managing relationships between children born from rape and their mothers, between them and their stepfathers and between them and the partner? of their mothers to avoid worsening relationships and for a peaceful household.

The root of stepfathers’ hatred for children lies in the inheritance issue: “Men do not consider them like children. There is an issue of inheritance of those children. They don’t have the right to inherit in this community. They have been considered like slaves, free labourers” (CLFGD). As representing male attitude towards children in the community, stepfathers are first external category of people in touch with and supposed to offer protection and “guarantee” human rights to them.

Children in their place of refuge, the mothers’ families, as detached from their only source of protection, which is their mothers, could only rely on the uncertain attitude of families, as reported:

“It depends on the quality of life of that family for a relationship to be strong or mediocre” (CLFGD)

... “An estimated 80 percent of families having children born from rape use those children for meadows, as farmers of the families” (CLFGD) ...

“The majority of soldiers and militias in our community come from that category of children” (CLFGD)

... “They don't have a single portion of the heritage. And in the case that a family has decided to give him/her a portion of heritage, it's happened that someone in the family steals from him/her that portion. At the end of the day, they don't enjoy that heritage” (CLFGD).

In their mothers' families, children born from rape are abused instead of being protected, and have been forcibly pushed by abusive attitudes against them to join criminal networks like militias, rebellions, etc. Deprived of heirs' recognition, those children are exposed to any group offering them means and opportunity, bad or good, to safeguard themselves or to get a way of securing their future which feels lost in advance, as they are turned into labourers of families and the community without any right of inheritance.

Triggered integration: There are some additional mechanisms contributing to children's integration in their mothers' families and community, such as mothers' economic independence:

“A woman, a mother should be economically independent, auto-funding” (CLFGD) ...

“For that category of women, having children born from rape, they should well and carefully choose their marital regime according to the situation, reality that they are facing. It's not good to divorce because a wife is investing for her child secretly without the husband knowing it” (CLFGD)

... “Here in Kalonge, most women don't share their worth with their husbands. There is even a song sung in the community made to show that behaviour. That song is titled ‘Song of Mwa Cingombe’ [words missing]. That woman was earning money without telling her husband. When devaluation of money in the Mobutu period happened, she was obliged to take out all the amount that she had. That how the husband knew that she held a huge amount of money hidden” (CLFGD) ...

“Men did understand that in Kalonge, most women could have been hiding money from their husbands, looking for their financial independence” (CLFGD).

Rape survivor mothers' financial independence to take care of their children born from rape is appreciated to some extent, whether from men or women, as being for their children's acceptance and integration. Mothers are kept in a challenging situation, to save their relationships with their husbands and families, while at the same time influencing their children's acceptance. For this reason, women's need for financial independence is justified by the rejection of their children born from rape.

To help women stabilize their mechanism and make it successful, as men have failed to integrate those children for cultural, political, and individual reasons, community leaders encourage the fact that men should comply with women's financial mechanism of investing for their excluded children. to get an inheritance for their acceptance. As women are determined to achieve it, men engaged themselves with the women's mechanism, agreeing with their mode of applying their mechanism of financial independence, even though it does not meet men's consent.

Women, on the other hand, must select a convenient matrimonial regime (in community of property, out of community of property or out of community of property with accrual) , which will fit into their financial independence mechanism to be free, and avoid hiding investments from her husband. Because of male resistance to acceptance of children born from rape, women have been encouraged to bypass and create their own mechanism of protecting their children, a new women's financial culture, an acknowledged system for their investment for their children.

Cultural approach to integrate children born from rape into community: As they are not accepted or integrated, a reasonable cultural adjustment that would place an emphasis on the maternal family inheritance could support in the integration of the children born from rape. To ensure that they feel as though they are benefiting from it as described, this should be closely watched:

“There is no cultural system of integrating those children born from rape. But in the family, if the family is worth enough, they can provide for them at least land to cultivate. But that land should be far from their half-siblings” (CLFGD).

Lacking a cultural system to integrate children born from rape has a negative impact on family integration, as there is no collective power or restrictions to frame the integration. Thus, even when families decide to provide inheritance, expressions of exclusion continue motivating their actions, such as isolating to protect them.

Integration of children born from rape has provoked many modifications, whether from male traditional law-keepers, men, or women. To reframe those modifications for the good of the integration of children born from rape, community leaders suggested two ways, official/legal and social approaches:

“Replace cultural norms with modern law as custom recognises only children from the clan to inherit” (CLFGD) ... “Impose the law to protect them” (CLFGD),
... “Improving life quality and the involvement of our government to take care of those children” (CLFGD).

There are three options suggested, which would normally contribute to children's integration: the application of law to guarantee children's safety, integration, and enhancing the quality of life. In other words, the revision of cultural norms which prevents those children inheriting, through customary negotiation to protect children. Government is seen as the guarantor of national security to reinforce children's protection.

Among community leaders' speculation on children's integration, a good option to solve children's integration issues is to officially recognise them as their heirs:

“Putting those children in a good condition could help them forget every discrimination and bad treatment against them” (CLFGD) ... “Automatically, not knowing their father, we should recognize them as our children. The one who has been recognized like that has to sign a document showing that he agreed. Because of the law, we suggest protecting the heirs to keep the name alive in the family” (CLFGD).

Socially and individually, people in the community, despite their level of relationship to those children, should be encouraged to respect those children’s rights to avoid replicability and an increase in violence so as to relieve children from the burden of mistreatment. The community leaders’ suggestion is also the automatic adoption of those children without any requirements to make the issue of recognition official to protect heirs. This is a child’s exemption to integration in the mother’s genealogy as they are “fatherless children”. This change of attitude will contribute to improving the quality of life of children born from rape and therefore impact their relationships with other people in the family and community.

8.8 Process toward children born from rape’s social integration

Mechanisms developed by children born from rape for their social integration aim to enhance the quality of their lives. Based on theory of social integration as quality of life (Ware, Hopper et al. 2008), children have developed capacity to create their own mechanisms and participated to the process of it implementation for the sake of their good and well-being. This has included the three levels of relations impacting the process of their social integration which are the individual, personal, intrapersonal level; the relational and interpersonal level as well as the structural level.

In fact, negative attitudes and acts against children born from rape from those levels have affected their efforts to socially fit into their living environment but do not limit them in multiplying efforts to overcome the situation. They have developed many mechanisms and suggested some others which would contribute to their social integration, despite the challenges that they have been going through. They have applied both diplomatic and violent approaches to feel getting space in their mothers’ community and kinship lineal. Those mechanisms have been supported by some additional ones from their mothers and some exceptional ones from their community including traditional law-keepers involvement.

Personal depiction of children born from rape being affected by maltreatment is the factor that restrains their effort to initiate and set strategies to socially integrate into their family and community. Children’s maltreatment has devastating consequences in children’s lives, as “cognitive effects of abuse range from attentional problems and learning disorders to severe organic brain syndromes; behaviourally, the consequences of abuse range from poor peer relations all the

way to extraordinarily violent behaviours” (National Research Council 1993: 208) affecting not only them, but people surrounding them as well. For instance, emotional abuse in infancy and toddlerhood results in increasing in externalizing symptoms, such as aggressive behavior (McWilliams, Goodman et al. 2014).

Affected as such, children born from rape are still perplexed at identifying what exactly they are, to whom they belong, and to which community they relate to for their own development, either individual or relational, if they have to tell themselves who they are. They feel dehumanized and frustrated as they are considered pariahs, wild, savages, criminals like their genitors, outlaws, fatherless, etc. Lack of or weak communication and dialogue between them and their abusers or other people in their living area, being discriminated against and avoided, and not feeling loved and appreciated as their narrative mentioned constitute their main challenges obstructing their energy to overcome the obstacles. However, many positive efforts have to be put together into children accounts to get meaningful picture of their process towards social integration.

8.8.1 Social-integration mechanisms for the enhancement of the quality of their life: success and vulnerability

Throughout their attempt to socially integrate their families and community, children have experienced success and vulnerability to reach their goal. Optimistic and pessimists’ children have provided their position accordingly. Optimistic children born from rape have developed many mechanisms to make themselves feel at home and fit into their living environment. These mechanisms are composed of values, strategies, and supports suggested to re-establish their relationships in order to achieve their goal meanwhile resorting to violent one in case of the failure of the diplomatic ones. Sources of success should come from some values and virtues that support their mechanisms, as children suggested. Among them they have seen love, closeness or friendships, respect of a sense of humanity, courage to transcend abusers, trust of attitudes and behaviour, using dialogue, communication, and a collaborative willingness to make values applicable. Optimist children are those are ready to confront the challenging process of self-effort for the re-establishment of their relationships for the sake of their integration by ignoring the risk but sticking to the advantages that they would get from the process. However, given that trust is linked to vulnerability, some pessimist children have acknowledged in advance the failure of any attempt at the re-establishment of their relationships with abusers. Hence, there are two categories of those who participated in this inquiry, pessimists, and optimists. Pessimist children are passive and do not trust to any process or effort and are not expecting to get any positive outcome, as according to their experience, their appreciation of the process is affected by the risk, and fear of criminal reaction from abusers against their attempt. For them, closeness and re-establishment of their relationships would cause much more pain, and maintenance of and relapse of trauma. Nonetheless, optimist children have tried to develop some mechanisms to fit into their family and community regardless of the challenges.

I'm focusing on optimistic children to develop strategic mechanisms applied by them for the re-establishment of their relationships. Eager to integrate into their families and community and live in harmony and peace, children born from rape have developed some mechanisms, of which the major ones are friendship, self-care, self-respect imposition, and service rendering.

a. Friendship mechanism

The friendship mechanism demands a very careful attitude in which children born from rape have to engage. Rejected, the fact of making friends has become for them a strategy of coming closer to people and gaining their trust to be accepted and soften the abuse against them. Although in children's friendship, equality of power, power-of-balance is the principle compared to family and relatives' relations where lies asymmetric power in the relationship (Asher, Guerry et al. 2014), some children born from rape have challenged, defeated and overcome this limit. According to the narratives, since they are not strong enough to combat abusers, some courageous children have learnt and multiplied strategies to make their plans happen. For them, a better life lies into togetherness. As they are not able to combat their abusers, the only way of getting out of the traumatic cycle of violence and maltreatment is to try to change the negative attitude of their abusers into a positive one by becoming their friends. For this, findings have demonstrated some stages which children went through to create friendship, relying on some principles of conflict transformation practice. Four stages were the most relevant to achieve the goal, which are: being willing and deciding to make the abuser enemy become a friend to get closer to abusers, adopting some positive attitudes, usage of mono-sided forgiveness, and approaching abusers in a tactical way.

This strategy was used by a child who witnessed the murder of his friend, a child born from rape like him, poisoned by a neighbour. For him and those who support the friendship mechanism, all starts with planning the way to be friends with and manage their friendship with their abusers. This has to work in a principle of friendship without reciprocation, the practice of making an appropriate return for a benefit or harm received from another (Smith 2019). In this way, closeness and exchange are controlled as there is no trust and the level of expecting harm is higher than that of getting benefit. As such, they have to overcome on their side some attitudes that could obstruct their process, like fear, worry, hate for the abuser, and anger against abusers. Because the process works on the principle of friendship without reciprocity, children have to forgive their abusers without involving them in the forgiveness process in order to overcome negative attitudes and feel free to approach their abusers.

There are many benefits that children received by applying the second stage of forgiveness: anxiety is reduced, spirituality is enhanced, self-esteem is improved, relationships are healed, there are greater feelings of optimism and a restoration of optimistic thinking, depressive symptoms are reduced, an ability to deal with challenges, self-acceptance, enhanced sense of well-being, improved interpersonal relationships, better mental health, emotional well-being, reduced anxiety, stress, and anger issues, lower blood pressure, fewer depressive symptoms, better heart health, better self-esteem, a strengthened immune system, a better capacity for managing conflict, and a higher ability to cope with stress and find relief (Lauritzen 1987; Roberts 1995; Rijavec, Jurcec and Olcar 2013; Rajhttps 2016). Having this attitude of forgiveness has allowed children to overcome emotions and control them. Being in such a position has given them the opportunity to approach abusers without fear, control their relationship and cautiously manage their social interaction, as they have acknowledged being powerless to make the change, but this is an indirect way of constraining the abuser to reduce or abandon their abusive attitude against children, little as it might be. The friendship strategy demands a strong personality from those children to make it succeed.

b. Social self-care

Despite the benefits of rape children taking care of themselves, this is a sign of a lack of institutional, familial, and communal support. Mothers, who are the primary caregivers, are unable to provide for those children totally. The Congolese State, which is supposed to be a protector of children, does not make institutions that should provide for those children's social and emotional needs available. The cornerstone of social and emotional wellness is created in loving and responsive relationships, according to a (Administrator for Children and Family 2021). The government should support children, families, and providers by integrating social and emotional well-being initiatives into partnerships that are responsible. Children have been turning to their own methods of self-care in the absence of these environments.

Acknowledging being miserable and having weak support from their mothers, as well as from some of their relatives and mothers' family members, whose misery does not allow them to care completely about them, being aware of gaining consideration through good appearance and improvement of quality of life according to their experience in the community, children have learnt to value themselves. Since they have been used in their community and family to work as free labourers, children have used the same energy to turn this into a mechanism to improve the quality of their lives as well. They have learnt to do hard manual work and gain some money which covers some of their needs. As such, self-care has produced self-respect, and attracted the respect of other people towards them. The advantage of this mechanism is that, when someone cares about herself/himself, it produces change, which creates connections to other people in

their environment. The social ecological model illustrates how change begins with each of us as individuals, applying a variety of wellness strategies, and then it spreads outward to our families, teams, organizations, communities and beyond (Pipas 2020). There is an impact going from children born from rape to others, including some abusers who ended up appreciating their work and valuing them, making a positive, soft transformation of their relationship. Despite the benefits of what children draw from their strategy, their role played for their social inclusion expresses lack of labour's policies implementation and its follow up regarding children' labour.

c. Rendering service and imposing respect of their human dignity

Impose respect from the service offered to their abusers to regain the respect of their dignity was a strategic approach used by children while interacting with their abusers. Children have made themselves available to render some services to their abusers, humbling themselves to get their approval in order to live in harmony. However, their service has turned into abuse as the abusers take it for granted. In such a way, those who adopted offering some service to get abusers' approval were imposing respect in a clever way to force abusers to recognize their efforts and the value of their sacrifice. In fact, many abusers, instead of appreciating services that children born from rape were offering to them, used to take advantage and abuse them. For instance, from their narration, if the abuser promised to pay for the service offered to them, most of the time, the child did not get paid or was paid less than what was expected and in addition, if they tried to claim, they were beaten and violated. In such a bullying situation, emotional and psychological abuse (McWilliams, Goodman et al. 2014), some children have reacted against the thanklessness, ingratitude of their abusers searching ways of overcoming the pain by either working for them for free, showing the abuser how their service is worth more than money, or confronting the abuser openly to get back what is due to them. This is to get respect for their dignity and need to be treated like a human being.

This behaviour has been mostly produced inside the family between some parents and the children or some family members and the children and in the close neighbourhood, which attitude can be viewed in the context of domestic violence (The United Nations Office of Vienna 1993). Unfortunately, the rule of a relationship of mutual respect between parents and children (United Nations 2009) is not respected or applied. Besides, for the success of their mechanisms of acceptance, the improvement of their relationships, and social integration, children have suggested some other strategies that would contribute to the re-establishment of their relationship, with the aim to live in harmony, in a cohesive living environment and in peace with their families and community members.

8.8.2 Strategic mechanisms suggested for children's successful re-establishment of relationships

The most relevant suggestions lay in the improvement of children born from rape's human and social capital as mechanisms which would contribute to enhancing the quality of their relationships to feel socially integrated into their families and community, and the approach to achieve it. From their narratives, children require basic needs fulfilment, including education, food, proper habitation, clothes, health care, etc. and resolve confrontation between them and their abusers by applying conflict resolution approach to stop being abused which would impose harmony and peace. Human capital and social capital are attributions consisting of family, community and social network, solidarity, sense of belonging, local identity, etc. (Morrow 2004) which are master keys of children social development (Schaefer-McDaniel 2004).

Children have suggested receiving the means to be educated because that would be the only way to improve the quality of their life and be a decent preparation for their future lives, given that many of them are not educated but maintained in slavery for some of their families and community. The assurance that they would be freed from their abuser must make room for the value that education will bring to their life. This is how they will settle their disputes in a polite manner.

The approach to get their relational problems solved is the use of conflict resolution. At this level, they have suggested using some actors of change, which include some selected abusers themselves and powerful people from their family, like men (as mostly men are the primary abusers). Power being a tool, resource of control, influence, authority over others, capacity to change (Avelino 2021) children are expecting to get change from the powerful men of the family and community as this is the most rapid and powerful strategy of changing concomitantly abusive attitudes and abusers' negative perception against them. Hence, initiating interventions like dialogue, communication, direct and indirect mediation where children will have a right to talk and express their needs and frustrations in families and in the community would be the best way of approaching, managing, and addressing the issue. Community conferences and awareness must be organized for the sake of their protection. Thus, strategic mechanisms applied by children born from rape reinforced by their suggestions would produce change and transform their relationships for the better in order to grant them peaceful and cohesive space, and enhance acceptance, a sense of humanity, trust, respect, produce an improvement in the quality of their relationship, and create happiness, harmony, security, and consideration of their identity.

When the diplomatic self-effort approach fails, children resorted to violent approach to feel protected and create dissuasive power for their self-integration.

8.8.3 Efforts towards resolutions on social integration of children born from rape

Integration of children born from rape into their mothers' families and community is still the intractable issue that confronts many strata of the Kalonge local community, starting from their own mothers, mothers' families, mothers' in-laws, stepfathers, and people in the community and the involvement of children born from rape themselves. Solutions to tackle and address the issue should involve these various layers of society as well as institutional interventions due to the complexity of the matter. Apart from children and mothers, local community leaders and custom law keepers have tried to suggest some paths toward solutions.

Mechanisms of solving issues of integration of children born from rape varies from one component to another one. Each one has its own way of dealing with the issue. For instance, children born from rape, especially boys, have been resorting to violence to equalize the pain and maltreatment from their abusers. Mothers, being aware of the patriarchal system, the patrilineal kinship in which the issue of their children had to be addressed, have anticipated their children's integration by using predictive names to create an influence of the name on their children and in the community. This has produced many effects, like self-esteem for the children themselves, psychological and emotional relief to their mothers, as well as covering the gap of a family split by uniting it. Much must be done in terms of mothers' financial autonomy as an attempt to find more solutions, contributing to mothers to monitor the integration process and its evolution, even though this is not done in a professional way.

The great contribution of rape survivor mothers to their children's integration is the empowerment of mothers themselves to invest and prepare inheritances for their children born from rape. According to the findings, for women rape survivors to succeed in their decision for financial autonomy, the start-up mechanism should begin with the choice of the matrimonial regimes for those who are not yet married, and for those who are living in "come-we-stay" to be prepared for the best option accordingly. The better the choice made, the better will be the result. Women in a focus group debating on the best way of caring for their children born from rape, concluded on the choice of matrimonial regime as central to their autonomy by choosing among the three main ones, the legal community regime; the separation of property regime (with the possibility of joint acquisitions); and the conventional community regime (Moldovan 2015).

Given that women rape survivors are going to get married or are already married to authoritarian men, the best matrimonial choice should be made to protect their children born from rape. To create equilibrium in the couple, the regime best related to wives' and husbands' personalities is relevant as "authoritarian husbands dominated submissive wives, while wives of strong character ruled feeble husbands" (Hahlo 1973: 455). However, according to the experience that

rape survivors of Kalonge community went through and whose objective is to invest for their children born from rape, they have opted for either the separation of property regime (with the possibility of joint acquisitions) or the conventional community regime. These two regimes will give them an opportunity toward their self-empowerment, improve their financial autonomy experience and give them financial freedom to invest for their excluded children born from rape without being restricted.

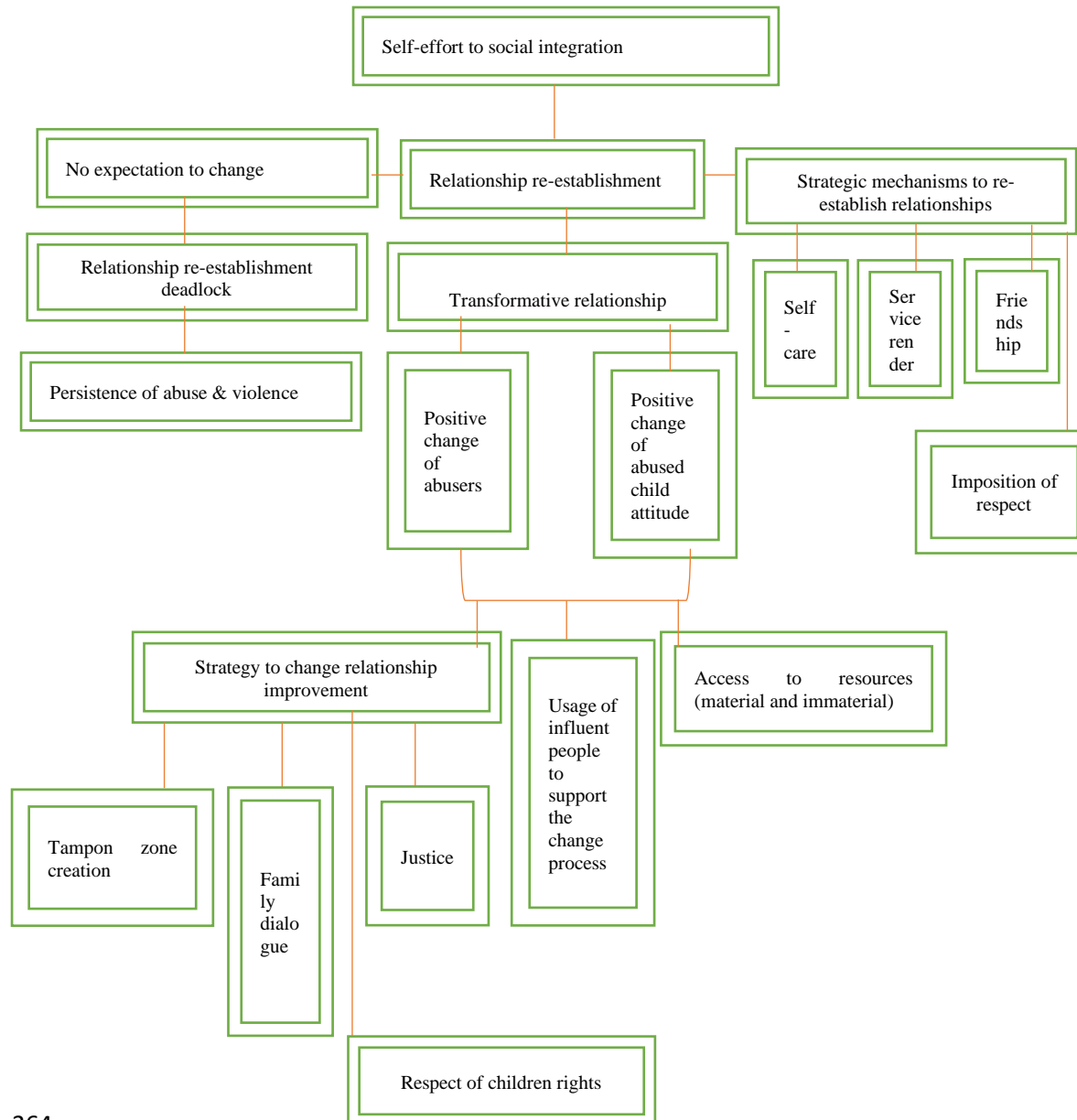
The greatest advantage can be summarized in the following thought: “women are more likely to spend the majority of their personal incomes on improving the family situation, [and] this economic empowerment greatly benefits their children, who are generally more likely to attend school and have better nutrition” (Chhay 2011: 1122). The advantage of women’s financial autonomy must be classified. The first advantage is relational, intrapersonal, and interpersonal before it serves to fill the gender gap and promote equality. Financial autonomy of rape survivor mothers still is and will remain the most powerful mechanism to improve their quality of life and those of their children and contribute much more to investment for their children to grant them inheritance.

At the community level, community leaders, after being confronted by the reality of the relevance of integrating children born from rape during a workshop I did, and after realizing how modified their custom practices had become due to women’s intervention to allocate and protect their children’s inheritance, came up with some resolutions to contribute to the process of integrating children born from rape into their community and caring about them in their families. Among the suggestions, the main ones are divided into human rights, political, social, relational, and personal aspects.

- a. Personal: Positive change of attitude of male community leaders, customary law keepers, stepfathers, and other men in the family and community which will contribute to improving the perception of children born from rape
- b. Relational: Develop a sense of humanity, considering children born from rape as human as other children in the family and community to improve the quality of their lives
- c. Justice: Implementation and guarantee of Human Rights related to the protection of children born from rape as a special category of child victims of war. The revision of cultural norms which prevents those children from inheriting through customary law that must be negotiated to protect exceptional children’s law. This must be supported by the Congolese Government as the guarantor of national security to reinforce children’s protection.
- d. Customary Law: The modification of customary law and practices by applying a bilateral kinship system that will allow children born from rape, those whose genitors will be never known, to be integrated into their mothers’ kinship genealogical system. The best option to solve children’s integration issues is to officially recognise them as their heirs. This is child exemption to grant integration into the mother’s genealogy

- e. Social: Prevent community violence by creating awareness of acceptance of differences and integration of children born from rape to avoid replicability and increase of violence in the community
- f. Security: Congolese government intervention to develop a mechanism for education of children born from rape to protect them from integrating into criminal networks
- g. Political: Political African solidarity preventing balkanization and the use of children in armed groups would contribute to mediate and find solutions against community violence relapse, and cycles of violence.

Figure 8:2 Children born from rape effort to restore their social cohesion through social integration. Source: own data. Source: Own compilation



8.9 Conclusion

Children born from rape in the Kalonge community are challenged by the complex configuration of the number of abusers and the reasons underlying their maltreatment obstructing their social integration process measured through dimensions of social cohesion which are feeling of belonging, safety-security, support, trust, etc. Abusers have been identified at every level of society: individual, interpersonal, family, neighbourhood, and community as referred to in the socioecological model of child maltreatment structures. This has involved several layers of abusers, such as their half-sibling from their mothers and stepfathers, their mothers' family members and stepfathers' family members, as well as their mothers' late husbands' family members, their agetates, classmates, neighbours and other people in the community making them live in an unsafe environment. Because of asymmetric power between them and their abusers, their social support network is restricted, making them experience deeper, extreme violence and live in a constant, permanent, repeated traumatizing situation, with no hope of an ending. At institutional levels their issues are not yet taken into consideration or even known as such.

Children born from rape have gone through many types of maltreatment, mostly animated by xenophobic sentiments restricting their liberty, used as labourers and slaves of families and the community with all the range of consequences attached to this. Children born from rape regardless of their age, immaturity, or immature age, have been hated for being born from detested genitors and are first associated with the criminal antecedents of their genitors. Since the genitors are from another nationality, foreigners, committing criminal offenses on the host country in wartime has been interpreted as humiliation of the host country, frustrating them. Hence, the fear of repeating the same story of criminality that could be repeated by and with their offspring, has been transformed into hate against their children, and a resorting to xenophobic sentiments, a kind of displaced aggression over them. Factors that increase xenophobic sentiments against children born from rape seem to be the preservation of culture, avoiding the mixing of blood in the local community genealogies.

The gap that has been filled as the contribution of this research to the broad literature based on xenophobic sentiments towards children born of rape is that the category of children born from rape of the Kalonge community in the east part of DR Congo are in danger of extermination, from their mothers' families up to community level, where there are going through a dehumanization process, depicted as animals not having the right to live. This dark side of xenophobic sentiments against those children has not yet been discovered by scholars and practitioners outside the Kalonge community.

Eager to be accepted to integrate into their families and community and live in harmony and peace, children born from rape have developed some mechanisms to facilitate this, of which the major ones are friendship, self-care, self-respect imposition, and service rendering. They have suggested other mechanisms to make their efforts successful, such as the improvement their human and social capital like the fulfilment of basics needs including education, food, proper habitation, clothes, health care, etc. and resolving confrontation between them and their abusers by applying a conflict resolution approach and other diplomatic strategies, like direct and indirect mediation, to stop being abused and impose harmony and peace. To protect themselves against abuse, some male children have joined criminal networks which increase insecurity and violence in the community.

Community attitude towards children born from rape is caught between criminal experience from the previous Rwandan rebellion, their claim of identity and lands after many years and the need of hegemony upon local people; fear of getting into a cycle of violence led by the new generation of Rwandan children born from rape; and external factors like misery, poverty, and a weak quality of life despite the goodwill of some individuals to care for those children. The issue of identity being the major reason for children's rejection, it disturbs relationships at any level, from family up to the community, where the involvement of male traditional law keepers seems to be the trigger. Community resolutions to integrate those children are still, up to the present, in terms of wishing and relying on external interventions and assistance to do so, without any community initiative or involvement suggested to date. Community leaders, customary law-keepers, and other influent males of the Kalonge community have been influenced by mothers' mechanisms that have resisted the cultural norms and customary law that were obstructing children born from rape's integration. Mothers' great efforts for their children's acceptance and integration, preparation of inheritance, protection, etc. in the community, despite cultural norms and practices obstructing their process, have ended up contributing to women's progress towards building a cohesive, harmonious, and peaceful community and providing some suggestions at personal, relational, social, and political levels address and manage the issue of integration and acceptance of children born from rape.

CHAPTER NINE

RAPE PERPETRATORS' ACCOUNTABILITY, SENSE OF BELONGING AND TRUST

9.1 Introduction

The inclusion of rape perpetrators in this study is justified by the fact that certain rape survivors who lived in the same neighbourhood as their rape perpetrators faced unique difficulties in their efforts to heal from their traumatic experiences and reintegrate into society. For the restoration and reestablishment of their relationships toward social cohesion, rape perpetrators' involvement throughout the process required the application of a mixed approach combining social cohesion dimensions and conflict transformation practises, using both the two dimensions of conflict transformation that are individual and relational. The emphasis is put on the contribution of rape perpetrators to rape survivors enhancement of safety and sense of belonging into their community which at the end should provoke a reciprocal effect.

The post-incarceration period was the beginning point for social cohesiveness variables such as sense of belonging, safety, and support of rape perpetrators. This has been blended with one of the important pillars of conflict transformation practises, trust, trust between rape survivors and their rape perpetrators guiding expectation of rape survivors toward their perpetrators and vice versa, risk and vulnerability dilemma to restore their relationships, dependence management, restoration, reestablishment of their relationships, fragility and strength of social reintegration mechanism, and potential approaches towards so doing. These factors together make up the package of social cohesion dimensions and conflict transformation practises that are necessary to comprehend and explain the process of the reciprocal enhancement of the calibre of relationships between rape survivors and their perpetrators.

9.2 Perpetrators' contribution to rape survivors' safety: Enhancement of rape survivors' feeling of belonging

Perpetrators' contribution to rape survivors' safety lies in the engagement of perpetrators in re-establishing their relationships with rape survivors. This is well done under condition of perpetrators accepting accountability as a starting point of the process. This implies their feeling of belonging needs to be reinforced. Suggestions from both perpetrators and rape survivors as well as the one of community leaders for their attitude change remains the contribution toward the cohesiveness of the community.

9.2.1 Complicated rape perpetrators' accountability

The complexity of holding rape perpetrators accountable starts with their anticipated motivation to commit the rape act, which seems to be confusing and weakly addressed by the criminal justice system. This has been revealed while perpetrators were responding to the question, “Can you relate how the incident of rape happened and what you have experienced since?”

9.2.1.1 Perpetrator categories and motivation for rape

Sex offenders who participated to this study have different matrimonial statuses. There are married and single offenders, which gives insights into the types of perpetrators trend, including the main category of matrimonial status.

“In 2013 I was arrested for stealing stuff. They accused me of stealing wood. In 2015, I was arrested for rape. I’m married, I did it to a single girl. The girl that I raped was 19 years old” (PIM1)

... “The issue of rape occurred in 2018. I was 20 years old. The victim was married as was I” (PIM2)

... “It was in October 2018 that this issue happened. The victim was 16 years old. The girl and I were single, under-age, 16 years old” (PIM3)

... “It was in 2016 that had happened. At the time it happened, we were all singles as we still are up to the present” (PIM4) ...

“It was in 2010 with ABA. We are both married” (PIM5).

We had case studies of two married perpetrators whose rape victims were married women, two case studies of singles whose rape victims were single girls, and one case study of a married man who raped a single girl. The trend shows that every category of matrimonial status has been involved in a rape issue in the community. The logical question here is to discover their motivation for rape: if there is link between matrimonial status and rape motivations. There are many reasons that triggered rape in the community, as narrated by perpetrators themselves:

“Here is the story of the rape issue. Around 2 pm, I went to a bar where the victim was selling beers and was a waitress as well. There were rooms in that bar. Another lady who knows us, saw us and went to alert the victim’s in-law family, telling them that she saw us coming from one of the rooms of that bar... But also, when someone is drunker, he can rape easily. The isolation of the bar was a great fact. Sexual arousal and the lack of controlling myself” (PIM1).

“We were talking with the girl. Then I fell in love with her. We agreed to live together. The girl left her home and came to my place to live. She spent 3 days at my place” (PIM2) ..

. “I had a hotel in the village. I was selling beers, other alcohol as well in that hotel. She used to come to buy beers at my bar. She ended up looking for me to employ her in the hotel. She started selling beers for me” (PIM3) ...

“Myself, I don’t know exactly what made me rape her. I just noticed that I have raped her already. I didn’t decide to do it, but it happened randomly, it just happened that I did it as a man” (PIM4) ... “I asked the girl to follow me to the bush where this happened” (PIM5).

There are many factors that triggered rape. There is no single reason or monotype of motivation encapsulating all matrimonial status or for one category of matrimonial status. Rape motivations are various and personal, private to each perpetrator but involving several aspects. The environment in which rape occurs is a huge factor that motivated perpetrators to act without being restrained. Isolated and safe places have exposed both married males and females to rape. Even though in the midst of rape there can be noticed the presence of a catalyst element like alcohol or drunkenness, there is a common aspect for all married perpetrators: what characterizes them is the isolation and safety of the place. There is also the issue of asymmetric power between male married perpetrators and female victims, married or single. The asymmetric psychological violence was a tool that perpetrators took advantage of to rape. For instance, a powerful position like that owning the company, being the manager of the company small though it be, being older than the victim, being financially powerful, having age dominance and a superior masculine complex has provoked out of control sexual arousal. Although uncontrolled sexual arousal could be common to all perpetrators, there are some particularities to single perpetrators. Some of them raped just and only due to masculine uncontrolled lust, not premeditated, a random rape. Among singles, there was one whose motive was love. He claimed to have raped due to intense love for his girlfriend, the victim, who made him uncontrolled. Being under-age perpetrator and victim, the claim for the motive of rape, the safe and isolated place where rape occurred, the agreement between both and the claim of bystanders considering the issue as rape, make this last case quite complex to categorize the motive and judge the action. There were reasons that did not depend on either being single or married, but private to perpetrators themselves.

“My mother had 13 children. All of them passed away apart from me and my young sister. That’s why I decided to get married to many women to get a lot of children. Nowadays, I have 5 wives, 25 children and 25 young sons and daughters from my children. So, for me having intercourse with a woman, whether she likes it or not, does not mean anything as long as I can get a child from that act” (PIM3) ...

“She was already a concubine of mine. We planned to get married. Her behaviour while she was working for me at the hotel did not please me at all” (PIM5).

Some perpetrators were raping purposely in order to achieve a goal, like the increase of offspring, getting children born from rape or not. The need for increasing his offspring made the perpetrator have no limits, not prevent himself from raping, not worry about extra-marital intercourse and have a mind set to engage in such behaviour.

Hence, perpetrators' motivations triggering rape are at the same time directly attached to perpetrators' general trend like uncontrolled sexual arousal, uncontrolled lust and private motives depending on the benefits got from the action. Furthermore, there are some aspects which did not depend directly on perpetrators, but influenced the act to happen, like the environment in which rape occurred, and the state of drunkenness. Rape motivations also constitute the background of perpetrators' accountability attitudes: denied, or accepted, holding themselves responsible or not.

9.2.1.2 Perpetrators' complex accountability

Perpetrators' accountability is a complex process if all approaches such as criminal justice system and sociocultural system are not put together to make them acknowledge their responsibility. The first tendency of perpetrators regarding the offence is the denial of the incident, which might be nourished by sociocultural beliefs based on the meaning of rape incidence.

Prevailing perpetrators' position regarding rape: The predominant perpetrators' position when asked, "What was your motive for rape?" is to deny the fact at any cost. Their denial position is reinforced by victims' relatives' reactions, which tend to resort to popular justice, frightening perpetrators in advance.

"I was dating that girl. She loved me and forced me to sleep with her. She asked me to walk her to the farm and it was in the farm that rape occurred. It was love which made me do it" (PIM1) ...

"When the victim was engaged in provoking me, she excited me to do it. She was telling me stuff that made me excited, touching me, etc., then, I jumped on that occasion... Unfortunately, they only arrested me without paying attention to what she did to me for me to rape her. Yet she is the one who has provoked and excited me to rape her" (PIM3)

... "It was the girl who suggested to me to marry her. She is the one who caused it to happen. I was therefore convinced to do it" (PIM4) ...

"I was actually embarrassed as it was a non-premeditated, undeliberated situation. That made me leave the area for a while. I went to Lulingo" (PIM5).

There are two predominant positions of sex offenders regarding rape accountability. The first response of every perpetrator who participated in this study is to justify the reason rape occurred. They accuse victims instead of being responsible, rejecting their responsibility or putting it in the second position as a reactive action to victims' provocation. Those taking responsibility, did it indirectly by excusing themselves, using the non-premeditated reason and complaining about victims' needing to be held responsible as well. As such, there is no direct acknowledgement of the offence. The denial of acknowledging rape responsibility is motivated by some factors which keep accusing victims.

“She had dispute with her husband and wanted to regain and go back to her broken marriage. So, she plotted with her husband to accuse me of raping her in order to get money for her husband. They agreed with the husband to make a deal: ... If the husband returns to the marriage, in exchange, she must accuse the man who was dating her for rape to get money. The woman did as agreed. That’s how they sued me, and they transferred me to Bukavu prison” (PIM3) ...

“But after being aware of the plot, I stopped dating her and stopped taking care of her and her children. Three months later, I bought her fabric and a scarf, and told her that, I won’t date her anymore” (PIM5).

Tricky rape is another fact that makes it complex to hold perpetrators accountable. Perpetrators’ responsibility is also denied due to the victims’ motive of letting herself be raped, considered by the perpetrators as a trap. Rape becomes a deal instead of an offence. It has been concluded that in the area, there is a commercialization of rape to get money as it costs perpetrators once they are caught. The practice in the area is that, to avoid facing the justice process, many fake perpetrators are forced to acknowledge the offence and pay the fine to the husband or relatives of the victim. Perpetrators’ acknowledgement of the o is therefore determined by victims’ attitudes, which they can take advantage or not of denying. Attitudes like plots against the perpetrator, victim’s will or easy access to be raped reinforces the denial.

If perpetrators tend to deny the offence, on the other side, the perpetrators’ family, relatives, and community have a specific position toward perpetrators’ accountability.

Unpredictable support for perpetrators’ offences: Families and community have unpredictable reactions toward perpetrators’ offences, which strengthens perpetrators’ position to deny or not acknowledge their offence. Answers to the question of “How have your family and community behaved since you raped?” showed that the position of both was somehow contradictory.

“My family advocated for me. They supported me, telling the victim’s family that they have never seen such act occurred by me, I’m blameless/guiltless but the victim’s family refused to accept, to listen to what my family was telling them” (PIM1) ...

“My wife didn’t say anything about what happened to me. People were telling us that she mustn’t be involved in that issue, it’s not her problem ... The community wanted to arrange it between us without involving justice, but they didn’t want to” (PIM2) ...

“My parents understood that it was a big and serious matter. They didn’t know how to intervene. I was thus abandoned by all my family” (PIM3) ... “My family didn’t appreciate the fact that I raped. Finally, they ended up understanding and supporting me to manage it. They were ready to be involved” (PIM4) ...

“That victim’s family. instead of bringing the girl that I raped, they brought another one who was under my age, 13 years old, to convince the police to arrest me. That’s how they imprisoned me” (PIM5).

Differences in families' positions depend on the quality of the bond perpetrators have with their families, which could result in rejection or support. Perpetrators' families generally were supporting them, trying to clear the wrong of their people even though the offence was committed. Perpetrators' relatives, despite their reluctance to deny the truth, had a common attitude, protecting them so that they would reduce the chance of them being prosecuted. On the other side, victims' relatives were entailed to make perpetrators acknowledge their responsibility. Some went to the extent of forcing perpetrators' accountability by cheating to win the trial by exchanging the real victim with a fake under-age victim who was presented to the trial, as the real one could be considered as mature by the law. In both situations, pre-meditated malign behaviour, whether to avoid prosecution or to make perpetrators face the justice, determined their positions. Hence, false accusations to make the trial give a wrong decision about the perpetrators, clearing the offender of wrong, silencing it??, excluding the involvement of the right witnesses, protecting perpetrators by any means, etc. become a way of controlling the trial decision in advance to the advantage of any of the direct actors. These polarized positions reinforce therefore perpetrators' denial position and are an expression of hiding the truth or reality for rape accountability.

Community and relatives' positions during rape management: From the polarised positions taken to support either perpetrator or victim emerged the suggested mode for managing rape, contrasting between the wills of perpetrators and victims' families. Trying to understand how the issue was sorted out, I did understand that victims' families have different approach to managing the rape issue, which is mostly based on the judicial system, contrary to perpetrators' families' approach which was based on friendly terms approach.

"Her family sued me" (PIM1) ...

"It was Musa's family, the family of the victim's husband which sued me to the police. They accused me of raping the wife of their brother. I asked them to go to the hospital for them to make sure that it wasn't me who raped their in-law, but they didn't agree ... That's how her in-law family came to catch me. They beat me nearly to death. They put me in a room where they were beating me, torturing me, before they took me to the police station" ... "One morning, I saw her mother and brothers coming to search for their daughter. When they noticed that their daughter was in my room, they started beating me nearly to death. My mother in-law pulled out one of my testicles. In prison I couldn't get proper care, I suffered indeed" (PIM2) ...

Victims' families are using two approaches to manage the rape issue. This begins mostly with popular justice to take revenge, discharging their anger over perpetrators through physical torture, before prosecuting the perpetrator. In making sure to offer the first punishment to perpetrators, families are not for a friendly terms approach. In some cases, family reactions like physical violence become so severe that it causes many negative consequences, like the man who lost one of his testicles, pulled out in anger, a serious health consequence. Self-justice, criminal popular justice, is then followed by the second stage of a judiciary process where victims' families are involved and determined to use an official legal approach to manage the rape issue.

"My family wanted a friendly agreement, but the victim's family wanted to take me to justice instead. They wanted me to be arrested" (PIM1) ...

“My family suggested to keep their daughter in my family. My family agreed to take care of her, pay her school fees, etc. They refused. The only thing they wanted is to see me die” (PIM3) ...

“My family was not aware of that issue. As soon as they got informed, they asked the victim’s family to come to an amicable agreement” (PIM4) ...

“My family went to negotiate with the victim’s family for me to pay the dowry, but they refused” (PIM5).

For victims’ families, any suggestion avoiding the judiciary process was not welcome. Despite perpetrators families’ negotiations to manage the issue in a friendly way, victims’ families took the cases to justice as they compared the issue equal to a criminal offence. Words like, “they wanted me to die” express victims’ families’ perception of rape as equal to death. Therefore, the only equal way to make a perpetrator experience “death” equal to the act he has done against the victim is to make sure that the perpetrators go through a legal process.

In the case of rape between married people, the concept of the victims’ families is here to be considered in its extended sense. This includes not only the direct, biological families of victims but also in-laws’ families. Hence, victims’ families include single girls’ families, married women’s families and married women’s husband’s families which are victims’ in-laws’ families. This complex configuration of victims’ families becomes challenging if the victim is willing to be involved in the management of the issue, trying to stop their families from resorting to the judicial process which involvement puts the rape itself in doubt. *“But the victim was willing to go in prison with me as she still loves me. Her family didn’t take their daughter to hospital to be treated or to check if something wrong or bad occurred to their daughter”* (PIM5). Some victims’ positions against their families’ decision makes the issue unclear if this has to do with “rape by love” or “rape by force”. Victims’ attitudes therefore perplex bystanders in the community who are confused and advocating for friendly terms for offenders. In the community, the contradictory positions complicated the judiciary process:

“In the community people were divided into two groups, for and against me. Some of them supported me and found the act normal. For them, I should made friendly terms to sort out the problem. I should therefore pay a dowry to keep the girl. yet that happened to me without making any plan to do it. But others where against me. for them, I have to be arrested” (PIM1).

Community normalization of rape seems to be influenced by some victims’ attitudes as mentioned above, protecting perpetrators so that they escape from the judicial process. The “friendly term approach” trend was that of marrying victims, replacing a dowry with the fine from the offence done to victims and to their families. However, marrying their victims does not provide any guarantee of victims’ safety and the restoration of the complex life aspects damaged by rape, like the need for psychological healing, restoration of their honour and dignity as well as the reestablishment of their relationships at individual, interpersonal

and relational levels. Despite perpetrators' families and some bystanders of the community supporting friendly terms, harsh punishment (judiciary system) has gained over soft (friendly terms) . *"I was sued to justice and arrested"* (PIM1) ... *"I was tortured, imprisoned as well"* (PIM3) ... *"I was imprisoned. But after bribing them, I was released from prison"* (PIM4) ... *"I was imprisoned for one year then I got released"* (PIM5). Perpetrators' prosecutions, as wanted by victims' families, were done but the challenging question lies in the quality of the justice, which seems not to work out as expected by proponents.

9.2.1.3 Judicial system failure

The failure of the judicial system to hold a perpetrator accountable for his offence is seen through many factors, like non-respect for the trial principles such as impartiality of the trial, mode of serving the prison term, etc. which brought disappointment to those who supported the judicial approach instead of friendly terms.

"Polices took me to Kavumu prison where I spent 3 weeks" (PIM1) ... "I spent 4 months in the prison" ... "They sued me. I was arrested. I spent 3 days at Kavumu court. One of my brothers went to negotiate and paid something for me to be released. That was how I was freed" (PIM3) ...

"I was imprisoned for one year then I get released" (PIM4) ...

"I was arrested and spent two weeks in jail" (PIM5).

From the interviews, none of the sex offenders who participated in this research has served the sentence as established by the law. The least period spent in jail is days and the longest period spent in prison goes up to one year. The short and insignificant period spent in jail does not seem enough to hold perpetrators accountable for their offence as they are using corruption to shorten their sentence or not even attend the trial.

".... Then I escaped from the prison. I pretended to go to the toilet for me to escape. When I reached home, the family didn't know how and why I was freed" (PIM1) ...

"I had to bribe those police to release me" (PIM2) ...

"I escaped from it. There was a policeman who helped me to escape" (PIM3) ...

"I was imprisoned. But after bribing them, I was released from prison" (PIM4) ...

"To escape from prison, I sold all my 10 cows to bribe layers to let me free. Then I was freed from prison after one year" (PIM5).

Many factors have facilitated the unfair release of perpetrators, such as the poor quality of jail construction, the jail security and corruption. These factors have made the trial and holding perpetrators accountable impossible. A trial does not mean much to perpetrators as they rely on corruption to be released, which

makes victims weaker in front of perpetrators who seem to become stronger, cleared of all guilt, given that they are freed in a short period of time. Hence, instead of serving the sentence to create dissuasion from rape and try to stop rape culture, being prosecuted no longer makes sense to perpetrators. The only thing that frightens them is the threat of prison.

Time spent whether in prison has affected sex offenders' lives. Prison discipline has made perpetrators generally aware of the sensitivity of the rape issue, even though they did not serve their sentences in prison.

“When I got to prison, they tortured me too much. I have pain up to the present. My head, ears, flank/side are all paining me. I can hardly hear you; my back is paining me ... If you talk about rape, what I see is the prison, great pain, and suffering that I had while I was in prison” (PIM1) ...

“Telling me about rape seems like you are pointing a gun at my chest trying to kill me. That is the thing I'm now more afraid of, the consequences that come after rape are just horrible: imprisonment, justice, poverty, loss of everything for bribes for me to get freed, etc.... It has made my children weaker and my wife in difficult conditions. Life has become miserable, the risk of dying in prison and my children becoming vagrants and robbers, leave the story of prison behind me. I've become like a stick, inactive. Incapable of taking care of my family properly” (PIM2)

... “I don't think I still thinking about another possibility of raping. Even having intercourse, I think I will do it after years ... the time I spent in prison has let me learn a lot(PIM3)”

... “I've become an advisor of my children and young people in my neighbourhood because of the consequences I've experienced up to the present. It's better to get married if you feel like you do need a wife and your body can't stand it without a woman” (PIM4) ...

“Up to the present, I have intense pain almost everywhere from that torture. I'm unable to do my job properly as a carpenter ... Escape for me was a salvation. That's why I'm calm these days to avoid what happened to me. It is now 3 years since I've been released. I don't have a problem” (PIM5).

The time perpetrators spent in prison has changed their mindset on the perception of rape and contributed significantly to correcting their mindset toward rape sensitivity. Physical and psychological violence done to perpetrators and the pain experienced in prison have changed their minds to acknowledge the destructive consequences of rape such as health weakness and misery after escaping from prison. Perpetrators' quality of life has degraded after prison as a consequence of corruption and spread misery to their families, as resources were used to bribe in order to be released from jails and prisons. Father perpetrators have lost their dignity, reputation, and respect as caregiver of the family, split the family, produced vagrant children, etc. But justice is a deterrent force, and the dissuasive role played by prison, and the correctional time spent in prisons also has a positive effect on perpetrators' minds. Although short, prison experiences, the constrained lessons learnt, have turned some perpetrators into wise men, advisors, advocating against rape culture, and advising themselves as well as others around them. Even though perpetrators attitudes change after prison, and the positive change of mindset on the sensitivity of rape has to be considered, fearing

prison's consequences does not guarantee the prevention of rape culture as this seems to be short-lived but not perpetual as this could change under some unpredictable circumstances or environment.

Perpetrators' attitudes after being freed from the incarceration: After prison, perpetrators feel and behave according to other people's perception of their acts against women: appreciated or blamed. Perpetrators reported the fact while answering the question, "How you feel yourself, living in this area/ environment, including your family and community?"

"Up to now, they used to tell me that they will sue me again. But people from the neighbourhood tell them to abandon that thought as it was authorities of Kavumu prison who released me, yet it's false. They don't know the truth" (PIM1)

... "I lost everything that I had like my shop, pigs, farm, etc. because I had to pay a fine" (PIM2) ...

"When I escaped from the prison, I spent 3 days in the forest hiding myself I integrated into a bandits' group. They trained me to rob. We started stealing goods and harvesting food from farms ... Then, I met a group of young carpenters who advised me to go back to the village and quit that dirty job of robbing. Because for them I was risking dying if I keep on with that life of a robber, ... That was how I went back to my village, my family. At home, they welcomed me very well. They gave me clothes" (PIM3) ...

"In the community, some people didn't appreciate the fact that I escaped, and I came back to the village. They rather preferred me to be kept in jail. But others felt pity for me" (PIM4), ...

"The day I got home; everybody came to welcome me on my way back home ... "After being released from prison, her family agreed to make a friendly agreement. I paid 400 dollars and one goat" (PIM5).

The presence of perpetrators who did not serve their sentences disturbed the security of both, perpetrators themselves and other people in the area. Acknowledging the fact that they have constituted an unsafe environment and were not serving their sentences, withdrawal and isolation was the dominant attitude they had due to being guilty of lying, corruption, faking the trial, or an unfair trial. As a consequence, perpetrators went through rejection and lack of support in the community even though some could protect them. Furthermore, perpetrators in their withdrawal attitude would prefer to stay in jail instead of experiencing community rejection, insecurity or risking integrating into a criminal network. Family attitude differs from the rest of the community members as they were satisfied by the release of their perpetrator relatives. Perpetrators' relatives minimized and undermined the offence. Also, for the perpetrators' families, they assumed that the fact of welcoming, accepting, and taking care of perpetrators would safeguard them and protect them from integrating into criminal bands. This is the reason for their happiness at seeing them back, no matter the means used to be freed, contrasting with victims' families. The presence of perpetrators

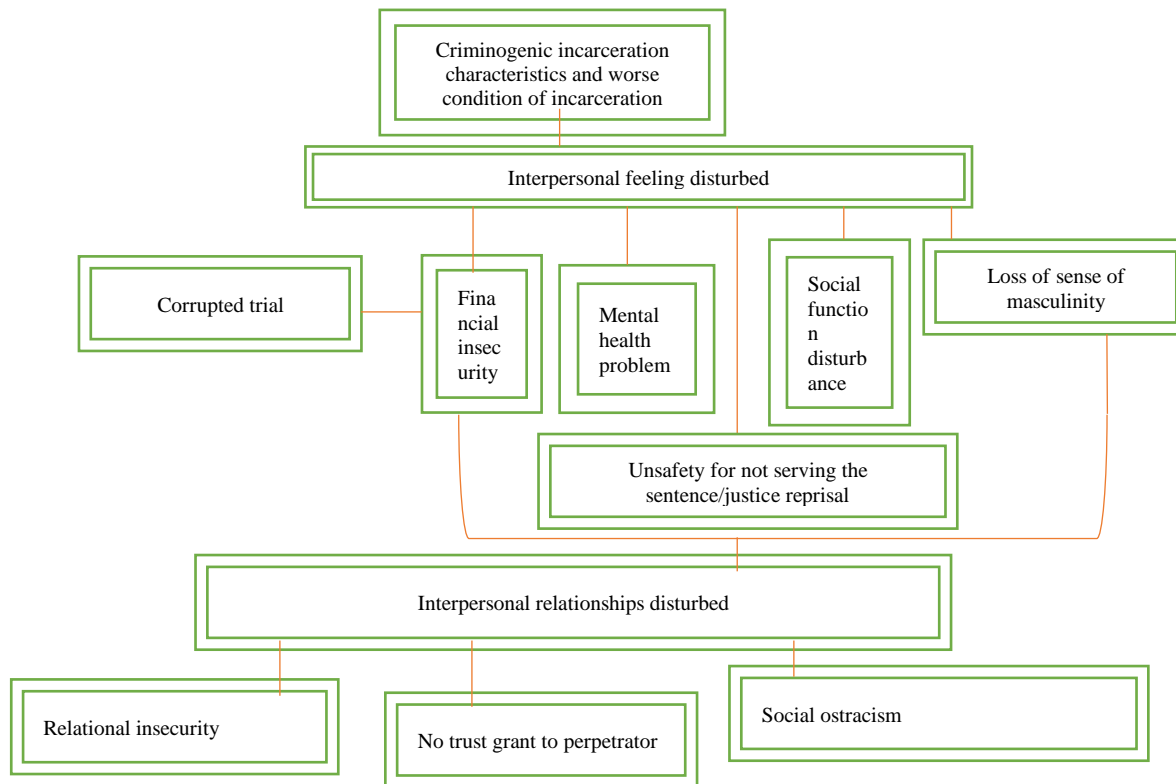
who did not serve their sentence made victims' relatives confused and weakened to pursue perpetrators, forcing them to comply with perpetrators' suggestion, the friendly terms to manage the rape issue. After the perpetrator was released from prison without serving the sentence, the victim's family did not have a choice to oppose to the negotiation suggested by perpetrators, as the victim's family found themselves in a weak position. Constrained to accept perpetrators' offers to protect victims' safety, impunity and a friendly term negotiation have won over legal process, making perpetrators stronger than victims.

Although the judicial system has failed to prevent rape culture and dissuade perpetrators from using rape against girls and women, prison keeps its dissuasive and educative, correctional role, the results of which results are visible in fugitives' attitudes and the deterioration in their family conditions such as health, financial means, relationships, etc. However, this has a negative effect on the side of victims, who feel unsafe in the presence of fugitives from justice, as well as on their family that are constrained to either forgive or accept perpetrators' approaches to managing rape. Instead of getting justice to overcome their victimization, they have become more vulnerable in front of their perpetrators. On the other side, perpetrator safety depends on the level of their acceptance or rejection in the community as well as in their families, despite support from the family members. All these factors affect perpetrators' reintegration into their community.

9.2.1.4 Perpetrators feeling of belonging in the post-incarceration period: Social reintegration disturbance factors

Consequences of rape did not leave perpetrators without scars. They have suffered from relational, social, and psychological disturbance, normal trauma equal to anyone who experiences rape, whether a victim or offender. Consequences of the incarceration of perpetrators have frustrated them more than rape incident itself, destabilizing their social reintegration at financial, intrapersonal, and interpersonal levels, as revealed when they were asked, how you feel yourself, being involved in a rape incident situation, how can you tell yourself who you have become?

Figure 9:1 Perpetrators' feeling of belonging altered



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

9.2.1.5 Perpetrators' alteration of life affected by rape aftermath

The rape act did not leave sex offenders without some scars. Every sex offender who participated in this research acknowledged the alteration of at least one of the aspects of his life, whether physical, emotional, relational, or social.

"I'm very afraid of committing that issue. It gives me a fright. I know that at any time police can catch me again because I didn't serve my sentence in prison. I can walk but not feel free. But I don't care if they will kill me or leave me alive. Only God knows. I've become pensive. I've noticed something wrong with me. My brain, mind does not work normally anymore as it was before. Nothing is normal any more with me. I feel like I've become crazy, haywire. Since I raped, and after my imprisonment, I've start smoking hemp and drugs. Because of too many worries. In my family, they have forbidden me and blamed me for using drugs. That how I decreased the intensity of using it" (PIM1) ...

"Since I went through that issue, I've even lost weight, I've become physically weak, poverty has disturbed all my family and other people start questioning themselves how I'm getting so old. They are mocking me, telling me, 'Brother, you've never left your old and dilapidated coat'. Corruption of those lawyers, policemen, has made me miserable. My wife as well is mocking me because of that issue. When I send my child to do something for me, he as well can't obey to my order anymore. He has become full of himself as I'm no longer able to punish any one in my house, I'm no longer a good model for my family. Even my intelligence, my thoughts, are no longer at their good place, abnormal because of the poverty that rape issue has done to me" (PIM2) ... "Nothing! It seems like I'm in the world but I'm not living. And when I think about what I've lost, the negative change, etc..." (PIM3)...

"I have pain, I feel grieved and guilty: I've regretted that act. I feel like I've become useless compared to other people around me" (PIM4)

... "I'm angry against those who accused me to justice because they accused me falsely. All prisons are corrupt. They were asking me for 500 dollars almost every month, like 10.000 dollars to free me from prison" (PIM5).

Psychologically and emotionally unstable, traumatised by many aspects of the rape issue such as justice, social and emotional aftermaths, they have difficulty in stabilizing themselves. They are worried about escaping justice: not serving their sentence keeps them slaves of isolation and hiding from people as well as worried about the first prelude experience of prison, extreme torture. Trauma is a huge issue that sex offenders struggle to overcome – unfortunately alone – as there is no structure, whether social care in the community or health care, that helps them to heal or any care that would help them stabilize emotionally or psychologically, apart from their family care. This increases their trauma status and make some perpetrators drug dependent, a serious public danger as some resort to drugs to overcome their trauma, acknowledging themselves to be behaving as psychologically disturbed, ill people. Guiltiness for the rape act, sexual misconduct, miserable lives, make them anxious, and they feel useless. From our observation, for instance, while talking about how negatively their lives have changed, some were near to tears because of sadness, life deterioration, and guilt. Some are desperate that they have nothing in terms of inheritance to leave to their offspring: *"Poverty caused by imprisonment life is horrible. I'm incapable of building a house as an inheritance for my children and*

providing a dowry to my boy to get married” (PIM1). The consequence of perpetrators’ imprisonment is devastating, as it affects generations.

Socially weak, some of them have lost reputation related to masculinity as father and husband in their families due to misery and lack of providing as caretaker of the families. Misery caused by bribes paid for them to be freed has destroyed perpetrator relationships in their families. Humiliation, discomfort, loss of respect and consideration, etc. have also increased trauma as they challenge their sense of their masculinity, disturbing families’ values.

9.2.1.6 Perpetrators intrapersonal sense of feelings affected

If perpetrators have been traumatised due to their relationship with other people, from families to community, they are also suffering from other additional psychological effects of rape such as phobia, suicide, back of rape bad memories, etc. making the perpetrators uncomfortable. Some perpetrators narrated,

“Because the victim’s family wanted me to die in prison, sometimes I feel committing suicide. Even my friends have noticed that my head is not on my shoulders, I feel crazy ... I’m always afraid of falling in the same mistake ... The poverty, penury, misery does not leave me in peace” (PIM1) ...

“Affection between me and my wife has diminished. She is threatening to divorce me and stop taking care of me, and my children’s education” (PIM2) ...

“I feel afraid. It’s become like a kind of phobia. When I saw relatives from that victim’s family, they gave me a fright. I feel like disappearing from them. When I see her mother, I run away. I’m scared” (PIM3) ...

“Isolation from others. I’m afraid to approach other people because of their criticism against me” (PIM4) ..

“After 6 months, I started figuring out what has happened. Every time that those who are close to me remind me about that issue, it’s shocking me too much” (PIM5).

The psychological consequences of rape on perpetrators are apparently unbearable. Due to the lack of health care and other forms of perpetrator care, this has huge consequences, not only for perpetrators, but is also a risk to their victims. According to perpetrators’ feelings, some are tempted to commit suicide, there is a trend of rape relapse, a distortion of their intimate partnerships, phobia in front of victims’ relatives and other human beings, and isolation. This strong feeling of phobia and trauma becomes a public health risk where perpetrators, in their process of seeking for psychological equilibrium, might fall into the same mistake of rape and other crimes, as acknowledged by some of them. This is to prove that the level of their suffering, trauma has gone so far as perpetuation of committing the same or other offenses, a very risky attitude disturbing public harmony. Furthermore, the fact of also being rejected by their loved ones disrupts every process of perpetrators to recover from their traumatic lives.

9.2.1.7 Perpetrators unbearable rejection

The environment in which perpetrators are living constitutes an excessive source of their trauma as they are not welcomed unanimously by every person in their living area.

“I moved from Cifunzi to another area because of her. I stay at Kashesha because of that story, ... I moved as I was afraid of being killed by that family. They could even burn me inside my house. That’s why I left that area to avoid staying in the same area with them, ... As I’m married, we decided with my wife to go to stay with my in-law family to get land to cultivate. Because after prison, I became miserable” (PIM1) ...

“If I could get money and leave this area. I’m afraid of that problem” (PIM2) ...

“I’m afraid. I’m here because I don’t have money to rent a house somewhere else. Otherwise, I could move already. I fear to be arrested once more ... Now, when I realise that my victim is not the girl that I am supposed to have raped as she is not even among girls who deserve it, I feel very bad. She is not beautiful, she is from a lower, much lower social class than mine, she is not educated, etc. that’s the thing bothering me” (PIM3)...

“Staying in this community after that issue is not a big deal for me” (PIM4) ...

“After that issue, my economic life has decreased very much. And in my village, as a chief, people regretted the act that I committed” (PIM5).

Attitudes of people in perpetrators’ environment’ have affected and deteriorated perpetrators’ mindsets on their social and psychological status. This has modified perpetrators’ habits and needs for them to fit into their living areas. The need to divert people’s attention from them in order to reduce negative critics and stress, avoiding death from victims’ relatives’ revenge due to lack of serving their sentence in prison, shame due to a miserable life after committing the offence and being freed from prison, avoiding contact with victims, who for some perpetrators did not deserved to be raped by them as the victims are considered to be of lower social class compared to them (being considered from a higher social class, they feel not guilt but embarrassment), are factors that made perpetrators feel misfits in their environment where they are no longer trusted, especially those who prior to rape were holding leadership responsibility in their community. For these reasons, perpetrators preferred displacement to protect themselves from any aspects disturbing their safety, peace, and stability. Those who do not feel guilty for the act done, live in their environment peacefully without any remorse, even though this attitude is the exception to the general rule. Thus, many factors have influenced obstacles to perpetrators proceeding freely with their social reintegration.

9.2.2 Perpetrators’ safety challenged

The judicial system, popular justice and sociocultural systems have been applied in the community to solve the rape issue. However, the consequences of these judiciary systems have caused perpetrators social disharmony and created an unsafe environment. Three factors, failure of justice to make a fair trial, consequences of popular justice, and misery must be considered to understand what fragilizes perpetrators’ social lives in their environments, making them feel worried and unsafe as they reported when answering “Is there any worry you feel, being in this situation?”.

“Our authorities are corrupt. As I don’t have enough money to bribe them, that is still a big deal to me. Besides, in prison they were not giving us food. To find food, it was difficult. I had to pay money to police guards to get food from my family” (PIM1) ...

“When someone commits such an act, we offenders do not have lawyers who can plead for us” (PIM3),

“Our judicial system is corrupted. Whether you are right or not, no one cares about you. That has made people even lie to us without any fear” (PIM4).

Although perpetrators were satisfied by justice system corruption to get unfair trials facilitating their release, the aftermath of their corrupt behaviour had them caught in an infernal cycle of insecurity. Because of the rejection they experienced after being unfairly released from prison, perpetrators do not feel free to live in their community, fearing the repression of justice to be taken once more back to prison. Living as fugitives from justice becomes a second trauma that perpetrators are living in. Perpetrators complain not only about the corrupted judicial system but also about the lack of a lawyer to advocate their issue: it seems as if being a perpetrator is being denied the right to be protected by the law or to get a protected trial. They claimed to get lawyers who could protect their rights against wrong rape accusation, which do exist.

Popular justice in the community brings shame, preventing perpetrators from feeling free in their own community.

“The day they arrested me; I was beaten very badly. I feel like the suffering of Jesus Christ on the cross wasn’t enough for the one that I got that day. I preferred death instead of staying alive” (PIM1),

“When I see my friends improving their lives and becoming better than me, yet I was the one who was better than them financially, that’s bothering me. I feel ashamed. My friends have even made a song to provoke me, singing he was rich but because he couldn’t control himself, that how he has become poor” (PIM3) ...

“No! when I see her, I feel like leaving this area and going to stay somewhere else. I’ve realised that I couldn’t be with her, I could rape at least another girl of my level to feel like I’ve raped. She is not on my criteria to be a girlfriend to be raped by me, People in my neighbourhood don’t forget that story. Some of my friends still remind me of issue. When they want to provoke me, they used to say, ‘We are wondering how come, you raped that girl. is it you who did it actually? It’s disgusting me’” (PIM4).

Popular justice is a community style of punishment. The great objective is to bring shame into perpetrators lives. Shame is either inflicted on perpetrators by other people or self-inflicted due to guilt. Practices like beating perpetrators to death followed by judicial sanction, whether it works out or not, forces perpetrators to feel guilty of the sexual misconduct, be it a wrong or true accusation. On the other side, there is the belief in “proud and shame rape”. “Proud rape” is rape done by a man who does it to a valued woman or girl, esteemed more than him or equally valued. In this case, the perpetrator feels proud of displaying a masculine force commonly praised by other men through sentences like “this is a man”, a confirmation of the perpetrator’s masculinity. But “shame rape” is that done to a woman or girl who is undervalued compared to her sex offender. This brings shame to the perpetrator, who is mocked by his fellows and told he was “wasting effort by raping her”. Victim’s values are evaluated in terms of beauty, social class, education, etc. Instead of seeing it as toxic masculinity, men in the community have

a contrasting perception praising this kind of destructive masculinity. Finally, shame comes from the misery caused by the corrupt judicial system which made perpetrators miserable, incapable of covering their needs and incapable of fulfilling their family needs. Missing glorification from rape, being guilty of undeserved rape and guilty of actual rape, a miserable life brings shame to perpetrators, disturbing their safety and freedom in their neighbourhood.

9.2.2.1 Outside perceptions disturbing offenders' safety

Perpetrators' sexual misconduct has disturbed their harmony in the community. They have been portrayed negatively, which made them in turn feel uncomfortable to live in their neighbourhood. Responding to the question, "According to your current situation, what do people say you are?" perpetrators reported as follows.

"They have named me in the community, *kataboga manyowa*. *Kataboga* means someone who does not fear, because of the appearance I got after being freed from prison ... in my neighbourhood, people have hated me, considering me like a thief, robber, nefarious person. If only something got lost in the area, they accuse me and it's me who will pay for that loss. They were comparing me to a militia (RM)" (PIM1) ...

"In my neighbourhood, people do not respect me. They are undermining me too much. They don't perceive me in a good way. They don't appreciate me anymore. My relationship to them is no longer good" (PIM3) ...

"The majority of people in my neighbourhood would wish to see me die because of what I did. They were saying this, many have died; if we kill him, there is no problem" (PIM4).

Perpetrators are risking their lives living in the area where offences have been committed. There is no trust granted to them due to the offence committed, which reinforced their rejection, with death being wished on some perpetrators. The community's wish for the perpetrator's death is justified by the gravity of rape, considered equal to death. Lacking trust, lacking respect, lacking consideration and appreciation, having an odd appearance after escaping from prison, wrong accusations, a bad reputation, being aware of a death wish, have been distorting their relationships in the neighbourhood. If most perpetrators are portrayed negatively in their neighbourhood, this depiction does not last for ever. Perpetrator depiction varies according to perpetrators' responses to external threats. Some have succeeded in enhancing their reputation through their actions after prison and obtained acceptance in their neighbourhood, as narrated:

"They were mocking me but after being freed from prison, I built my house, that made them change their perception of me and start respecting me again ... My consideration, respect in my neighbourhood is still the same and I live without any problem, ... I have gained my place in the community again. Those who were mocking me, stopped doing it. There is respect" (PIM1).

Their strategy to overcome people's rejection is to value themselves. Perpetrators who work to transform their lives for the better and bring some input into their neighbourhood gain respect and consideration. For instance, the perpetrator chief of the village who lost respect has regained it, proved by the obedience of his subordinates in the village. A self-valued life affects respect and acceptance and

is a strategic tool to change others' perceptions against perpetrators based on quality-of-life improvement.

9.2.2.2 Perpetrators' traumatic images worsening their insecurity

Perpetrators' intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships have been disturbed by traumatic events caused by themselves. Hence, the environment in which rape occurred, and people directly involved in the rape issue constituted the traumatic images that cause perpetrators' limbic systems to keep living in unsafe, uncertainty, and worried conditions as seen in responses to the question, "Are there any people with whom you feel safe/unsafe, and why?"

"If only I go to Cifunzi neighbourhood where I raped, I feel unsafe. I feel like everybody is watching me and remembering the thing that I did, ... There are people who keep on pointing fingers at me saying that I'm a nefarious person. When I notice that, I feel as if I must leave that area and go away because no one would like to stay where he is still unsafe, ... If I see from afar someone from the victim's family, I feel unsafe, I run away from him and change my direction. Everybody from that victim's family makes me feel unsafe" (PIM1) ...

"My wife also makes me feel safe. But because of poverty, our relationship has become weak and complicated. When I miss what she needs, she becomes a source of my insecurity" (PIM3).

Perpetrators have suffered emotionally and psychologically from living in the same environment where the rape occurred. The presence of victims, victims' relatives as well as perpetrators' intimate partners makes perpetrators unsafe as their presence brings back rape memories that traumatize their minds. Although perpetrators try to avoid facing their presence, there are some people with whom they are constrained to live, like intimate partners whose presence is permanent, constituting a constant traumatic image. This does not allow perpetrators to decrease or feel free from guilt. Not only people directly involved in the rape issue or well as intimate partners, but also any security person becomes a traumatic image that brings back rape memories.

"Soldiers as well make me feel unsafe. In my mind sticks that image of security guys who tortured me in prison. I don't want to see them again, those people wearing security uniforms like army, police, etc." (PIM1) ...

"People who know law and those who are not corrupted make me feel safe ... Militias as well make me feel unsafe because I find them savage as they don't know the law. They can catch me without any reason" (PIM3) ... "Those who arrested me, those who keep on wishing my death, my victim's family, people from my neighbourhood make me feel unsafe" (PIM4) ...

"I feel well and calm. It's only RM militias who make me unsafe" (PIM5).

Perpetrators not serving their sentence do not feel safe. Acknowledging their mistake, the fear of any security person becomes a traumatising image that they trying to avoid. Frightened by corruption and wrongful release, they are no longer trusting them as their behaviour could, by the means of corruption, turn against themselves. Corruption being unpredictable, perpetrators assume that any security person

can be easily bribed making the game turn against them and resulting in them being taken back to prison.

After the rape experience, perpetrators overall impression is dominated by a feeling of insecurity traumatizing their minds and controlling their attitudes and behaviour in their living areas or in front of victims.

“I’ve never felt free since that issue happened to me. Especially as I even don’t know which stage the case is on or what that family has decided to do to resolve this problem, to take the problem” (PIM1),

“The reimprisonment which is making me afraid. The fact that you (researcher) are interviewing me about that issue, I fear to be taken again to justice, to be sued once more. You can also be a security agent sent to capture me. That’s what I’m thinking right now” (PIM2) ...

“I think about leaving this area and moving to another place. When my friends see me and mock me, that is shocking me, grieving my heart because of their humiliation, etc.” (PIM3) ...

“The thing that remains is the fact that I feel bothered seeing her” (PIM4) ...

“The remaining one is the thoughts. I’m depressed as that situation made me miserable” (PIM5).

Justice reprisals (as most of perpetrators did not serve their sentence) is the main issue making perpetrators feel unsafe. They fear any person who is linked to the justice service, even a researcher, as from the interview some aspects of their impunity and corruption could be revealed to the judicial system. According to my observation, when the perpetrator was expressing his worry at even being interviewed by the researcher (Mauwa Josephine), he was uptight, and his facial expression showed worry and insecurity, showing how stressed he was. Automatically, they lose trust in any person around them as the case is supposed to be ongoing. Friends’ mockery also does not make them feel they are living freely, due to their humiliation. Therefore, they feel bothered, anxious, frustrated, shocked, pensive, etc. permanently. Hence, consequences of any unfair attitude form a traumatic image.

“For me rape is still better than its consequences. Its consequences that’s the great problem. Rape brings you prison, maltreatment, poverty, disturbance of consciousness, etc. those are more severe than rape” (PIM1), ...

“Since I’ve been freed from prison and since I was tortured, I can’t engender. Before taking me to prison, they tortured me up to grabbing one of my testicles. In prison they treated me but after prison, my wife can’t get pregnant. The 3 children I have, I had them before the rape issue. My wife is still young, she is 28. I have harvested my small farm to sell my vegetables to get money to go to the hospital to be cured. I’ve tried but nothing happened; that was now 3 years ago” (PIM3) ... “I’m missing peace because of poverty brought by the rape issue” (PIM4).

If the failure of the judicial system has turned into a traumatic issue of perpetrators, popular justice also does not provide peace of mind to perpetrators. Popular justice is seen to be more criminal, as severe torture has made some perpetrators sterile. Drawn from an interview, one of the perpetrators is no longer fertile even three years after being severely tortured. Lacking fertility puts the couple’s relationship in trouble, increasing therefore the perpetrator’s worry of divorcing and living a miserable life. But some find release and safety through structures like church.

“When I’m at church, I’m at peace rather than when I’m in my neighbourhood. Because I feel safe with people from church” (PIM1) ...

“I feel safe only with my family” (PIM3) ...

“People in my neighbourhood don’t speak about it anymore. They forgot about the issue. I feel safe ... But my friends are the ones that make me feel unsafe because of their provocation, they remind me of that scene” (PIM4).

Religion, being a social control tool, plays a large role in safeguarding perpetrators as they feel controlled, which attitude helps prevent them from offence relapse. Spiritual exercises like prayer as well as preaching, directly replacing advice and counselling, contribute significantly to perpetrators’ positive change through de-traumatization. On the other hand, although friendship has seemed not to be sufficient to rely for relief as friends’ attitude is still unpredictable, they still play a social control role as well by being capable of telling the truth. Friends’ jokes turning a perpetrator’s offence into humour make the perpetrator accountable as well as relieving him from rape fear.

Perpetrators’ insecurity is a complex issue which involves at any one-time environment, victims, victims’ relatives as well as security people, dealing at the same time with all these different categories of external actors who could or are supposed to provide perpetrators’ safety. Prison memories, inhuman criminal torture, and cruel rape consequences remain permanent images traumatizing perpetrators and bringing rape flashbacks into their memories. However, by attending religious activities, some perpetrators have gained benefit going step by step, gradually towards their healing process, providing peace of mind. Some perpetrators would like social displacement, self-isolation, to migrate from their neighbourhood in order to overcome the frightening rape aftermath and get gradually through the healing process. Hence, religion and friends form perpetrators’ safety pillars.

9.2.3 Perpetrators’ social reintegration mechanism’s fragility

Social reintegration mechanism of perpetrators still weak as it depends on the perception that other people have upon them which determines issues around their acceptance. To start this process, perpetrators’ motivation or demotivation depends on the conviction they have of how other people perceive them. Asked, “What kind of attitude, action done to you shows that you are (not) welcome in your community?” perpetrators’ conviction was of not being accepted in their neighbourhood. A soft or harsh rejection attitude from others has affected their elective feeling of belonging.

“People don’t like me any more in this neighbourhood. The fact that they are accusing me falsely” (PIM1) ...

“Bad, negative words from my wife and other people from this area like ‘now, he is about to die, he will die because of problems.’ My parents don’t appreciate me anymore as it was before the rape issue” (PIM3),

“I don’t feel I belong to this community anymore because of those who wanted me to die” (PIM4) ...

“Everyone is so uninterested in me. They hardly assist me” (PIM5).

Perpetrators' rape offences have caused their hate in their neighbourhood. As such, perpetrators' feeling of belonging keeps on being fragilized, demotivating them from acting otherwise. Insults, bullying, extreme hate made them feel like strangers, pariahs in their community, holding no value.

"There was a time that I used to send my children to get firewood from my neighbour. They were insulting them, telling them that they are children of a sexual offender ... And my children who could respect me, because of that, they started undermining me as well. I have lost my esteem and respect" (PIM1) ...

"A bad treatment, an unfair one. For example, in my neighbourhood, if they borrow people's stuff or food, they will give me a deadline to pay. Everyone could go beyond the deadline but not me: they won't tolerate me to go beyond the deadline to pay back. That's unfair. They even prosecute me at the police station for me to pay back the debt. No one trusts me" (PIM3)

... "It's my friends who are discriminating against and undermining me. They told me, 'We have understood how that issue happened to you and we are still thinking a lot about that issue' ... In other words, if that victim had deserved to be raped by me according to her social class, beauty, etc. they would tell me, 'Man, you are strong!'; they could praise that act of rape instead of condemning me as they are" (PIM4) ...

"Mockery of people, but it's not too much as it was before. People start respecting me again like their chief of the village, ... When I invite people to come to a meeting, those who come are the ones that respect and have esteem for me. but those who refuse to come are the ones that don't obey to me" (PIM5).

Disdain by people in their community has affected their relatives' attitudes against them. For some, lack of respect, lack of trust and mockery, an attempt on their dignity and reputation caused them great psychological and relational suffering as it is putting their authority in doubt. For married perpetrators, this disturbed their family harmony, and caused loss of father esteem. Single ones they feel unconsidered, losing being glorified due to the "shameful rape" as a strong man, making them feel less than a man. The rape issue is here considered as a battle where the winner is proud, and the loser feels ashamed. Single perpetrators, as well as their friends, do not condemn the act of rape but rather the quality of the victim's worthiness and according to the offender's efficiency⁹². Both married and single perpetrators feel uncomfortable in their living environment due to the loss of their masculinity values. Those factors demotivated perpetrators from feeling that they were in the right place, where they are welcome, accepted, and connected.

9.2.4 Perpetrators' creativity as self-mechanism toward social reintegration

Creativity and proactivity to initiate activities for their self-efforts towards social reintegration was relevant to perpetrators. Answered to the question, "What kind of activities (main or not) are you engaged in within your family or community?", have allowed them to understand their social reintegration strengths and limits.

⁹² Efficiency means an act of rape against a victim who of higher worth than the offender

Service rendering, either in their families or in their community (or even for themselves) has a positive impact as a preparative way towards their social reintegration. However, not all of them are in the position of providing a service in their area.

“Before, I was a sawyer. At the moment, I do nothing nowadays. Not even to cultivate because of the shocks, pain that I got from rape issue tortures” (PIM1)

... “I was doing business before the rape event. But at the moment I do nothing” (PIM2) ...

“I do small business” (PIM3) ...

“I cultivate and breed. And have a small business of wood from Kalonge to Bukavu” (PIM5).

Physical and health weakness from rape aftermaths has rendered some perpetrators too weak to work for themselves. Those who are still physically strong are doing small business or farming. Challenges of not being active enough does not limit their determination to seek their social reintegration into their families and community.

Determination to be accepted: Challenged by hard and difficult conditions of life, each perpetrator has a particular motivation to be and to stay active.

“I try to do it. But I no longer have strength to do activity as it was before the rape issue. Instead of chasing away my children from school because of the lack of money, I rather prefer to work hard, sacrifice myself even if I’m no longer strong to do it” (PIM1) ... “When I do any activity, I feel well and in a good state. I do it with much strength and courage. But as I’m not doing it these days, I feel bad” (PIM3) ...

“I feel engaged in what I’m doing as it’s still the only source of my finance, funding” (PIM4).

Some perpetrators, despite their physical and health weakness, preferred sacrificing themselves to work to take their responsibility as parents or to gain some money, little thought it may be. Either way, perpetrators are motivated to be active for their mental and psychological stability. Meanwhile, not only do their activities contribute to fulfil some of their needs, but also makes them valued them in their neighbourhood and families, preparing space for their reintegration.

Fitting mechanism for perpetrators acceptance: Perpetrators used several approaches to become accepted into their families and community even though some of them are still wishing to be accepted and fit into their living environment, as they responded to the question, “From what mechanism do you fit in your community?”

“I do nothing to distract people to stop gossiping against me. I just feel being accepted by them ... As chief of the village, I invited people from my village to justify myself, telling them that, ‘Even if that has happened to me, I advise you to keep yourself far from that rape issue to avoid being caught in trouble as well.’ I have become the example, model of community for that issue” (PIM1) ...

“I do nothing” (PIM2) ...

“I could maybe cultivate and do small business” (PIM3) ...

“I could integrate into a church. That will give me value again, otherwise, I will die” (PIM4) ...

“I’m missing money. But what I could do is making doughnuts. I should have something to share with my relatives and people surrounding me because that will help me to be accepted and regain my consideration in the area” (PIM5).

Pro-active perpetrators are those who initiate an approach to value themselves, creating an approach that fits for them to be accepted and be granted space in their neighbourhood. For this, they use their position to take advantage of offering something, like advice. Organizing community talks on important topics that they have been through, like “rape culture avoidance” makes them on top of their community as having experienced the aftermath of rape. These have turned the rape aftermath positively into advice protecting their community, preventing people get caught in the same trap. This position gives them value and makes them accepted into their community. However, some rely on the approach of time flattening memories. For them, it is better to be patient and allow time to clear their wrong and gradually get acceptance. Those passive perpetrators still wish to see change happen through some suggestions such as the use of sharing, small business, attending some community activities by integrating into a new social group to gather with others to create connectedness. Activities and an occupation constitute the basis of respect, clearing wrong, and giving self-value to create a strong level of sociability as they will reinforce their acceptance of the fact of caring about others. Hence, a strong personality to make things change through advice, and strong sociability are two mechanisms allowing them to overcome offence and guilt and be able to trigger perpetrators’ self-values to be accepted into their living areas.

Benefit drawn from perpetrators’ acceptance mechanism: Being proactive for their acceptance has granted them many benefits. as revealed from their answers to the question, “How do you feel yourself, according to the position or role you play in your family or community?” The position held among others and service rendered had a positive effect on their social reintegration process, although was not generalized among all perpetrators.

“That will help me to keep a certain value in the community, doing an activity, sharing, singing in the choir, etc.” (PIM1) ...

“I felt very good. I don’t care about those who don’t accept me to live alongside them. I don’t care about them and even for the moment I feel good, I’m living without any problem and worry apart from poverty which is disturbing me” (PIM3).

Proactive perpetrators hold positions in their families and community which grant them acceptance make them feel valued among others, create happiness, recovering their previous mood, and giving a feeling of belonging to their social settings. Self-conviction of the situation and acceptance of the situation also increases their confidence, confirming their positive healing process. However, those having passive positions are still struggling for their reintegration process.

“I have nothing to do and I’m still suffering” (PIM1) ...

“I’m questioning myself about what I can do. If I had money, I could go to search for wise men of the community to manage that issue with my victim’s in-law family” (PIM3), ...

“I do nothing to make my friend stop negatively criticising me and for me to feel well, calm” (PIM4).

Passive perpetrators remain in a position of wishing to see change without making any effort, which is slowing their social reintegrative mechanism. This position, idle, incapable of acting or initiating any option to make change, does not help them stop threats against them. It is maintaining them in the same position of rape offence traumatism which does not help them make wishes change into acceptance.

Hence, for perpetrators' acceptance to be a possibility, this is a long process which involves several steps and perpetrators' personal perception of their own change. The core of change and the social reintegration mechanism of the perpetrator lies in the perception of the issue of rape of each perpetrator. Those who believe in change, work to make change happen through engaging themselves in activities, material, or non-material, to impact their change and trigger their acceptance in their living environment. This increases their confidence and boosts the trauma healing process, an advantage to their social reintegration based on a strong personality and each perpetrator's level of sociability.

9.2.5 Perpetrators' trust mechanism toward rape survivors' safety enhancement

Here, conflict transformation practices have been combined with social cohesiveness dimensions like safety and trust. Three of the five pillars of conflict transformation practices listed in the theoretical framework were used in this section regarding both rape survivors and perpetrators interactions, and others were used while presenting the issue of rape regarding both rape survivors and perpetrators. The three used are, develop the capacity to integrate multiple time frames⁹³, develop the capacity to pose the energies of conflict as a dilemma⁹⁴, develop the capacity to make complexity a friend, not a foe⁹⁵. Trust and safety being the key concepts used to explain how these facts work under both social cohesion

⁹³ In the context of this study, and according to the present situation, I consider the change from negative to positive attitudes of rape survivors and their perpetrators to positively change their relationships as support to each other to socially integrate their community. That involves the two levels of change: personal and relational as they relate to opportunities for change which are also related to multiple time frames.

Personal change: For female rape survivors, the basis for personal change lies on their willingness for change, trusting herself and the perpetrators which would produce positive results like feeling accepted, and reconstructing her identity, among others. **Relational change:** Victims and perpetrators have similar relational needs. For instance, the feeling of belonging to their community, participation in social networks, being accepted, respected, and trusted, and so on. Apart from the similar needs, perpetrators on the other hand, have specific needs such as participating in the victim's reintegration process within her family and community. The un-convicted perpetrators need to repent, acknowledge their accountability, and participate in the victims' reintegration process.

⁹⁴ Dilemmas and complexity are inter-related and involve the decision between either/or. The choice of handling contradictory solutions to move towards constructive change is at the heart of a dilemma. The formula is then: *How can we address "A" and at the same time build "B"?* This is at the centre of transformation. So, putting energy into a dilemma to find a solution is efficient for the sake of change.

Again, it's at the relational level of rape survivors and their perpetrators where dilemma appears. These demands enhancing the quality of their communication, dialogue, trust, respect of others, and so on while, at the same time, avoiding the relapse of rape and sexual abuse in an asymmetric relationship: the "power" (man) against the "weak" (woman and girl). This is the most contradictory fact in my study where dilemma and complexity show the beauty of conflict transformation (Lederach 2003: 52).

⁹⁵ As noted above, a dilemma implies complexity. This is to "trust the capacity of systems to generate options and avenues for change, pursue those that appear to hold the greatest promise for constructive change, and not be rigid by looking on one idea or option" (Lederach 2003: 54). Hence, the complexity of this study rests on addressing the multiple needs, handling the contradictions, and the need for solutions to both rape survivors and their perpetrators.

dimensions and conflict transformation practices throughout their social interaction, I have applied some sub-concepts that have emerged from them such as dependence, expectation, hope, risk, and vulnerability. The re-establishment of ties between rape perpetrators and their victims is still important for the protection, safety of rape survivors because they both live in the same neighbourhood. In order to restore relationships between rape perpetrators and their victims and to ensure the safety of rape survivors, I have provided comparison explanation based on trust.

9.2.5.1 Perpetrators' attitude to engaging in relationship reestablishment with their victims

Many factors have determined perpetrators attitudes to engage or not into the re-establishment of relationships between them and their victims rape survivors. Resorting to some themes like dependence and risk, most of the perpetrators do not feel ready to rely on their victims even though there are some exceptions. Perpetrators' expectation of getting some interest, support from their victims still challenging. These dependence indicators do not seem to be embraced by them automatically. Their reluctance is justified by the risk of the closeness between them to engage into any restoration of their relationships. However, despite the fact that getting advantages of the restoration of their relationships still a challenging adventure, they have developed some mechanisms which seem to them less harmful to reach the goal. Hence, the following narratives provide more details on dependence, risk, management of the dependence, risk, and possible benefits from the reestablishment of their relationships turned into mechanisms.

Perpetrators responded to the following question: "Is there anything that makes you depend on your victim for you to live?" There has been seen a complex dependency feeling between perpetrators and their victims rape survivor. Perpetrators who participated in this research show a binomial attitude, attachment-detachment trend toward their victims.

The following perpetrators show detachment feeling to their victims as narrated,

"There is nothing that makes me rely on my victim" (PIM1) ...

"There is nothing in terms of support that I'm expecting from her" (PIM4) ...

"I don't depend on her for me to live" (PIM3)

... "That victim lives here in Kalonge. Up to the present she is still regretting why she conspired with her husband to get me arrested. She accused me, yet she dumped that husband as well. I don't rely on her. Someone who accused you of raping her and got you arrested for that issue, is not your friend at all" (PIM5).

Most perpetrators are radical, not willing to reconnect to their victims for any reason. Their trend is to categorically separate and try not to depend to them for any reason. This is because rape aftermaths have seriously affected their lives and made them miserable. The traumatic image that victims constitute in front of their perpetrators dissuades them and they avoid at any cost to get in touch with them once more. For perpetrators, a victim who seeks justice, which justice got them in trouble, is dangerous.

Tolerating a victim who does not pursue them to justice is more appreciated by them than a radical victim who seeks revenge through justice. There is no expectation from radical perpetrators, who instead prefer social distancing to avoid being trapped. In contrast, some tolerated victims, who have realised they were wrong in prosecuting their perpetrators, wish to stay in touch with their perpetrator. There is a reversal dependency needed from victims. However, this is not the general trend for all of perpetrators. Some, despite rape aftermaths, still need to keep in touch with their victims.

“Emotionally, I like her, I need her, I want to see her again even though I’ve been tortured for her.” That girl still keeps my stuff up to the present. And I need it ... But when that happens to me, I try hard to forget it because I’m asking myself what if that girl did throw on me a magical fate for her to be charming me. Because even though I’ve been tortured for her, I still having feelings for her” (PIM1).

Rape aftermaths do not stop or dissuade some perpetrators from detaching from their victims. In this case, the perpetrator’s attachment to his victim is still strong, even after being severally threatened. This makes the meaning of rape a little confusing and brings into research discussion on the differentiation of the notion of rape, “rape for love”, “rape by love” or “rape by force”. Is it rape by love if there is still a strong desire, that even the criminal aftermaths could not stop, cannot dissuade the lust? This is still to be discussed deeply to get the full meaning of rape and perpetrator attachment to his victim. On the other hand, there is a victim keeping some material from her perpetrator which constitutes a tool of bridging them, bringing them into touch once more. The expectation of restarting such a relationship probably occurred in this case. Love beyond prison, love at risk of death, does not stop both from keeping in touch, which makes the dependency feeling complex, a contrasting feeling instead of an indifferent feeling which avoids victims, as shown above.

The expectation, interest of perpetrators to get support from victims in any way, such as material, non-material in terms of emotional fulfilment, economic need, forgiveness, or restoration of relationships seemed to be weak after committing the offence. Perpetrators were asked, “What kind of support would you like to get from your victim, either material or non-material?” Perpetrators responded as follows:

“There is nothing that I wish I could get from my victim ... I don’t need any support from her because that will be a source of other problems between me and the victim” (PIM1) ...

“Before, as she was selling cassava, she could give me 1000FC that was helping me to feed my children ... There is no longer any relationship between me and her” (PIM3) ...

“The only thing that I wish I could get from her is to plead to her family for me to manage this situation. I need to get my child ... She wants me to marry her, but I don’t feel like doing it. For me it is just impossible because there is no interest towards her. Even that child is not a motivation for me to get married to her. My interest is the child, not her mother” (PIM4) ...

“Nothing! She does not have anything. Her advice is not the one that someone can follow. Morally she is bad. She is a woman with weak morals” (PIM5).

In general, perpetrators do not need any support from their victim, not because they actually do not need it, but due to the gravity of rape aftermaths which keep on frightening perpetrators. They prefer a social

distancing as a cautionary measure to avoid rape relapse and being trapped into the same consequences of judicial corruption which is since being avoided. Also, perpetrators, after rape occurred, consider the victim like trash, not relevant for any support or need. Those who trend to get some support from their victims are doing it for some particular interest, in order to radically avoid any support after getting the targeted support. The targeted support is pointed? like the use of victim for a friendly negotiation to her family for the perpetrator to get his child born from rape, for instance. As they have all, unanimously, refused and acknowledged not needing their victims' support, if negotiation is needed it is for a particular objective, not for their relationship reestablishment. "“I wish nothing from her” (PIM1) ... “If I meet her on the road, I wouldn’t even greet her to avoid problems” (PIM3) ... “I’m expecting nothing from her” (PIM4) ... “Nothing” (PIM5). There is a radical lack of expectation from their victims after rape. In other words, this means that for perpetrators to rely on their victims there might be a particular interest that they have towards their victims. Otherwise, none of perpetrators would wish to go back to them and re-establish their relationships. This also depends on the advantage got, depending on the motivation of either the attachment or rape before the incident occurred.

Dependency management: tricky use of victim by perpetrators: When asked about their expectations from their victims, perpetrators denied any attempt to expect support from their victims. The reason for perpetrators to reject victims' support is because there is no particular positive interest to be got from victims. The management of their relationships suits them better than the restoration of their relationship. Furthermore, the management of perpetrators' dependency on their victims seems to be tricky, done for the particular advantage of perpetrators or for avoiding any blame which could make perpetrators feel guilty or confirm their denial of rape. “Approaching her will sound like I still need her for intercourse, a proof of hurting her” (PIM1) ... “Her intervention in her family that’s the only interest” (PIM3) ... “Nothing” (PIM4). Otherwise, perpetrators are still not interested in restoration of their relationships with victims.

Perpetrator’s risk in re-establishing relationships: Responding to the question, “Is there any risk that you feel in engaging in such process of being closer to her, to re-establishing your relationship?”, perpetrators were worried about the risky restoration of their relationships to victims for many reasons.

“Restore our relationship, that is the risk I wouldn’t wish to be trapped in” (PIM1) ...

“I don’t like to see her. When I see her, I don’t feel well, and my head is disturbed. I’m vexed because she did not deserve to be raped by me. I don’t even wish to meet her on my way. The risk is to attract my compassion to her ... She can easily oblige me to get married to her by force. Because when she comes home, she wouldn’t wish to go back to her place and stick in my house, forcing me to marry her. In that condition, the risk is to keep her in my house, thing that I don’t like or wish” (PIM3) ...

“There is no risk for that. I even prefer not to approach her. She is the source of my misery and poverty” (PIM4) ...

“The risk is her attitude. The fact that she was willing to have me arrested even though we loved each other” (PIM5).

The restoration of relationships itself is the first risk that perpetrators would like to avoid as victims' presence constitutes a traumatic image for perpetrators causing trauma relapse and a slowing of their healing process. Also, this will attract perpetrators' compassion to come closer to the victim, which is risking rape relapse, and shows as source of reinforcing perpetrators' misery; therefore, they do prefer to keep loathing victims. Hating victims help them to keep social distancing and prevent them from rape relapse. As perpetrators considered their prosecution as an act of victim betrayal, they prefer to keep a reluctant attitude towards victims.

For those who still have feelings towards victims, risk falling into the rape relapse trap. Thus, whether for those who hate or those who still have feelings towards their victims, the most prominent risky issue is the relapse of rape.

In the process of restoring their relationships, perpetrators do not trust victims, as they consider them as betrayers. Hence, in response to the question, "How vulnerable do you feel being engaged in such process of relying on her for your social reintegration?", perpetrators' perception and needs differed from one to another. For some, considering victims as betrayers, the need of relying on them was almost inexistent. However, others perceived their victims' support as a protection.

"I don't trust to her support to re-establish our relationship. Even with her or her family" (PIM1) ...

"I will not accept her to date me again, I will use all my strength to chase her away if needed" (PIM3)

... "I don't feel myself vulnerable in front of her" (PIM4) ...

"Everything that she would wish to do to value me will seem like she wants to show that she is actually my concubine. She is only looking for a way forward of defending me" (PIM5).

The fact of not perceiving their act as rape, but rather as normal intercourse, makes them blame victims. They find themselves as trapped by victims' ruses. For those who would desire to get support from their victims, they find it as a protecting act, but feared community perception which could interpret it as a confirmation of perpetrators' guilt and accountability for the rape act. Therefore, perpetrators feel vulnerable in approaching and restoring their relationships with victims, to avoid suspicious critics, the blame attitude of victims, or the trap of rape relapse which would be caused by victims. However, some seem not to avoid all those risks, due to the desire of being in touch with their victims, as they still have feelings and did not consider their act as rape, but "proud rape", "rape by love".

Perpetrators' multiple benefits from relationship restoration: Consciously or unconsciously, perpetrators are preparing a way of restoring their relationship with victims. There are major arguments regarding the benefit of re-establishing their relationships on the sides of both perpetrators and victims. In response to the question "What do you think is the benefit from re-establishing your relationship to her?", the following narrative provides a clear answer.

"When we meet the only thing that I do is to greet her. When I see her, my heart beats, she always gives me a fright because of the tortures that I got. That's what makes me afraid of going closer to her" (PIM1) ...

“Our relationship is very good. A man can’t keep anger, conflict against a woman. Sometimes she comes to my place, at home to ask for help. If I have something to help, or if my wife has it, we always provide, even with 5 dollars” (PIM3)

... “Re-establishing my relationship between her and me can lead to many other problems. She cannot kill me, but I refuse any relationship to be re-established with her because of her family and my family” (PIM4).

Greetings and compassion are mechanisms of restoring their relationships. Perpetrators without consciousness that their acts, like greetings which gradually melt their hate into acceptance, could result in restoration of their relationships. Being proactive, compassionate of victims’ misery, attracts them closer as an implicit way of re-establishing their relationships. Perpetrators’ strong personalities motivate them to restart the process of restoring their relationship, but at the same time try to remind themselves that they should not go extra miles due to the aftermath of rape that plays the role of dissuasion to rape relapse. Perpetrators’ attitudes become therefore a benefit to the victim also. Another approach is clearly to get something back, like collecting his child born from rape.

“Getting children. There is no other interest ...Up to the present, I avoid her. If I hear that she is looking for me, I run away. If I can get training about how to flee from her, how to resist against her, I will do it to protect myself from her, for me to stop running away from her. The only thing is to collaborate because of my child” (PIM1).

Many perpetrators behave to get benefit from victims if this could save their face. For instance, a perpetrator who is chief of the village must show good behaviour as it contributes to making him a role model. For the sake of a didactic issue, he is ready to sacrifice himself to reinforce his leadership acceptance. Others showed their readiness to collaborate, linking both families through a process of negotiation to get a child born from rape back to the father. Hence, perpetrator behaviour, although it benefits themselves, meanwhile contributes implicitly to restore relationships, whether directly with the victim or with victims’ relatives. This process becomes a new model of putting people and families in the community together based on the peaceful management of rape, and rape talk in families and the community during perpetrators’ post-prison period or post-trial period and is an advantage for many, including perpetrator, victims, relatives, and the community engaging in dialogue.

9.2.5.2 Perpetrators’ challenging safety reciprocity affecting rape survivors’ social reintegration

Perpetrators safety issues explained in this section is different from the one developed in the previous sections above which was related to people in perpetrators living environment. However, the issue of unsafety mentioned in this section is directly linked to the presence of their victims’ rape survivors. One of the unsafety indicators for perpetrators unsafety is the physical image of their victims’ rape survivors whose presence affects their mind and memories. They represent a traumatic image for them. Narratives from perpetrators have reported so.

a. Representation of victims’ image in perpetrators’ thoughts:

The victims' presence constitutes a traumatic image disturbing perpetrators' safety. This has been revealed as the response to the question, "What kind of thought do you have when seeing her?"

"Seeing her took me back again to the story of rape I had with her. I fear the imprisonment. Her presence in this neighbourhood makes me unsafe" (PIM1) ...

"I don't like to look at her, even to speak to her for people to stop creating problems anymore" (PIM3)

... "She gives me a fright when I see her. It's as if I lose control and become out of my mind ... I tell myself; those are people who wanted to kill me. That's what I will be thinking in my mind now I see her" ... She does not deserve to get me as her husband or her offender. I have a deep feeling of hate" (PIM4).

The first feeling that perpetrators get when seeing victims is fear, which made some lose control in front of victims, fearing consequences of their presence such as negative criticism from the community, and much more, they see an image of a criminal due to the death risk they face from their victims' relatives' popular justice, criminal torture. Victims' presence brings back rape and prison torture memories. Perpetrators have failed to dissociate rape from death, and instead link victims' presence to death. Also, the community has failed to adopt behaviour that protects both perpetrators and victims, instead resorting to criticism which reinforces both perpetrators and victims' reluctance to restore their relationships.

b. Rape survivors' presence affecting offender attitudes and behaviour:

Most perpetrators present traumatic signs in front of victims, who are their traumatic image reminding them of the traumatic rape events, even though each perpetrator has experienced it in its own way. In the end, all have experienced a traumatic event due to rape, as expressed through the answers to the question, "How do you behave when you are in front of her?"

"When I see her, my heart beats. She gives me a fright as they treated me badly because of her" (PIM1)

... "If only I can know what is going in her mind and that of her parents, family, what they are thinking about me, that will give me peace of mind and heart. I will live without any worry and be calm even if our relationship is not re-established" (PIM3)

"I don't greet her. Even if we are in a group, everybody can greet her and shake her hand, I won't do it. I don't speak to her anymore. I rather wish to stay alone instead" (PIM4) ... "I moved from that area to avoid seeing her again ... I run away from her to avoid her coming closer to me" (PIM5).

There is a range of attitudes and behaviours that perpetrators went through while in front of their victims, such as give fright, increased heart rate, loss of control and trembling, worry, refusal of greetings or refusal of connection to her, refusal of closeness or communicating, avoiding her presence, diverting attention from the victim's presence, etc.; all these restrictions are protective behaviours of perpetrators to stabilise their mind as a self-approach to overcoming traumatic images. The traumatic image of victims in perpetrators' minds is not only dealing with the physical presence of victims, but the traumatic image has embedded into perpetrators' minds to the extent that the traumatic image keeps on gnawing their psychology even in the absence of their victims, but comes up, reactivated, in the physical presence of victims. This is due to the unpredictable result of the missing serving of sentence which

causes worry and frustration. However, there are perpetrators who have strong personality and strong capacity of resilience. From themselves, they have found a self-healing process technique through overcoming the traumatic image.

“She used to greet me. My friends used to mock me when they see her greeting me ... I used to tell them, a man can’t keep anger, is not vindictive ... When I see her, I don’t feel anything. Because when they arrested me, she was there. She went to ABA to tell them to release me, but they told her that it was already too late because she did know that they will send me to prison ... For her, she thought they will just torture me and ask us to make a friendly arrangement to manage that issue for me to pay her back the damage, to indemnify her ... That’s what makes me feel relaxed when I see her. I don’t get angry or vexed, grieved when I see her. Because she wanted me to be freed, that’s what makes me forgive her and feel free from her” (PIMI).

Instead of keeping a social distance, being isolated, categorically silenced, not bearing with the presence of and from the traumatic image, some perpetrators have opted to confront the traumatic image. The first tactic of those perpetrators is to understand their environment culture and behave in such circumstances to react to their attitudes. Knowing that there is lack of understanding of victim-offender relationship and community management, the perpetrator reacts to fix the misunderstanding and normalize the fact that it is possible to restore a victim-perpetrator relationship after the incident and overcome rape relapse. The fact of the community’s lack of strategy to handle the victim-offender relationship after rape exposes both of them to a fragile process of trauma healing as people in the community present negative attitudes like mockery and negative criticism which does not allow a weak resilient victim or offender to come up with a self-approach to overcome and heal from trauma. However, perpetrators who consider themselves not vindictive took the position of collaborating with the victim. This comes from a perpetrator’s strong personality and concern for making change, playing a role model of changing community perception on the management of relationships between both victim and offender. In turn, the perpetrator’s position boosts the victim’s energy, encouraging her to come closer to the perpetrator through the building of trust to support his attitude and position. This is seen as the victim granting the power of forgiveness where the perpetrator takes advantage of victim protection.

The perpetrator’s position is not always similar to the one of his victims. A Victim’s position, willing to support a perpetrator’s healing process, to feel free from the rape incident by accepting friendly term of rape management, could be tricky for her, as somehow it turns into her providing the perpetrator with power and control over her, and makes it seem as if the victim is trying to clear her guilt of wrongful accusation of rape, or still needs the perpetrator. On the other hand, a victim being determined to claim indemnity for herself shows the self-help of claiming payback of damage done to her, instead of relying on other people like her relatives, fighting for her right as a self-mechanism of claiming justice for herself to feel relieved from rape damage, seems to be uncommon in community culture, but positive for her restoration of relationship and enhancement of her value and contribution to her trauma healing process.

9.2.5.3 Possible approaches to relationship reestablishment: process of change

For perpetrators, there is possibility of restoring their relationships to victims and victims' relatives as they expect to create positive change, but the process differs from one case to another and the configuration of other people's involvement in the process. Some mechanisms like friendly term of resolving the issue, being financially empowered to resolve peacefully the issue, forgiveness, support from the community based on the knowledge and skills to manage perpetrators-victims restoration of relationships, content of change process towards social reintegration would lead to the desired change. Perpetrators reported,

"For me to feel free, I wish I could get money to indemnify that family of the victim. That will bring a change on that situation. Paying the indemnity, the compensation, it's what that family need the most from me. They are asking for a cow" (PIM1) ...

"If I can be financially strong" (PIM4) ...

"Things can change positively because of that child we had with her. If only I can take him back to me" (PIM3) ... "As I'm not strong enough these days because of age, I'm here waiting for death. I'm doing my best to cultivate. That is helping me to get back to my previous life before rape occurred" (PIM4).

Despite their hopeless style of life, their first mechanism for changing the situation for the better is to resolve in friendly term the consequence of rape. In other words, taking responsibility for peacefully repairing the damage done. For this to be possible, the financial means of the perpetrator is relevant as well as taking responsibility for the consequence of rape in a separate way, to avoid closeness to the victim, such as taking care of the child while s/he is living with his/her father, the perpetrator to avoid contact and create a buffer zone between perpetrator and victim. These are the first mechanisms for making both perpetrators and victims change. In any approach there is hope while confronting the issue to find a solution. None of perpetrators seems to be neutral, but all need to be involved through the process of re-establishing their relationship to their victims or victims' relatives while at the same time being cautious, prudent, and reasonable to avoid rape relapse for the sake of their freedom. Others have opted to go through a forgiveness process, even if it seems to be tricky with many controversial aspects to clarify and fix before it works out.

"Forgiveness. However, that forgiveness is problematic. Because if I ask for forgiveness, they will confirm that I did it purposely and I'm conscious. Myself, I don't have that courage of making the first step for forgiveness. Because they will take advantage of prosecuting me again. If they are the ones who could start asking for forgiveness for the fact that they had me arrested unfairly, I can forgive them. Asking for forgiveness is to impeach myself: People won't understand that I ask for forgiveness because I just want to live in peace with myself and with them. In that case, they will accuse me falsely. I can't ask for forgiveness for any reasons. Because it will turn back against me. Yet, that seems to be a good way of solving that problem. But there is another way which will not cost me money to solve the problem: accepting the reconciliation. I just need to live in peace at any cost. But for any solution that won't demand money to get it" (PIM1).

Forgiveness used by a perpetrator is a complex issue to be clarified to get the right attitude to adopt it and to manage the process successfully. A perpetrator fearing his opponent's reaction of turning the

wish for forgiveness into guilt, and the consequences of this process, which could easily turn into prosecution once more, mean that the perpetrator becomes vulnerable and fearing to start the process even though this could be the ideal approach to solve the issue. Hence, the tricky forgiveness for peace raises questions of who should start to the process to avoid misunderstanding and clarify forgiveness process and free it from any suspicious trend which could complexify the process. On the other hand, community misunderstanding of the mechanism of perpetrator re-establishment of relations and their social reintegration could turn the process back against the perpetrator. For this reason, perpetrators, despite their wish to change the situation for better and for their freedom, are not ready to engage the ideal process and make it happen. Therefore, a community lacking knowledge, experience, and strategy to socially reintegrate perpetrators to avoid rape relapse makes the process challenging and complex, creating a social reintegration deadlock for perpetrators, despite perpetrators' will to engage in the process.

The deadlock created by the community lacking knowledge in victim-perpetrator relationship management has created worry and frustration to all perpetrators, who do not feel they have any support to overcome the issue.

"It gives me fright and fear. That family can provoke a dispute and sue me again, thing that I'm avoiding ... Because of the poverty, I cannot defend myself" (PIM1) ...

"Fear" (PIM2) ...

"I don't see what I can get from that situation as I'm hopeless. I have more desperation than expectation" (PIM3) ...

"Desperation" (PIM4) ...

"My thoughts went always back to the misery that I got from that issue. I've remained a great advisor of my family and the entire village" (PIM5).

A deadlock in the process of perpetrators' social reintegration has been set on both sides. Perpetrators' perplexity has been worsened by the community lacking experience in the issue. Therefore, the issue to get out of the circle of perpetrator trauma to be healed or self-healed for their own social reintegration in the community becomes. Perpetrators, afraid of violence escalation, afraid of victims' relatives bringing back the issue afresh for the prosecution, desperate due to the misery of lives brought by rape aftermaths, becoming pensive and worried about their live future, do not encourage the process.

9.2.5.4 Complex victim's trust to offender

Same as perpetrators, some themes were developed to assess victims' trust toward their perpetrators. Dependence, risk, expectation to be supported are well detailed throughout this section. In fact, trust is a complex concept to rape survivors compare to perpetrators, given that the matter is embedded in an asymmetric power of relationship between them and their perpetrators, making the risk of trust higher and more sensitive. Among rape survivors there are radical and tolerating survivors when referred to

dependence. Radical survivors do not need interdependence, contrasting with tolerating survivors. Responses to the question, “Is there anything that makes you feel dependent on your perpetrator?” distinguished the two categories of rape survivors:

“I don’t rely on him for anything. I’m not waiting for him to help me. I don’t need any help from him” (RSIF22) ...

“There is nothing that can make me rely on him. There is a time we saw each other after the rape issue. No one could speak to another one” (RSIF23) ...

“That rapist is living here, in this community. I don’t think how and in what circumstances he could help me. Because of his lack of willingness to help me, I don’t think he can help me ... The truth is my husband is severe and cannot want him to help me. But that cannot prevent me to get any help from that rapist” (RSIF24).

Radical survivors do not expect any support and do not wish to be in touch with their perpetrators. They are antipathetic, developing strong antipathy to rapist support, strict refusal, and rejection of any forms of rapist supports. The fact of keeping social distance, lacking dialogue and talk, and avoiding approaching each other demonstrates strong reciprocal antipathy and rejection between survivors and their perpetrators. However, even though both are avoiding closeness, reasons underlying their avoidance differ from one another. On the other side, tolerated survivors would wish to rely on their perpetrator’s support if only the perpetrator allowed them to do so. This category of tolerated survivors, even though some are already married, feel ready to betray their marriage and become unfaithful wives and keep wishing to rely on their perpetrators’ support. As they have failed to overcome the consequences of rape, their tendency to rely on perpetrator becomes higher, which keeps them closer. The only thing preventing them from approaching their perpetrator is the perpetrator’s indifferent feeling against them for many reasons as mentioned above, like avoiding rape relapse.

To understand the content of what dependency means to rape survivors, as well as its management, questions like “What kind of support (material and non-material) would you like to get from the perpetrator”, and “Would that support make you feel returning to your normal life prior to the rape incident?” were asked. Responses to these questions revealed rape survivors’ attitudes toward expectations from perpetrators.

a) Expected support increasing victims’ risk

There are factors that fragilize tolerated survivors’ determination to keep social distance from their perpetrator. “I need money to pay school fees for that child. If he can give me money for me to have a small business” (RSIF22) ... “There is nothing. Nothing at all I wish to get from him” (RSIF23). Having a child from a perpetrator is a huge fact that makes tolerated survivors depend on their perpetrator. Much more, the misery of rape survivors who have children born from rape increases their vulnerability to rely on their perpetrator to get means of bringing up those children, causing them to either ignore the consequences of their closeness after rape, or brave those consequences. For them, financial support could help to cover those children’s needs like school fees, etc. For this reason, tolerated survivors do

not fear any secondary consequences of getting in touch with their perpetrators after rape. Rape survivors' misery becomes therefore a huge mechanism that exposes survivors to their perpetrator. In contrast, those who do not have children from rape and are living in the same area as their perpetrators strongly reject any support and seem to be against closeness and keep a social distance from their perpetrators despite their misery. Hence, life's burden makes a difference to survivors' resistance regarding their need to rely on their perpetrator. Tolerated survivors' willingness to rely on perpetrators is also due to the need of compensating for their rape damage. Most survivors need to get compensation as a trial does not provide restorative justice and is corrupted, so the victims do not see their perpetrators serving their sentences. Support could offer perpetrators a means therefore compensating for the damage done to them, despite the risk.

b) Dependency management

Rape management failure has caused rape survivors to search for compensation in order to restore their reputation in their living area. *"Yes! I can't feel guilty or blamed to get some aid, from him, the rapist, as I do consider it as deserved"* (RSIF22) ... *"Nothing. Because that will be a bait for me to be raped by him again"* (RSIF23). The management of the dependency is contradictory, as not all survivors do have the same perception. For some, perpetrators' support is for their good due to the value that it represents, like valuing survivors, getting a kind of reparation from perpetrators. Tolerating survivors do not feel guilty for getting the support. They assume they deserve to get it for their reputation's restoration. However, radical survivors keep their distance as a self-protection from rape relapse, contrary to tolerating survivors who are open to perpetrator support ignoring any risk, and instead focussing on the advantage, whether it is problematic or not. These contradictory positions among survivors are mostly due to the failure of rape management and the non-involvement of direct survivors to benefit from the management of the issue, making survivors depend on themselves to get consolation. It means, in other words, that the fact of lacking satisfaction and benefit from either the trial, the justice process or friendly term management of rape, where survivors are excluded throughout the process, causes the trend of some tolerated survivors trying to arrange their reparation themselves. Hence, perpetrator support seems to be a direct compensation for survivors.

9.2.5.5 Relationship reestablishment: Rape survivors' risk and vulnerability to depend on the perpetrators

Perception of risk and vulnerability of rape survivors engaging in re-establishment of their relationship with their perpetrators depends on the category of rape survivors, whether she is a radical or tolerating survivor. Difference between those two categories of rape survivors is based on the object of their connection to their perpetrators which is the child born from rape which affects the most their difference on attitudes, decision, and act. If there is a persistent risk to depend on perpetrators due to their connector, a big challenge to manage the reestablishment of their relationship safely, vulnerability based

on the expectation to be valued by the perpetrators in order to facilitate their social reintegration would emerge as a dilemma that they have to deal with.

Tolerating survivors easily confront perpetrators to get their rights being respected. For that, they are fearless and brave to overcome risk of their closeness as the following narrative is given

“The day we saw each other after he was released from prison, I told him, ‘Sir, Amani Matabaro, do you know that that kid is under your charge?’ He answered me, ‘I don’t know anything about that child’. That was the only thing that he told me ... He does not manage to meet me, since he’s been freed from prison. He came to my family to tell them that as you sued me to justice, I won’t take care of that kid any longer ... There is no risk for me to rely on him (rapist) ... But I’m afraid because he can even kill me as he is a franc-masonic” (RSIF22) ...

“Yes! I’m afraid of being raped again. People mock me because he is a married person and has 3 children. He can rape me again. Rape relapse (RSIF23)”.

Rape survivors do not have the same perception of the risks of closeness between them and their perpetrators. Answering the question, “Is there any risk you feel in engaging in such a process of being closer to him, re-establishing your relationship?” those who have children from rape seemed to be proactive, confronting perpetrators to take care of their children due to the misery of survivors. They are defying worry in the interests of their children having the means of growing up. The only risk they are worried about is the perpetrators’ revenge for being prosecuted because of them. On the side of those who do not have children from their perpetrators, they feared being vulnerable to rape relapse, especially in an asymmetric rape between a single woman and a married man, an incompatible relationship prior to rape according to the culture of the community, where a romantic relationship between married and single is perceived as prostitution. So, a survivor who is in such a relationship feels guilty of misconduct as well as fearing rape relapse.

Vulnerability dilemma: Relying on perpetrators’ assistance, support to be accepted and socially reintegrated into their community at the same time avoid the relapse of rape constitutes the dilemma that rape survivors have been dealing with. The core issue of vulnerability lies on survivors’ expectation of being valued by the perpetrators even though this depends on each category of rape survivors (tolerating or radical rape survivors).

For tolerating rape survivors, the need to be supported, the expectation to get assistance from their perpetrators is higher but still their worry set some limits.

“I don’t feel vulnerable to rely on him financially ... Rather, living with him like a husband, that’s what can make me vulnerable” (RSIF22) ...

“There, he can kill me because of the anger that he has against me as I’m the one who put him in jail” ... “No dependence on perpetrator. No! He cannot help me to be accepted in the area and community, but I still need his support” (RSIF23).

Being asked, how vulnerable do you feel being engaged in such a process of relying on him for you to feel being reintegrated within your family?”, tolerating survivors did prefer relying on perpetrators’ support (such as financial support), despite the consequences, to enhance their value in their community as it improves their consideration. Financial dependency is preferable due to the advantage it produces, valuing survivors in the community. Being valued through the reduction of misery does not work for all, as radical survivors feel able to value themselves without any support from their perpetrators. Hence, the vulnerability comes when based on physical closeness, both perpetrators and survivors do not resist reengaging in intimate life while perpetrators are aiming to take revenge for their pain. For the sake of protecting themselves against the misery that they have caused to perpetrators, both tolerating and radical survivors do not feel ready to engage for any reason that relies on perpetrators to be reintegrated to their community. While they feel they need their support to be accepted, they fear being trapped by perpetrators’ revenge. This is the dilemma that is still complex for some survivors, to have a fixed position and decision whether or not to rely on their perpetrators.

Survivors do not realise any benefit they could get from restoring their relationship with perpetrators. Being caught in such a dilemma, survivors do not feel engaged in the re-establishment of their relationship with their perpetrators. *“He can come to collect his child because that is a big deal in my marriage. Currently he can help me financially”* (RSIF22) ... *“There is nothing that I can benefit from him for me to re-establish my relationship with him”* (RSIF23). They preferred to detach from the connecting tool that created a mechanism for making them closer to each other. That mechanism of closeness is activated through the object of connection, child born from rape, from who both could connect. The solution to the dilemma is to break the connecting mechanism, taking back the child to the perpetrators, fathers’ children to keep a distance and protect themselves against any risk and vulnerability.

9.2.5.6 Rape survivors’ challenging safety

a) Perpetrators’ image affecting rape survivors’ safety

The presence of the perpetrator, depicted as great destroyer, is badly perceived by rape survivors. *“When I see him, I think how he destroyed my life. I feel bad and become pensive. But I’m not afraid of being raped by him again because I’m already adult”* (RSIF22) ... *“I was afraid. I told myself, I’m very sure if he finds me where there is no one he can rape me again”* (RSIF23). When responding to the question, “What kind of thought do you have on seeing him?”, the first thought that comes into rape survivors’ minds while being in the presence of perpetrators is that they face a destroyer of their lives. If for some, perpetrators’ presence caused traumatic memories to arise, although no longer a fear of rape relapse due to their maturity, for others, it creates fear of rape relapse that they are very certain will occur. Thus, the perpetrator’s presence is a traumatic image for rape survivors as there is a strong

probability of rape relapse. Although both radical and tolerating survivors all fear rape relapse, those who still expect compensation, maintain their hope.

“When I see him, I hope to get something from him. Hope to be assisted and get help from him” (RSIF22),...

“I’m afraid and still indifferent to him” (RSIF23).

Assistance from the perpetrator due to survivors’ misery maintains their hope of getting compensation. However, those who do not have any connecting mechanism, like a child from perpetrator, are still indifferent. The remaining question is why those who have children from their perpetrator are tolerating their perpetrators more than those who do not have child from their perpetrator?

b) Rape survivors’ attitude influenced by perpetrators’ presence

Given that perpetrators’ presence brings back rape memories to survivors, this makes them irritated.

“I’m irritated, very angry” (RSIF22) ... *“I was irritated against him because I didn’t want him anymore”* (RSIF23). Survivors’ attitude is a traumatic one causing emotional and psychological suffering.

Furthermore, the overall feeling that survivors still have from the rape issue is apathy and pensiveness.

“I think I should wait till the day I will be grown up to have intercourse again. When I see a man, I think he can rape me like the other one did it to me. I start considering every man like a bad and wicked person” (RSIF22) ...

“That has decreased a bit my thoughts. The fact that I was pensive has decreased” (RSIF23).

Persistence of mental problems could seem decreased, but an indifferent attitude vis-à-vis any kind of sexual activities, and generalization of a perpetrator’s wrong to every man remains persistent, torturing survivors’ minds.

9.2.5.7 Rape survivors’ perceptions of probable change for social reintegration

Strategic change of tolerating and radical survivors’ lives depends on their perception, which differs one from another. This has been shown when responding to the question, “What you believe is possible in the process of change?” They reported: *“If I can find money which can come either from my husband or my rapist, that could help me to change positively my life ... Getting financial means, life must change because I have something”* (RSIF22) ... *“Getting married to someone who will love me could be the best solution”* (RSIF23). Tolerated survivors are encouraged to get into the change process by their perpetrators’ support, as acknowledged above. Financial support from their perpetrator is the key booster of their reputation and lives for their positive change towards reintegration. This perception differs from radical survivors, who are eager to get true love to compensate for and replace rape wrongs. The notion of compensation is central to survivors’ change, but it is the meaning and process of getting to that compensation, the philosophy behind compensation, that is making difference. For tolerating survivors, compensation should come from their perpetrators in terms of financial support, but

compensation for radical survivors comes from true love with a non-rapist trusted man. Compensation takes here both aspects, material, and non-material to increase survivors' values. For all of them, the key change for social reintegration lies in respect for survivors.

For their own effort to acceptance, there are also other mechanisms, as narrated:

“I should respect myself” (RSIF22).

Self-respect will contribute to interpersonal respect in the community as it has a reciprocal effect, therefore granting space to survivors in the community; also, self-confidence will play a double role in overcoming critics and maintaining autonomy.

“Nothing can contribute to re-establish my relationship to my perpetrator! I need so much advice for me to live better out of criticisms” (RSIF23).

For survivors, the most important thing related to the issue of re-establishing their relationship to their perpetrator is to build their confidence through advice to overcome challenges, but not focusing on perpetrator relationship restoration.

Approaches to handle change to rebuild relationships: Rape survivors' suggestions for handling change to improve their relationships with their perpetrators should not be an individual or interpersonal issue. This should include several settings, such as individual, interpersonal, institution or structural, where survivors and other external persons should intervene to boost the mechanism.

“I've changed since you started advising me and the awareness you gave me in order to take care of myself. We are grateful for what you are doing for us ... It's very important for us to compare and understand the difference between what NGOs are doing here for us ... They just come to distribute aid to us and some assistance, but they don't do the awareness part about strategies, the way that we should take care of ourselves” (RSIF22).

Survivors need a push to make them understand what they are facing and how they have to face it. Awareness and advice from other persons enhance survivors' hope for life and strengthens them to connect to their future. The researcher intervention, which was done in a direct contact follow-up mechanism of self-valuing survivors, brought a difference to survivors' understanding of institutional and direct individual intervention, focusing on survivors' self-care. This is the mechanism of working together with survivors to help them discover what they must do for themselves, instead of institutional mechanisms focusing on assistance. Two contrasting mechanisms which clash made survivors think about their responsibility for boosting their social reintegration. Instead of waiting for other people or institutions, they have discovered and understand how powerful it is to work themselves to boost their energy towards their own social reintegration. They have concluded that institutions' assistance is limited, with less care for survivors' relationships. They have come up with an understanding of how useful the mixed methodology, intra and interrelationships, is.

At the individual level, survivors have understood being proactive to oppose abusers' attitudes and behaviour against them.

"I have made peace with the criticism of people in this community. It's become normal because I used to tell those who were criticising me that 'The person who has not yet experienced the issue of rape, has experienced another issue disturbing her/him'. The person that has not yet suffered from rape, is suffering from another humiliating issue. Rape is not HIV/AIDS which is the consequence of adultery, a wanted act. Rather, it's a consequence of an unwanted and unexpected act. God does not forget anything. He will revenge me surely. Because in the same way that you are mocking me today, will be the same way that other people will mock you tomorrow when you will experience a humiliating issue. Thus, you will feel the same humiliation as me" (RSIF23).

The first relevant mechanism of opposing abusers' maltreatment is to accept the situation as it is and have the courage to move on. Self-confidence is the most important attitude that survivors should have, showing their strong resilience to overcome abusers' maltreatment. Self-confidence is built up through factual confrontations between truth and reality. The more survivors make their abusers sensible of their pain, the more abusers realise how wrong they are. This is a very powerful key to make a change in their environment to get acceptance for themselves. The capacity of challenging abusers' minds builds a defensive fence and limits their maltreatment. The methodology used to come up with this powerful result is also important. One survivor used jokes to express herself and make others reasonable.

"Finally, I answered them without any pain or anger. Then people in my area started to take my words like a joke, so we've continued in that way. When they insult me, I make it like a joke and so on, ... Sometimes, I told them, "We are all human beings on this earth living in the same conditions. If you think that a mortar needs a pestle to crush or grind, that is the same and applicable to a human being: a man will always need a woman either to have sex or to rape. You can't avoid it. A moment will come where both will be needed to do what they have been created for ... The fact of criticising me, you are firing yourself because God will revenge me. He will defend me surely. It will happen to you as well. I'm not the only victim of rape ... Then people will help me to calm down and start saying, 'Yes, she is right. She didn't want it to happen to her. Instead, we should have pity on her and support her to recover from her trauma and difficulties' ... When I say that to people, I feel relaxed indeed, I feel free, without any worry. I've turned those criticisms into jokes for me to live relaxing. I'm turning my shame into a joke, yet I'm telling them the truth. Since then, people in the community are no longer frustrating me" (RSIF24).

Turning the approach to confronting abusers has changed survivors themselves. Instead of complaining and blaming abusers or third' persons, some survivors have understood that they should change themselves. The change of survivors' attitude has contributed to their language and way of communicating. For instance, they have used jokes to express themselves and communicate with their abusers. They have used this particular style to link the dissimilating truth and the unwanted, unexpected reality that happened to them and make their abusers draw moral and didactic lessons from their experiences. This mechanism has firstly a benefit to survivors as it makes them relax, feeling free from worry and negative critics, feel relieved, have peace of mind, and gradually stop frustration. Then, after being convinced, didactic jokes have attracted other people's and abusers' compassion towards survivors by turning insults into jokes. This compassion from their criticsizers has turned into tool for recovery, speeding the trauma healing process which has been suffocated by third persons'

stigmatizations of survivors. The fact of survivors feeling free to apply their strategy has made them successful in handling and making change.

The structural mechanism also contributes to making survivors change and feel comfortable. “For us, having a government that will fix that issue and terminate armed groups forever, that will be our source of security, safety. Because we are unsafe and there is a possibility for us to be raped again because of the presence of those armed groups” (RSIF24). Structural support for rape survivors to bring positive change is integral for survivors’ safety as insecurity was the source of their rape. For this mechanism to succeed, armed groups and militias must be silenced. Hence, survivors change of focus is more turned towards their own change instead of handing their relationships to rape perpetrators.

Hence, holding perpetrators accountable for the sake of protecting and impacting their victims’ lives in the community, as well as re-establishing their relationships is a challenging and complex process that needs the involvement of all key stakeholders interested in the issue of building a cohesive community and peace in the community. Although perpetrators and victims should be working for their safety and acceptance in the community using dilemmic approaches to overcome the alteration of their psychological, physical, and relational aspects, going through the same consequences of rape, their cooperation (even though challenging) needs the intervention of other people at community level or structural level to address the risk and vulnerability that can occur while they engage in the process. Community has a particular perception of the social reintegration of both rape victims and perpetrators for the sake of cohesiveness and building peace.

9.2.6 Bystander perception of survivors’ acceptance: Suggestion for change

While asked how they usually identify if a rape survivor or perpetrator are excluded from their community, community leaders answered, narrated the following. Community leaders have their way of identifying an excluded, rejected survivor or sex offender. For them, an aggressive sex offender or survivor’s misbehaviour is a reaction from the excluded ones: “*According to her/his status, s/he is pointed out by others in the community and when s/he seems to behave outside customs ... therefore s/he becomes aggressive and traumatised*” (CLFGS). There are some indicators showing both survivor and sex offender exclusion from their community, which are criticism and negative perception regarding their status in the community. Those who are negatively affected by the community attitudes, those who are not resilient to overcoming negative attitudes from the community, and those who are not resilient and cannot initiate their own mechanism of self-acceptance behave as outlaws, outside customs. Thus, negative attitudes from the community towards perpetrators or survivors’ misbehaviour result in aggression and an increase or relapse of trauma of both survivors and perpetrators. On the other hand, it increases rejection by their behaving in an unacceptable way.

Community management of rape, restoration of perpetrators and survivors for their social reintegration

The way for a community to manage rape issues in the community is through a collective awareness, as narrated by community leaders when asked how you would actually manage rape issue in this community: *“In relation to that, violence is higher but awareness, sensitization is very important and the involvement of our government”* (CLFGS). There is no initiative for one-to-one awareness to manage rape issues in the community; in particular, the after-rape offenders are scarcely included in the awareness programme. Unfortunately, sensitization is still needed, although community leaders keep on rejecting, denying their responsibility to care about their people, both rape survivors and perpetrators. In this regard, community leaders are far from handling the management of rape issue, lacking strategies to address it in the community, whether as collective awareness or one-to-one awareness activities to reduce rape occurrence or to reintegrate rape survivors as well as sex offenders. Community passivity, government mismanagement, indifference and the avoidance of all institutions and structures qualified to handle the issue seem to increase community violence based on rape as they are still limited in suggesting actions and mechanisms for such activities.

Restoration of relationships: There are steps to follow to find solutions on both survivors and sex offenders' sides, such as justice, acceptance, reconciliation and mediation, and psychological assistance. Regarding survivors, the prosecution of the sex offender is the first step to survivors' restoration in the community, as narrated by community leaders: *“After spending time in prison, serving the sentence, this consoles victims and her relatives”* (CLFGS). Justice for victims remains the most relevant aspect of survivors' reintegration and acceptance into their environment as it values them. The second step is reconciliation and mediation: *“When he is back, they can mobilise him to meet the victim for a reconciliation session, mediation, etc. between both for them to get married... Reconciliation might be done in terms of indirect mediation”* (CLFGS). ... *“After prison, it's actually a grace, favour for him to re-establish his relationship to his victim's family”* (CLFGS). The process for community leaders goes first from prison release to marriage without considering other aspects, like consent of both central actors, even though the approach of mediation suggested is indirect. For the sake of peace and victims' safety, perpetrators should re-establish their relationship to both direct victim and indirect victims, an extended relationship restoration. The re-establishment of their relationship cannot only be marriage. Other approaches can be explored also. Unfortunately, the community is limited to a traditional approach of reconciliation of families of both rape survivors and sex offenders as well as themselves through marriage.

A victims' safety in front of her perpetrator is very relevant, as community leaders testified that a sex offender after prison becomes more dangerous than his mental status before prison,

“After spending at least one year in prison, don't expect that the prisoner remains the same. The freed person becomes traumatised as well. They have escaped death in prison because of the high level, the intensity of torture. One of the released guys told me, I feel like killing someone compared to what I have become” (CLFGS).

For the reason of psychological instability, perpetrators should be taken care of for both survivors' and community safety. The trauma experienced in prison made them mentally disturbed, which needs a community reintegration system or programme to save offenders' lives as well as survivors'.

The most important approach to take psychological care of both for their trauma healing process, the re-establishment of their relations and their social reintegration is narrated community leaders: *"Both of them might be under a psychiatric cure through counselling and being monitored for their healing process ... There might be appropriate counselling, advice, and an environment ready to welcome and reintegrate them and for their monitoring"* (CLFGS). The trauma healing process should be provided to both, not to survivors only. This is the most important point for care of survivors. Moreover, the environment, in terms of family and community, should be prepared also to accept them and care about them to support their trauma healing and social reintegration process: a collective follow-up.

Perpetrators' social reintegration into the community: Perpetrators' confidence and positive perception of their personality is central to their acceptance for social reintegration. There is more to do in terms of new familiarization and self-de-traumatization as narrated by community leaders:

"First, by having an occupation, a sex offender will get in touch and familiarise with other people again in the community. Hence, training to get skills in some remunerative activities will put him in touch with people" (CLFGS)...

"Through those activities he will get courage to discuss with others, especially for those who are no longer able to speak to other people. It will be applied like a source of self-de-traumatisation. Then get to reconciliation" (CLFGS).

For sex offenders to get into a new environment and become familiarized with a new network, the community should initiate and help them to assist in some community labours, be trained in a professional occupation to connect them to people once more and get used to their companionship and for them to regain confidence to stabilize their minds before starting any reconciliation process. It helps perpetrators to gain a new image, a new way of being perceived by the rest of the community and a way of indirect reconciliation to get survivors' and community acceptance.

There is a cultural approach preventing perpetrators from rape relapse, which is a moral approach, as narrated by community leaders: *"Customs and legislation approaches are two things that are going together. Because custom is the friendly way of managing that issue by the means of compensation? This is to submit the offender to a humiliation action like a punishment"* (CLFGS). Public humiliation is used by the community to punish a perpetrator to punish him for doing the wrong he has done. Application of customary rules is a friendly way of managing issues to stop the relapse of rape as well as dissuading perpetrators to abandon (something missing?)

According to community leaders, the approach to heal trauma and socially reintegrate survivors should consider both rape survivors and sex offenders. The same approach should be applied to both for their

safety and acceptance into their environment. However, the procedure differs from survivors to perpetrators. If the survivors' process starts their trauma healing process with social reintegration through their acceptance, it is a must for the perpetrator to start with a legal punishment or customary approach of sanction. From there, perpetrators can start the process toward de-traumatization and social reintegration.

9.3 Perpetrators burden upon rape survivors' social reintegration

Social reintegration of rape survivors is a complex process that need the involvement of both perpetrators as well as rape survivors themselves. To achieve this goal in a successful manner, need for perpetrators to contribute to value rape survivors is unavoidable, even though this seems to be a huge challenge for perpetrators. Yet, perpetrators being involved in rape issues have suffered from psychological and social pressure in terms of trauma and alteration of intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships, which need to be restored as well. Even though rape survivors and perpetrators are still central in working for their own acceptance in the community and protecting themselves against rape relapse, the participation of the community in perpetrators' social reintegration to bring back the safety of both perpetrators and victims and the safety of the entire community is still relevant.

9.3.1 Perpetrators' rape perceptions: What matters?

Embedded in cultural beliefs, wrapped up in the current context of a new modern understanding of rape in the community, perception of rape by perpetrators has determined their action and complexified the accountability process forced by correctional mechanisms of criminal justice.

As mentioned in the previous section, men and young men, boys do not consider the issue of rape as it is stated in modern law. Culturally, the term rape does not exist. Having intercourse with girls and women, despite the goal of the act, against their wills or not, does not mean anything if only men's lust is satisfied. Culturally sexuality socialization has allowed men to use women to satisfy their lust when needed, under one condition of respecting the morals and principles of a custom the principles of which are still violent against women. Only recently, around 1998, after the first war during which period rape was used in the context of armed conflict as a weapon of war, mass rape in wartime, (Karina 2011) has awareness of the meaning of rape been made to contribute to reduce the intensity of gender-based violence regarding sexual violence. Yet, without enough measures strengthening the implementation and follow-up, the persistence of traditional beliefs of rape (despite some little positive change influenced by the awareness in Kalonge community) are still being used and rape is not yet perceived as it is considered in modern law. The law of rape, consisting of three vital legal ingredients, physical circumstances, the absence of consent and the mental element (Sallmann 1986) was amended, but still the terminology is confusing because "terms such as rape, sexual abuse, sexual assault, and others have different meanings in different jurisdictions; significantly, even the term 'consent' is defined differently

in each state” (Tracy *et al.* 2012: 3). Yet, despite the evolution of the term, in the context of heterosexuality, the fundamental meaning is still the same: “intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a female without her consent” (Naylor 2008). However, the confrontation between the two perceptions continues to be a challenging issue in the perception of a patriarchal society like that of Kalonge, where men, especially rapists, are still denying the fact, as for them the term rape is not yet applicable to them.

Factors that prelude the denial of rape by perpetrators must be established. The misunderstanding of the meaning of rape by some local men of the Kalonge community, especially rapists, can be considered as one of the reasons underlying their actions as well as that of denying the fact but acknowledging having normal intercourse, not rape. Meanwhile, even though rapists are still taking the matter for granted due to the culturally frivolous characteristic of rape, but being aware of the consideration of rape as a serious crime (Westmarland and Gangoli 2011), and the severity of its sentence, which in DR Congo is up to 10 to 20 years in in prison (Watch 2014), rapists are not ready to accept the offence and take responsibility. In other words, continual denial of being responsible for the act could be understood as being conscious of acting intentionally, and understood as such when it comes to the stages of serious crime called denial tactics in which the victims are blamed (Stanton 1998c, 1998b). Furthermore, the commercialization of rape in the community, where some women and girls try to take advantage of the severity of rape sentences to trap men, accusing them falsely of raping them to gain money through the compensation or fine for the offence has made the process of perpetrators’ accountability difficult to address. The only way to tackle the issue and hold perpetrators accountable for their acts is to resort to the criminal justice system, despite its challenges.

9.3.1.1 Correctional mechanism to hold perpetrators accountable complexified by the culture of impunity

Experiencing the difficult and complex process of holding perpetrators accountable for rape acts in the community, most victims, as well as their families, resorted to justice as a way of taking revenge, submitting the perpetrators to correctional punishment, or getting justice done for victims of rape. The correctional mechanism is a complex connected structure going from a society context, family, community institutions, the criminal justice system, reintegration-restoration, and back to societal context again with the aim of not only holding perpetrators accountable for their offence, but also to prevent the offence in the long-terms approach as expected by victims of rape. In this connection, intervention by the criminal justice system is the most important when the community becomes unable to solve the issue using the friendly term approach.

Central to addressing the offence, and the expectation of victims and their supporters, is to see perpetrators held accountable and serving a sentence in prison. Schaefer (2018) argues that prison is clearly retributive and incapacitate, making people hold the expectation that being imprisoned would

lead an individual to not want to be imprisoned again. The punishment expectation of victims unfortunately was in vain as cases were hijacked by perpetrators' corruptions, avoiding serving the sentence in prison. Among the five perpetrators who participated to my research, none of them have served their sentence in prison. They escaped as soon as they got an opportunity to corrupt the system to get out of prison. One perpetrator spent one year in prison while others spent just weeks or some months. Recognizing that "the prison is more than an instrument of society's retributive vengeance, that its basic philosophy is a correctional rather than a punitive philosophy" (MacCormick 1950b: 37) did not help victims to satisfy their will and feel recompensated as they wished, as the majority of cases are rarely investigated and when investigations do take place, trials are not held or sentences are not served (Kitharidis 2015b). Thus, victims and their supporters, after the corrupted release or the escape of their perpetrators from the prisons, have become more vulnerable vis-a-vis perpetrators. Instead of applying force or the justice system to find a solution and resolve the offence, the friendly term approach suggested by perpetrators made the victims submit themselves to the perpetrators' will when it came to the management of the issue. The failure of the correctional mechanism from the criminal justice system, did not manage to hold perpetrators accountable for their wrong and offence, but the perpetrators' incarceration period, short as it was, did not leave them without consequences forcing them to acknowledge their wrongdoing, which contributed to forcing perpetrators to collaborate in order to find solutions and repair the wrong done.

Unfortunately, serving a sentence in prison seemed unfair to perpetrators as the simple fact of satisfying their lust being depicted as rape was seen as not fair. The only way to manage the situation was to use corruption and get back to the traditional, customary practice of managing the issue of sexual attack. However, the process of resorting to friendly terms to manage the issue of rape in the community needed more than simply management. The approach encountered obstacles such as the mismanagement of community structures or lack of awareness in the community of addressing social reintegration of perpetrators in order to monitor the process successfully as I will mention at the end of this chapter.

9.3.2 Consequences of rape on perpetrators' lives

Perpetrators have suffered from rape consequences psychologically, socially, and economically. The three dimensions after rape, especially after getting out of prison (despite the fact that they did not serve the sentence) did not remain the same. Their intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships were altered as well as their safety in the community.

9.3.2.1 Distortion of perpetrators relationships

The source of the consequence that worsens perpetrators' lives surprisingly came from the incarceration consequences, rather than directly from rape itself. Rape, in perpetrators' perceptions did not mean rape

to them, but because of the moral sensitivity of rape and the inability to financially bear the burden of their families as well themselves, their relationships deteriorated.

In fact, perpetrators' quality of life degraded as result of incarceration and the consequences of corruption. Many perpetrators have acknowledged having sold their goods, and even sold what they had been keeping as heritage for their offspring, like farms and housing. They went through misery, unable to care for their responsibilities, which had effects on their relationships in the family, marriage, as a couple, as parents, husbands, and men. For those who were still single, they claimed having sold everything that they had invested to sustain their lives and prepare their future for bribes so that they might be freed. A report released by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2018) asserts that:

Incarceration itself tends to have several "collateral effects" upon offenders: they may have lost their livelihood, their personal belongings and their ability to maintain housing for themselves and their family; they may have contracted a serious disease while in custody; incarceration may have damaged their social networks and they may have lost important personal relationships; and they may have experienced mental health difficulties or acquired self-defeating habits and attitudes (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2018:13).

Incarceration has weakened perpetrators' lives and made them lose their sense of masculinity in their relationships. Masculinity being particular pattern of social behaviours or practices, an expectation on how men should behave and their position with gender relations, (Men Engage 2015a) not being able to respond to the expectation has brought men's dignity and reputation down. In a patriarchal society as that of the Kalonge community, traditional practice is still that of valuing men based on the fulfilment of their responsibilities, such as protection, care, and nurturing their family. This is the philosophy of a traditional family within a traditional society, where family structure is hierarchical and male-oriented (Hare-Mustin 1988). Drawing their energy from biosocial and cultural origins, the belief is that manhood equals to work, to fulfilment of their family's responsibilities, as the traditional division of labour has been known as "work for men, family responsibility and home maintenance for women" (Gutek, Nakamura and Nieva 1981: 1). Therefore, not being able to fulfil the needs of the family, not being able to fulfil their responsibility as parents, husbands, men in the family, equals automatically to not being socially recognized as an adult man, resulting in lack of social identity and respect, shame, stress, and depression (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2011).

As husbands, men being involved in decisions about sex (Grady et al. 1996) have seen their intimacy being fragilized, up to risking divorce. Some perpetrators have claimed no longer having the right to intercourse with their wives. This right has been denied them since they were not able to provide basic needs and take care of their family burden. Wives being disappointed, seen as betrayed by their husbands' unfaithfulness, threatened their husbands with divorce. At the time of my research, one of perpetrators reported being threatened by his wife with divorce since he was no longer able to care for their couple and family responsibilities. On the other hand, social fatherhood has also been another issue

that married perpetrators had to deal with. Some of the major contributions men make to family life are: taking economic responsibility for children, and building a caring relationship with children (Engle 1997). Perpetrators complained about their relationship with their children which has been destroyed since they were not able to provide for their needs. They have experienced a lack of respect from their children and reluctance in their closeness, as children were also affected by the dignity of their fathers who were depicted rapists and caused them to be called children of rapists.

For those who were still single, they were mocked by their friends and relatives for not being able to provide and take care of themselves as they became poor. They lost friends and experienced loneliness. Hence, rape consequences have disturbed perpetrators' relationships at intrapersonal and interpersonal levels, putting their safety inside and outside their families in danger.

9.3.2.2 Weak safety of perpetrators in their community

The incarceration experience, time spent in prison, no matter how short it was, has affected perpetrators in many ways. Lack of perpetrators' safety started from what they experienced while being incarcerated. This has affected their mental health, and far more their safety, as they lost confidence and trust in the community. "Conditions of imprisonment and the prison regime are known to contribute to the institutionalization of offenders and other personal problems that make their reintegration more difficult" (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018). Moreover, perpetrators' time spent in prison has an effect on the way people perceived them, as prison itself is not perceived the same by all people. It plays both roles, constructive or destructive, correctional, or reinforcing criminality.

If incarceration is known as a process to educate offenders in order to prevent crime, it is also known and portrayed as criminogenic. In fact, "the history of criminal punishments, the world over, shows the most of crimes accompanying greatest severity" (Brockway 1910: 459) which hypothesis stands against punishment as a process to end crime or dissuade offenders. This is considered as a new social learning environment in which criminal orientations are potentially reinforced; a custodial sentence will intensify a commitment to a life in crime and is a place of high crime recidivism. Nagin, Cullen and Jonson (2009) show that the high recidivism rate of former prisoners clearly demonstrates that the prison experience is not so aversive as to make most individuals give up crime entirely. The fact that data from individual countries confirm that the rate of reoffending is high –sometimes higher than 70 per cent (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018) –proves that imprisonment can hardly be an approach to decreasing the crime rate (Muntingh 2008). This depiction has not let people in the community be indifferent to perpetrators after they have escaped from or evaded prison. The fact of evading prison by having corrupted has shown how capable of committing offence perpetrators were, and how they learnt skills to escape from prison. As such, they have lost the trust of people and assimilated to skilled criminals while being incarcerated. On the other side, feeling guilt for not serving the sentence in prison, made them unsafe since they were worried about reprisals, either from victims' families or from other

security services working locally in the community. As a consequence, the presence of perpetrators who did not serve their sentences disturbed the security of perpetrators themselves, their victims, and other people in their neighbourhood. They went through rejection and lack of support in the community even though some could protect them. Some of their family members assumed that the fact of welcoming, accepting them and taking care of them would safeguard and protect them from integrating criminal bands. However, without effective programmes to help perpetrators face their safety challenges, the likelihood of their successful reacceptance is very poor.

Apart from the criminogenic characteristic of the incarceration which has affected their safety, the second characteristic of the incarceration that has weakened their safety is the conditions in which perpetrators were incarcerated.

Prison conditions in many countries do not meet the minimum requirements set out in the UN Standard Minimum, ... Lack of adequate space, drinking water and nutrition, poor sanitation, lack of natural light and fresh air are characteristic features of many prisons worldwide. The lack of adequate healthcare services in prisons significantly hinders the social reintegration of prisoners, while leading to the spread of transmissible and life-threatening diseases in prisons, and the community (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2011: 7)

Poor conditions in which perpetrators were incarcerated constituted a traumatic situation that affected their mental health. Some of them declared not having stable minds, feeling that they were going mad, and fearing to meet everyone in the environment where rape occurred. Their freedom is restricted by the traumatic time spent in prison.

Trauma from prison did not only affect them negatively. Having spent the worse moments of their lives in the prison, perpetrators minds have changed since they have learnt from their mistake, from the terrible conditions in which they were kept, learnt from the punishment given to correct them, learnt from the consequences of corruption which brought misery and caused rejection and alteration of their relationships. These have dissuaded them to the extent that even though the criminal justice system is corrupted and did not solve the issue as wished by victims and their supporters, although it has failed to prevent rape culture and convince perpetrators to hold accountability for the offence, perpetrators themselves after going through those consequences and having experienced incarceration have feared the most the issue of rape, not because of rape itself being bad, but because of the terrible aftermaths that it generates. Hence, not only has the use of justice negatively affected perpetrators at personal and relational levels, it has also produced a good result, which is that of making perpetrators fear to resort to rape. Fear is the beginning of wisdom (Brockway 1910) as a result of incarceration. The constrained lessons learnt from a short period in prison from have turned some into wise men, advisors, advocating against rape culture, advising themselves as well as other people surrounding them, forbidding them to resort to rape no matter what. Therefore, the issue of rape has become a sensitive issue for perpetrators

after escaping from prison, and the positive transformative aspect of experiencing prison life has affected perpetrators' relationships to their victims as well.

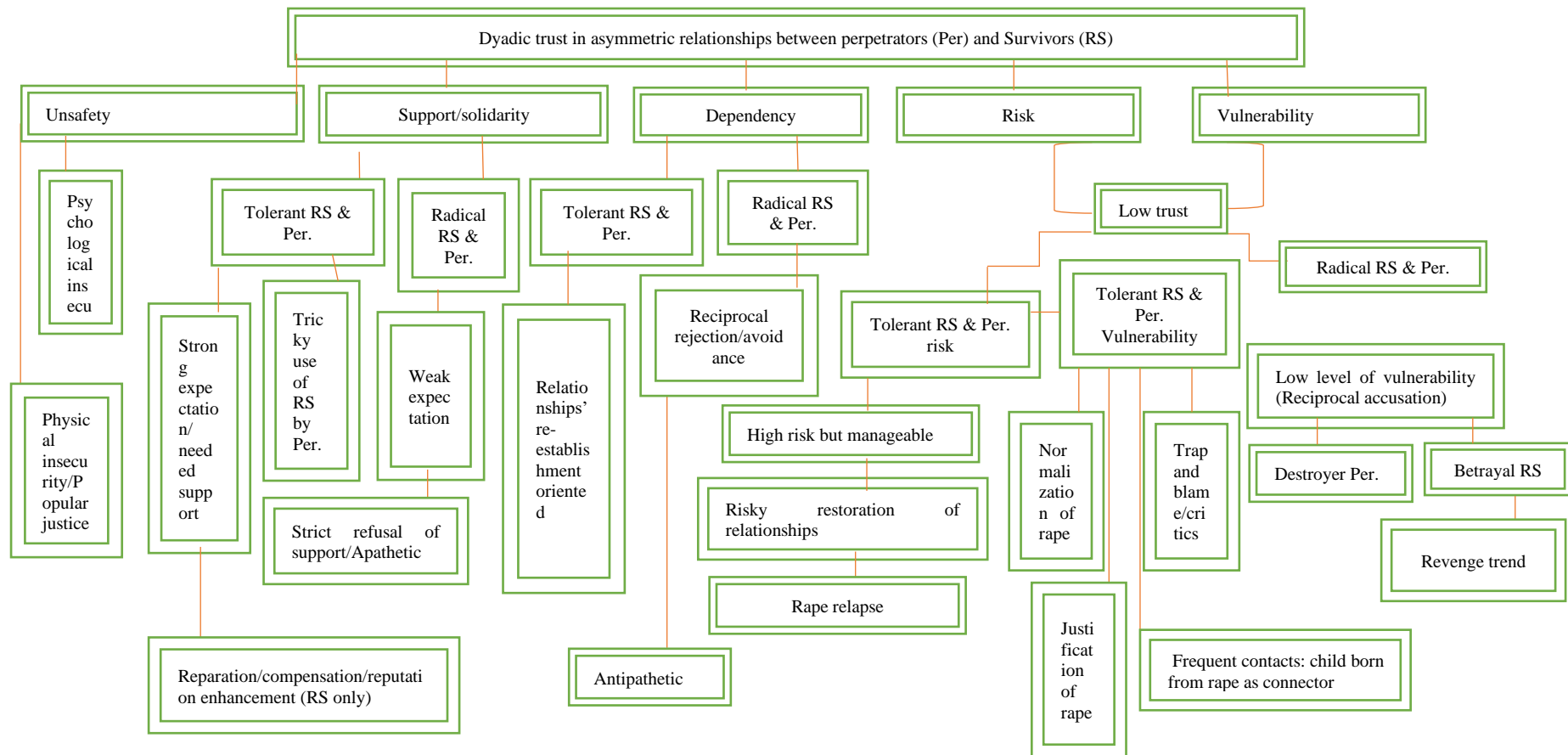
9.3.3 Gender-based analysis on the re-establishment of perpetrator-victim relationship

To well understand how critical the re-establishment of perpetrators and victims' relationships is for the sake of their safety, harmony, and cohesiveness in the community, I chose a couple of perpetrators with their victims to participate to this study so that the result would be accurate. I used concepts of conflict transformation practices such as trust, dependence/interdependence, risk, and vulnerability to evaluate how distorted is the relationship between perpetrators and their victims, its consequences, and a possible way toward the transformation of their situation.

9.3.3.1 Trust complexity to restore perpetrator-rape survivor relationship

Transforming perpetrators' and rape survivors' relationships demands a strong level of trust, which is complex due to the risk and vulnerability that the issue of rape presents. The sensitivity of rape needs a cautious attitude and behaviour from both sides. Hence, trust is the pillar around which I have analysed the dependence/interdependence aspect to establish how trust works in the context of the re-establishing their relationships while the core issue to reconstruct is sensitive.

Figure 9:2 Conflict transformation practices: Dyadic trust between perpetrators and their rape survivors



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

Trust is a conviction that another person will perform certain actions, or behave as promised (Taormina and Sunb 2015). It involves honesty and credibility; is fundamental for collaboration, communication and dialogue; makes it easy to accept the opinion of others; maintains the well-functioning of relationship; and is “crucial for the emergence of healthy and secure relationships” (Simpson 2007: 587). Trust is a psychological construct, the experience of which is the outcome of the interaction of people's values, attitudes, and moods and emotions (Jones and George 1998). To make any social interaction successful, trust is the backbone. However, the contrary, which is mistrust, obstructs the advancement, and conditions that lead to reluctance of initiating or investing in a relationship. The betrayal of trust is one of the most commonly mentioned reasons for the demise of relationships (Simpson 2007). The opposite of trust is identified as suspicion, or behaviour which expects untrustworthy behaviour and involves a choice in which less is lost if the other behaves as expected than if he does not (Barnet 1973). Trust involves the notion of risk and vulnerability, which has to be taken into consideration to make trust and restoration of relationships successful. According to Morton Deutsch (1958), who many consider the founder of modern theory and research on trust, cited by Simpson (2007),

Trust involves the delicate juxtaposition of peoples' loftiest hopes and aspirations in relation to their deepest worries and darkest fears. For this reason, situations in which trust is relevant often generate strong approach avoidance gradients, particularly when individuals feel vulnerable and must count on the benevolence of their partners to receive important outcomes. Simpson (2007:587) .

The mixture of hopes, aspirations and worry, fear is where trust and vulnerability clash and need to be lightened by the involvement of a partner. In the context of my research, the concept of trust is adapted to interpersonal relationships where interaction has conflictual antecedents between perpetrators and their victims.

Interpersonal trust is important in social interactions, crucial for avoiding interpersonal conflicts and has great benefit on psychological security and safety. As assert Taormina and Sunb (2015:175), “people high in interpersonal trust may be less likely to think that others will cause them emotional harm, making feelings of psychological insecurity less likely...The more Interpersonal Trust people have, the less Psychological Insecurity they will have”). In the context of trust between perpetrators and their victims, rape is a conflictual antecedent that disturbs and weaken their safety. The level of psychological insecurity is higher, bringing into trust many issues that complexify it. This is complex since the limit between harm and preservation from harm is so slight in the sense that the relapse of the antecedent (rape) could happen and harm easily.

According to the theoretical framework of trust, there are three fundamental bases of interpersonal trust, “reliability, which refers to the fulfilment of word or promise; emotional, which refers to the reliance on others to refrain from causing emotional harm; and honesty, which refers to telling the truth and

engaging in behaviours that are guided by benign rather than malicious intent and by genuine rather than manipulative strategies” (Williams nd: 6).

Complex dependence between perpetrators and victims: Dependence is here used in the sense of dyadic trust of interpersonal phenomenon which may include several levels such as impersonal, institutional, or interpersonal dyadic levels. Dyadic trust refers to a vertical relationship (Ikonen 2013) which in my study is related to an asymmetric relationship between perpetrators and victims. As such, gender dyadic trust is my focus while analysing the issue of dyadic trust in dependence. In this socialization is the fundamental basis that determines and differentiates men’s and women’s attitudes, thoughts, and behaviour. Men are socialized to be independent and autonomous. Many men may eschew the greater dependence on others that higher levels of trust entail, while women are socialized to interdependence and are relationship-oriented as many women may feel more comfortable entering and maintaining more dependent relationships that involve greater trust (Simpson 2007), and place more emphasis on interpersonal connections (Williams nd).

Findings from my research clearly show the difference in dependence between perpetrators and their victims for the sake of re-establishing their relationships, and how the issue of dependence is complex. If literature approaches the issue of gendered dyadic trust contrasting their trend, my findings add to this growing literature the nuance that must be considered while approaching dependence in gendered dyadic trust. The result of this study indicates that interest is the key factor that determines the fluctuation of the trend of dependence in gendered dyadic trust. In fact, there are two categories of perpetrators and victims, those who are radical and tolerant ones. Radical perpetrators are opposed to the idea of reconnecting to their victims or depending to them to re-establish their relationship. Their antipathies are the outcome of the consequences of rape that have dissuaded them to the extent that they hate getting closer to victims and reject any support from victims that could contribute to the re-establishment of their relationship. This is the general trend of all perpetrators, but there is a second trend of tolerant perpetrators whose attitude differs.

Radical victims present same attitude as their perpetrators and are extremely opposed have a strict refusal attitude and are antipathic to depending on their perpetrators for the re-establishment of their relationships. They are not expecting to get any support from them for that purpose. Victims’ decisions and determination to stick to their rejective reluctant attitude is motivated by self-protection against rape relapse. Therefore, there seems to be reciprocal, mutual rejection between radical perpetrators and radical victims, where neither man nor woman is willing to depend on the other for the sake of self-protection against rape relapse and their safety as well. A dependency-regulation model is applied here, as victims and perpetrators tend to protect themselves by distancing from the partner and the relationship, which is thought to blunt the pain of rejection (Lemay and Clark 2008). Dependence demands greater trust, but due to the antecedent between perpetrators and their victims, the level of trust

is low. For this reason, radical perpetrators and victims do not engage in such processes. This meets the idea of dependency as a need for close relationships, to receive support and approval, and a tendency to become anxious if required to act independently. These factors indicate that dependent people fear negative emotional experiences, such as receiving unfavourable evaluations and being abandoned. The more dependency people have, the more psychological insecurity they will have (Taormina and Sunb 2015).

However, the interest that each both perpetrators and victims are targeting is still the backbone of the complexity of their dependence which does not let men and women comply with the principle of gender dyadic trust where men are independent and women interdependent. In this case, both tolerant perpetrators and tolerant victims are relationship oriented. Tolerant perpetrators who claimed to have raped by love are, and have acknowledged being, tempted by rape relapse and are ready to reconnect to their victims with the intention of taking advantage of their interdependence. On the other hand, some victims are also ready to reconnect to their perpetrators as they have children born from the rape and are unable to cope with the burden of their children abandoned by their rape perpetrator fathers; they feel dependent on their perpetrators' support. For tolerant victims, the need to take care of their offspring who are excluded from the community, as they themselves are, intensifies their motivation to get space in the community. As assert Lu, Zhang and Liu (2018), people who were socially excluded seek a sense of control. Given that money provides a sense of control, tolerant rape victims seek to regain control by achieving two goals, which are to provide a better life for their children and to get compensation from their perpetrators, as the process of restorative justice or that of compensation using friendly terms of managing the rape issue have failed. Staying connected to their perpetrators' support, keeping closeness to them, seeking to depend to them, is the only way for them to achieve their goal by getting pecuniary or emotional support. For them, the distinction between interest and prevention of rape relapse is complex. For instance, between both tolerant perpetrators and tolerant victims there is no limit set or way of managing their closeness to prevent the relapse of rape at the time that they are wishing to re-establish their relationships in order to satisfy their interest. This becomes the issue related to risk and vulnerability of the trust and their interdependence.

Risk and vulnerability of perpetrators and victims based on trust and dependence: The issue of risk and vulnerability responds to the question of how persons involved in low-trust relationships process information and respond when dependency issues are salient (Simpson 2007: 598). Perpetrators do not trust victims, as they consider them as betrayers, and victims do not trust perpetrators as they depict them as destroyers of lives. The solution is provided by conflict transformation practices. Coming to the practice of transforming conflict, trust carries the complexity of the dilemma of engaging in sensitive issues like that of rape, when perpetrators and their victims must restore their relationships without going through a relapse of rape. The formula is then: *how can we address "A" and at the same time build "B"?* This is at the crux? of transformation (Lederach 2003: 52). The dilemma lies in the

relationships between victims and perpetrators, where it demands enhancing communication, dialogue, trust, respect of others, etc. and at the same time avoiding the relapse of rape and sexual abuse in an asymmetric relationship: the “powerful” (man) against the “weak” (woman and girl). Perpetrators as well as victims should confront the dilemma and be encouraged to get out of it successfully. For this reason, both must be confident of success, which would be the source of change.

In fact, most perpetrators preferred managing their relationships by keeping social distance rather than restoring their relationships, especially as the management of the limit of closeness seems to be unclear and confused. They have found solutions based on avoidance strategy by either returning to a safe place or significantly restraining their communication. This means that the connecting trigger of their connection, which is either the child or the lust, should not be shared by both. Furthermore, the decline in either the intensity or the frequency of contacts should be applied to make the management of their relationships successful. For example, victims who have children should take back?? to their fathers to reduce the frequency of the contact between perpetrators and victims. Single victims must keep their distance as well as single perpetrators. They should limit their social interaction at the level of greetings, as for instance the image of the other and their presence are still traumatic images slowing their healing process. Here they are all given the willingness to accept vulnerability or risk based on expectations regarding another person’s behaviour, perceived as not being able to harm their interest (Williams nd: 3). Acting from a cognitive perspective will contribute to managing their relationships instead of restoring them. Lewicki, Tomlinson and Gillespie (2006) argue that

We cognitively choose whom we will trust in which respects and under which circumstances, and we base the choice on what we take to be “good reasons, constituting evidence of trustworthiness”. However, because trust only meaningfully exists when there is risk (Mayer et al., 1995), trustors do not know with absolute certainty how the trustee will respond a priori. Thus, the cognitive basis of trust allows for the reduction of uncertainty by providing a foundation from which a “leap” can be made—that is, “beyond the expectations that reason and experience alone would warrant” Lewicki, Tomlinson and Gillespie (2006:998)

The chosen mechanism to manage risk and vulnerability is still fragile and challenging due to the uncertainty of the risk of rape relapse, weak resistance to reengaging in intimate life and its management, as well as the vulnerability of supporting dependents, so there is not any guarantee of overcoming the interdependence. However, as suggested by the actors who trust to their strategy, considering what happen as a tactic that they can deal with, and breaking the fear and feeling of insecurity, positivizes their decision and readiness to engage through the process, and these should be considered as evidence of their trustworthiness. The only thing they need is to get support from other people, since communication, dialogue, and connections to others are still natural human social interaction needs as Costa, Ntoumanis and Bartholomew (2015) and Taormina and Sunb (2015) claim. The need for relatedness refers to one’s desire to feel connected to others and those who choose to deal effectively with optimal challenging tasks have to be supported, especially as the expectations and final goal of getting support from each other are not the same and do not have equal intensity. The goal of

victims to depend on their perpetrators' support goes beyond the outcome of satisfying material needs, but also of valuing them and contributing to their acceptance in the community, as I will present below.

9.3.3.2 Perpetrators' social reintegration process and their contribution to rape survivors' acceptance in the community

The contribution of perpetrators to the process of rape survivors' acceptance, as well as their own acceptance should include concomitant actions, improving their own quality of life and valuing that of their rape survivors to obtain and enhance acceptance in the community. However, the reality on the ground has proven how critical is the process, despite the involvement of other community members whose notion of dealing with such issues is still weak, not yet improved, and limited to the traditional practices.

Perpetrators experienced rejection, disdain, lack of respect and misery due to sexual misconduct, which made them feel misfits in their families as well as in their neighbourhood and community, where they are no longer trusted. They are accused of making rape survivors and other people feeling unsafe due to their presence in their neighbourhood. Factors like weak relationships, weak mental health, and weak financial conditions have disturbed their harmony, peace, and stability and slowed their trauma recovery process as there is no psychosocial assistant assigned to them. For them to regain trust and acceptance, two main options must be fulfilled: displacement from their current neighbourhood to get new contacts or be active through work. My focus is more on the impact that having a financial activity would have on solving the situation.

Knowing that the main consequence of rape was poverty in perpetrators' lives, they have claimed that getting a job to value themselves financially would impact their lives at all levels, in intrapersonal and interpersonal relations, including psychological, relational, social aspects, etc. Hence, the enhancement of their social capital through a job is still unavoidable and relevant. Eggebeen and Knoester (2001) argues that men's priority is about their economic roles due to a sense of responsibility that they have. Hence, having economic activities for men is the backbone of the solution that would impact remaining domains of their lives as mentioned above. It would produce several advantages, such as respect, regaining of dignity and a sense of masculinity, self-esteem, etc. Perpetrators not being capable of managing and addressing the failure of getting economic activities for their self-reintegration, can only worsen their traumatic condition.

Mechanisms toward harmony: Rape survivors' crucial need from their perpetrators lies in their attitude and actions to value them and thus to contribute to their acceptance in their community. Given that criminal justice and restorative justice have failed to hold perpetrators accountable, which would be a mechanism of satisfying rape survivors for the wrong done to them, the only option for them to feel valued is to see their perpetrators being fined in terms of compensation that they must pay, either to

rape survivors or to their families, or respect their wills. Given that there are two types of rape survivors who are entitled to be compensated, the mechanisms of achieving this differ from one type to another one. For radical rape survivors, compensation has been diverted from perpetrators to other men. Being satisfied by the compensation is to get consolation from another man or to get married to another man who is not her perpetrator, and receive self-respect for their acceptance, which is different from the tolerant rape survivors, whose compensation is limited to restorative justice and/or being married to her perpetrator. Whether the understanding of compensation differs from one type of rape survivor to another, the double meaning allocated to their concept can be understood in the sense of restorative justice under their variant of therapeutic jurisprudence⁹⁶ and healing justice⁹⁷.

In fact, restorative justice, in placing victims and offenders at the centre of the process, focusses on “addressing the harm done to the victims, holding offenders accountable for their actions and, often also, engaging the community in the resolution of that conflict” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006: 6). Despite the fact that in many developing countries, as is the case of the Kalonge community in DR Congo, “restorative justice practices are applied through traditional practices and customary law” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2006: 5), the need of victims is still the same: information, truth-telling, empowerment, restitution or vindication and offender accountability (Zehr 2002) which can be met throughout healing justice and therapeutic jurisprudence.

The advantage of restorative justice is that the process involves the implication of a range number of participants, such as victims’ and offenders’ supporters, community members, judicial officers/judges, police, etc. to ease the process and get a successful outcome. Their participation promotes healing of all affected parties and gives to all parties a voice and shared responsibility in finding constructive solutions, addressing underlying causes and building a sense of community and shared values (Stand Together for Justice 2011).

Victims’ wishes for regaining values such as respect, enhancement of self-esteem and other values for their acceptance have failed, since perpetrators have won in imposing friendly term approaches to resolving the issue in the community. Unfortunately, the process of restorative justice held at the level of community through traditional practices and customary law also did not succeed. Victims’ process of restorative justice in the community, like apology, forgiveness and reconciliation (Imiera 2018), which could lead to therapeutic jurisprudence and healing justice, have been in vain and victims did not

⁹⁶ Therapeutic Jurisprudence incorporates law, social work, and psychology, and, furthermore, tries to address the emotional, and psychological well-being of crime victims and offenders as they encounter the legal system. Imiera, P. P. 2018. Therapeutic jurisprudence and restorative justice: healing crime victims, restoring the offenders. Doctorate, University of Pretoria.

⁹⁷ Cannot be limited to focusing on emotional harm and psychological redress, but is bound to address all types of harm (physical, material, emotional etc.) inflicted on all stakeholders involved (victims, offenders, community, society). Weitekamp, E. G. M. and Parmentier, S. 2016. Restorative justice as healing justice: looking back to the future of the concept. *Restorative Justice An International Journal*, 4 (2): 141-147.

get an opportunity to go through these steps for them to feel relief; they did not get an opportunity to express their needs and to participate in determining the best way for the offender to make reparation. Hence, they have started forcing their own way of being valued, such as resorting to marriage as a social value that would make them valued by themselves, as the contribution of their perpetrators has failed to value them. This mechanism is not without negative consequences, as victims will be forced to live for the rest of their lives with their traumatic image. Even though the traditional and customary law has failed to address the issue of restorative justice, the community still holds the responsibility for addressing the issue through caring about social reintegration of both, so that victims as well as perpetrators would find the community a better, more peaceful place to live and to make other people feel safe.

Community mechanism to reintegrate perpetrators and rape survivors: The main aim of socially reintegrating perpetrators and victims is for the safety of both perpetrators and rape survivors, to prevent them from rape relapse or reoffending, grant them space in the community and contribute to community cohesiveness and build peace in the community. In this sub-section, I will concentrate more on perpetrators' social reintegration as that of rape survivors has been discussed previously in Section I. As discussed above, restorative justice, as well as engaging perpetrators and victims, aims to also engage the community in the process of social reintegration of perpetrators. The issue of rape must be resolved in the community, not only for the good of perpetrators and victims, but much more for building a sense of community, of shared values (Stand Together for Justice 2011) and rebuilding and restoring the cohesiveness of the community. As such, the community has a responsibility to participate throughout the process.

Lacking awareness on the process of social reintegration of perpetrators after serving sentence, the reality of the Kalonge community regarding perpetrators' social reintegration is that of ignorance of the process, no training and lack of involvement or commitment to contribute to the process. Perpetrators, instead of being involved in social reintegration programmes, are left behind without any initiative that could contribute to the improvement of their situations whether in health, education, economic activities, or spiritual activities to facilitate their social reintegration. The big challenge of the Kalonge community lies on the fact that community leaders are not aware of the relevance of social reintegration of perpetrators and the existence of such programmes as officially established. Also, in their interventions of the friendly terms approach to resolve issue of rape, they do not take into consideration social reintegration of perpetrators. They are limited to that of rape survivors only. Yet, both deserve to get same intervention for the success of rape survivors' safety and prevention of rape relapse. Preventing perpetrators from reoffending or crime recidivism is preventing women, girls and rape survivors from the worst of rape crime. Instead of making them involved in community activities, they have been rejected by the community, and perceived as criminal, a source of insecurity.

Avoiding getting involved in the issue of perpetrators is because there are many challenges to overcome in a social reintegration programme to facilitate offender reintegration. This is a complex task, and the impact of specific interventions is often difficult to measure. Reduced criminal recidivism remains the ultimate indicator of successful social reintegration programmes (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018). There is no way of measuring the success of social reintegration programmes in the Kalonge community as there is no programme, activity or strategy in the community that focusses especially on this matter. Social reintegration strategies involve multiple levels of government, coordination among agencies (health, education, prison administration, law enforcement, etc.) and mobilization of community resources (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018). Since community leaders are not aware of the strategies and their relevance, even though some primary socialization structures like religions are available, this still a big challenge for the Kalonge community to overcome insecurity, prevent rape relapse and protect their community.

Another challenge lies in perpetrators themselves. Most of the perpetrators who participated in this research have low levels of education and are not engaged in religious activities. Yet, according to the results of some research (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2018), social reintegration is more difficult for offenders with poor basic educational and skills levels. Hence, not being engaged in spiritual activities and having low levels of education complexifies perpetrators' social reintegration.

Perpetrators' social reintegration process must start from the education received while in prison. The period of incarceration is also a moment of learning, a preparation to adapt to a new social life in the community, by providing concrete life skills and training (Schaefer 2018). Once out, faith-based activities can raise community-based resources to assist offenders and provide good role models. However, those two structures, which could support community activities on social reintegration of perpetrators, are relatively lacking, especially when perpetrators do not serve the sentence. This gives the Kalonge community a difficulty in assisting with the social reintegration of perpetrators. As such, insecurity of rape survivors, and female and community lack of safety will keep on rising. Moreover, there is a lack of community awareness to make perpetrators positively change their attitude and behaviour, motivating their cognitive process in order to bring them to understand that their behaviour is not acceptable and that it had some real consequences for the victim and community. Therefore, their change is relevant for the sake of the entire community.

9.4 Conclusion

Perpetrators' presence in the community after being incarcerated is a safety burden for themselves, for rape survivors and for other community members. It has affected their social reintegration as well as that of rape survivors, worsened by the failure of the community to contribute to addressing the re-establishment of relationships of both perpetrators and rape survivors.

The involvement of perpetrators in rape survivors' social reintegration facilitation has a starting point, which is their accountability for rape against their victims. Unfortunately holding perpetrators accountable has been a challenging issue which factors are embedded into cultural perceptions that perpetrators have of rape, the context of the commercialization of rape issues in the community, and the failure of the criminal justice system. In the culture of the Shi tribe from the Kalonge community, the term rape does not exist. Unwilling intercourse against women and girls, can be ultimately considered a sexual attack on good morality when it does not comply to traditional practices and customs, which practices are still frivolous regarding rape against females. Sexual custom socialization has allowed men to use women to satisfy their lust when needed but limited the rule of custom which has undermined rape sensitivity, turning it into an attack against good morals or normal cultural intercourse. This perception has affected the commercialization of rape to gain money when this frivolous characteristic of rape has been known as rape and been punishable as a crime by law. Perceiving rape in a frivolous way and taking advantage of the existence of the commercialization of rape, perpetrators have denied all responsibility for raping. This attitude has strengthened their position in using corruption to be released from prison and none of them has served their sentence.

Even though they did not serve the sentence, being incarcerated had consequences for perpetrators lives in intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships including psychological, economic, and social aspects. In fact, perpetrators' quality of life degraded as a result of incarceration and the consequences of corruption. Economically, they have become poor, unable to care for themselves and their families, thus behaving contrary to social function from their role of providers, fathers, husbands, and men in the family therefore threatening their feeling of masculinity. This has also led to many other consequences like disdain, lack of respect, threat of divorce, rejection, etc., making their safety both inside and outside their families in danger. Incarceration has made people depict them as a source of insecurity in the community, as they did not serve their sentences. They have been mentally traumatized due to the punishment and hard conditions of incarceration. However, the constrained lessons learnt from prison also had positive effects as they created dissuasion to rape due to the consequences they have experienced. Hence, some of them have turned into wise men advocating against rape.

Transforming perpetrators' and rape survivors' relationships demands a strong level of trust, which is complex due to the risk and vulnerability that the issue of rape presents. The sensitivity of rape needs cautious attitudes and behaviour from both sides. Hence, trust is the pillar around which I have analysed dependence/interdependence to ascertain how trust works in the context of the re-establishing their relationships, while the core issue to reconstruct is sensitive. If perpetrators' relationships with other people have been destroyed, that between them and their victims have been worsened. To contribute to restoring their relationship and re-establishing it, demands the involvement of perpetrators as well as that of community members. Unfortunately, perpetrators have failed to contribute to restoring their relationships with victims and contributing to their acceptance, due to the complexity of trust between

them being destroyed by rape antecedents, where dependence on each other to re-establish, their relationships seem to be tricky and needing a high level of management. The general trend has shown that neither radical perpetrators nor radical victims were willing to get mutual support to protect themselves against rape relapse. However, tolerant perpetrators and tolerant victims were relation-oriented, interdependent, and motivated by the protection of interest and advantage that could benefit their relationship, rather than protecting themselves against harm. They have ignored the risk of rape relapse even they were vulnerable in depending on the interest reconnecting them. To manage the risk and vulnerability based on their dependence, the management of relationships would be a successful way towards the restoration of their relationships.

Social reintegration of perpetrators and of their victims needed the use of restorative justice that would ease the process toward transformation of their confrontations and issues obstructing their acceptance and safety toward harmony and change. However, neither restorative justice process using traditional and customary law nor other institutions like religions could contribute to addressing the re-establishment of their relationships as well as their process to social reintegration, the reason being that local community leaders are not aware of the relevance and process of social reintegration of perpetrators after serving a sentence, to protect rape survivors and for the sake of community safety, restoring harmony and cohesiveness and rebuilding peace. Moreover, there is a lack of community awareness to make perpetrators positively change changing their attitude and behaviour, motivating their cognitive process to bring them to understand that their behaviour is not acceptable and that it had some real consequences for the victim and the community.

CHAPTER TEN

INTERVENTION TOWARDS THE RESTORATION OF SOCIAL COHESION FOR A COHESIVE COMMUNITY

10.1 Introduction

The intervention highlights the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors, sex offenders or perpetrators and children born from rape, who are central to the study, using mixed methods based on participatory action research and conflict transformation practices. Throughout the process of the intervention, some key actors from the community, such as local community leaders, both men and women, customary law-keepers, and social workers were involved to reinforce the process, as they were needed either to facilitate the inquiry process or to boost the intervention process. Intervention with rape survivors and perpetrators is a contribution aiming to socially reintegrate them into their families and community as well as the contribution of perpetrators upon a category of victims' rape survivors who are living in the same community with them to improve the quality of their relationships for their social cohesion. Intervention related to children born from rape aimed to integrate them into their mothers' families and community, since they compose a new social group to be inserted into the existing one.

Intervention included two major themes, which are the restoration of social cohesion, as well as posttraumatic growth as this is the theme considered as measuring the outcome of the intervention and which served to evaluate the intervention. It was composed of four major activities: training on social cohesion and posttraumatic growth; family dialogues, literacy centre, and community awareness limited to community leaders, customary law-keepers, and stepfathers. The creation of the illiteracy centres had similar motive of awareness as well. Hence, the module of training targets attitude changes in rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape through the transformation of individuals at personal and relational levels, with the aim of putting central actors in the midst of their own change. Family dialogue aimed to transform perpetrators and rape survivors' relationships for their safety, literacy centres aimed to offer spaces to create new social networks, and community awareness aimed to support the intervention as the issue of transformation of relationships for a cohesive community is rooted in the culture. The duration of the inquiry, including the intervention, was nine months from October 2018 to July 2019 and took place in four (Fendula, Caminunu, Cibinda and Cifunzi) of Kalonge's six villages, which are Rambo, Fendula, Caminunu, Cibinda, Mule, and Cifunzi.

10.2 Action-oriented attitude change toward social cohesion

Action-oriented attitude change is the intervention that was applied to the issue of alteration of intrapersonal and interpersonal distortions of relationships of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, which restoration needed intervention that must contribute to change their attitudes for self-reintegration, supported by external actors, for the cohesiveness of the community.

10.2.1 Training on social cohesion and post-traumatic growth

To make the training useful to rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, I created a module that includes 17 themes related to issues which arose during the inquiry, grouped under personal and relational settings. The training themes are habit, inheritance, constitution, rights, money, family, mother, father, orphan, courtesy, prison, coach, diet, power, religion, laziness, and rape, inspired by the CABTAL (2011) manual. Modules developed can be found in the annex pages of this thesis, appendix II. In this chapter, I present the impact and outcome of the discussion during training sessions with adults, which lasted seven days, from 9 am to 4 pm, and four days with children from 9 am to 1 pm.

10.2.1.1 Rape survivors and perpetrators

The aim of the training is to engage rape survivors as well as perpetrators in the process of their own social reintegration using post-traumatic growth techniques. Rape survivors and perpetrators encountering complex challenges after their traumatic rape events may not have same reaction to overcome the challenges, but all have been motivated through training to engage through personal and relational transformation to impact and change negative perceptions of those who obstruct their social reintegration.

Improving individual and relational values: The 17 themes were applied to engage rape survivors and perpetrators to be central actors of their own personal and relational transformation, as well as that of people surrounding them. Training done targeted the individual's development, as well as relational development, to ease social reintegration of rape survivors. The training encouraged rape survivors and perpetrators to seriously consider their challenges, the way they have affected them and how they can overcome them.

a. Habits

Among the 17 themes, habit was the most challenging and relevant theme that drew other themes and made a huge impact on rape survivors and perpetrators' introspection on their lives. The discovery of what they have become, how they have changed negatively due to effects of rape, motivated them to work further for their own individual positive transformation. Narrative from the discussion sessions provides evidence of the alteration of their habits after rape, compared in two periods, before and after rape adversity.

"I now love people by interest. In my family I have become selfish because of rape issue" (RSFGJn) ...

“Everybody was respecting me in this village before my husband’s death. I try to satisfy everyone’s needs ... I do consider not having a friend in this community. I feel alone. I don’t trust anyone... I’m now preventing myself doing good to others. Nowadays, I have become selfish as I was prosecuted because of those *Ba ronge ronge*⁹⁸.

Now even if they give me something, I’m afraid of it” ... “I have become selfish and prevent myself getting in touch with people because of people’s accusations telling me I am the author of my husband’s murder. I’m afraid” (RSFGJn) ...

“After rape, the bad habit I have is to stop or limit talking to people. That’s how I no longer speak well to people. I hate them and my heart does not like them anymore” (RSFGJn).

Post-adversity, distortion and deformation of rape survivors’ and perpetrators’ habits have been a new reality that they had to cope with, struggling to keep their pre-adversity habits. Rejection has been central to their attitudes as they have become selfish and lacking consideration for other people surrounding them. Becoming egotistical, lacking trust for anyone as they have been profoundly hurt by other people, they have been trying to keep themselves away from others. Frightened to get in touch with others, they only do it under conditions such as reciprocal exchange interests, meanwhile avoiding being in touch with others. Their lives have become a kind of relationship dilemma. Lacking confidence and mistrusting others, as well as not being trusted, made them perplexed about how to build strong relationships after the destructive adversity, therefore disturbing their relationships.

“After rape, everyone has become like an enemy for me. I become irascible; I can jump on you without resisting. I have hated them. But now I’m fine. I was so young, at the age of 15, when they raped me. After rape, I couldn’t talk to people, only to other survivors. After 14 years, I keep on feeling lost. Sometimes when I’m walking on the road, I feel my mind scattered. My heart is full of hate. I have become insolent, cheeky, irascible, rude to local leaders who were trying to assist me” ... “After rape, the fact that people were criticizing me, I started hating everyone. They brought back me rape memories” ... “I feel like they are putting sand in my mind. I started talking too much and anyhow.... Thus, I decided to keep quiet, isolated myself from talking to people. After your interviews, my mind is getting cool slowly” (RSFGJn).

Rape, as a traumatic event has left survivors isolating and keeping social distance from others, the reason being, rape survivors have been considering other people as enemies, those able to hurt them due to the rape experience they faced. The protracted isolation attitude (of more than a decade and half for some) expresses a lasting detachment and broken and deeply fragile relationship skills. Furthermore, continually having a negative perception of other people considering them as enemies, being irascible and filled with hate against others, having a scattered mind etc., has deeply weakened relationships of rape survivors and created more disinclination? due to the burden of their traumatic attitudes, such as rejection of any assistance, which limits them from getting in touch with other people and keeping good relationships, thus fragilizing themselves.

“As people from this community were chasing me away to be caught and killed by rebels, that has made me hate them. I’m against them” ... “Up to my second child, I was a happy and blissful woman. I have become

⁹⁸ Ba ronge ronge are people from the Kalonge community

now irascible and lazy... The fact that my husband has dumped me, some of my children don't respect me anymore. Yet, I was expecting their support. I feel now disappointed and lazy... Life has badly surprised me. I feel dead though I'm alive. I'm lost. I'm nowhere. I'm afraid. That has become my life, frightening life" ... "After rape, I stay at home without doing anything, looking after children... I gave food to my mother. When she started vomiting, they accused me of poisoning her, yet it was amoebae that made her sick" (RSFGJn).

Lacking support from their relations and social network, lacking hope of connecting to others, survivors have been getting back from other people the feeling that transferred to them, expressing hate due to the lack of any support. This attitude, for some, has affected their motivation and positive energy to be active. Therefore, they have become procrastinators or dominated by laziness, irascibility, anxiety, and frustration. But laziness does not mean being unwilling to work but missing what to do and not being able to think otherwise to be active unless it is family care. Some of them have limited themselves from being active implicitly to avoid being in touch with other people. They were considering this attitude as a self-protection against further abusers. However, there are some rare rape survivors whose narratives seem to be putting them into a post-traumatic growth process as expressed in the following narratives.

"After rape, my husband and family in-law rejected me. I started doing small business to readapt in a new life" ... "After rape, my husband dumped me. I have become clever. That's opened up my mind and I started doing small business. When I travel to Bukavu, I feel in heaven. Before, I was shy" ... "I couldn't stay in touch with anyone. Since rape issue happened to me, I learnt to approach people and get in touch with them" ... "After rape, in my neighbourhood, they nicknamed me 'the witch'. They have even asked me to harvest my farm which was not yet ready to be harvested. I hated that act and them. Because of the difficulty of life, I learnt to battle for my life" (RSFGJn).

Some rape survivors have benefitted from their adversity to positively change their habits and attitudes. They have gone from rejection to a re-adaptation to a new life, creating new activities to overcome their struggles. From rejection and misery to creation of financial activities, from shy isolation to socially opened, transforming therefore their attitude towards the creation of new social networks, seeking social support, and becoming extraverted to survive and make their lives successful. Their new position of social transformation has put them into the process of building their resilience to face new challenges.

From the above, establishing how rape survivors' habits have been deeply altered, 4 survivors out of 21 changed their habits positively from rape experiences. They have learnt to improve the quality of their lives and relationships. However, the majority still need activities which will expose them to positive change and transformation.

Alteration of habits does not only affect rape survivors, but sex offenders as well. "False accusations stress me so much as well. Even when I pray, if I see those criticizers, I start asking myself if a sex offender does not have right to fair trial in this area?" (RSFGJn). For them, unfair rape management is the core issue affecting their habits. They lack concentration on what they are supposed to do as they have raving minds and emotion instability as well.

After rape survivors' narrative that expresses who they are and how they see what they have become, the following stage was to make a way to engage them in a change process. The first stage of post-traumatic growth is to change the narrative to self-acceptance and impact other people to accept them as well (RSFGJn).

"If someone approaches me, I will do so" ... "I was astray" ... "I feel like I have to stop being selfish. Because of selfishness, I have lost my friends and someone who was willing to reveal to me a secret won't do it again" ... "My goal is to share. No more selfishness" ... "I will do my best to get a heart full of love for others, patience, share with those who are criticizing and hurting me, but how am I going to offer something to my enemies as I'm miserable? I will give them what I have, I will share with them even non-material things, I will" ... "I'm selfish. I will start sharing whatever I have" ... "I've decided to open my heart to my enemies and start talking to them" ... "I will no longer rely on criticism of my enemies' for me to feel good" ... "I will do my best to stop getting angry and start sharing" (RSFGJn).

Acknowledging their alteration in habits had great impact on changing their attitude as they were astray. The core of individual rapprochement is using some values like sharing, good communication, etc. Sharing was chosen by them as the model for connecting rape survivors to others in their living environment. Almost half of rape survivors decided to start sharing, no matter how miserable their life. This sacrifice beyond their financial means is evidence of change, willingness to transform their habits for better attitudes. Implementation of the decision is still the most challenging for rape survivors due to differences in the personality of each one. For proactive survivors, the challenge would be that of the processes to implement their decision, as the issue of poverty could limit their will. However, despite this limit, many came up with solutions to start sharing, small as they were, to make their decision work. However, those who are reactive were waiting for others to start approaching them to boost their reaction in a positive way, as they lacked courage to step out. Whether proactive or reaction survivors, both engaged themselves in the change process to clear their wrong, their antisocial behaviour towards their community and in their relationships.

Objectives that motivate them to start sharing are many, like improving the quality of their relationships, the need of making new friendships and restoring their old friendships, the need of communicating with others. If some decided to use sharing as tool to connect to others, some other rape survivors thought about improving their level of communication as a social connector.

"I was thinking I can only talk to survivors like me. Henceforth, I will start talking to everyone, even if is not a survivor" ... "I think, we should love our enemies. I will be patient as well, loving my neighbours" ... "I'm a hypocrite, grudging. My wish is henceforth to speak to people without any hypocrisy and rancour" ... "My goal is to speak well to my neighbours who don't stop insulting me. I will start by forgiving them, then approach them" ... "I have forgiven my daughter-in-law. I will keep on talking to her" ... "I don't hate those who nicknamed me 'witch'. Like today, I'm part of their funeral organisation. I will keep on speaking to them without any problem. I will start speaking well to those who criticise me. I will stop being grudging against them" ... "I have forgiven my enemies. I'm working hard to get trust for my enemies in the community. I will make my effort to have a heart of love and compassion" (RSFGJn).

Many survivors have decided to overcome their limits by communicating well with those they considered as enemies. Instead of still considering them as such, they have decided to be open to them, and accept them to communicate with both rape survivors and non-survivors. This decision could have

many advantages for survivors. It would allow them to reinforce the quality of their relationship, stop vindictiveness, and get freedom from a stressful, isolated life. All those values are relevant to boosting the reconciliation process with their opponents. For them, communication constitutes a huge challenge: to overcome abusive communication demands adopting basic attitudes such as forgiveness, the acceptance of the supposed enemies, that eases communication. The technique used to fix broken dialogue or weak communication is that of showing love, showing more compassion for enemies, despite the fact that this is still a demanding attitude. Further attitudes should be adopted to make the technique work: attitudes like being patient, reducing irascibility, motivating survivors to be more proactive instead of waiting for other people to step into the process of opening communication. A small number of rape survivors have been motivated to change negative attitudes by witnessing gratitude for the mercy of God, who saved them from the worst. *“God who keeps us alive knows the reason, he has a goal. Let all understand that we have a duty”* (RSFGJn). Divine intervention constitutes for some a motive to positively change their bad habits to good. This has softened rape survivors’ blame against their abusers at all levels and they have accepted the fact as God’s will, God’s plan which would have a positive purpose. This attitude, which has reinforced rape survivors’ change from bad to good habits, freed them from remorse against perpetrators. The benefit of the training has made some rape survivors perceive further actions toward positive habit change as a duty, mandatory more than a simple engagement toward change. Working on their confidence and gain trust from third persons is therefore required.

Conversely, perpetrators also find themselves in the same situation as rape survivors, which convinced them to change bad habits, but was preceded by some requirement to improve their relationships. *“I wish me and my enemy end up by eating together. May he understand that I have no problem with him. But if that person does not agree to eat with me, what am I going to do? That should lead to forgiveness, pardon, and reconciliation. A wise word can cool down anger”* (PFGJn). The issue of sharing is central to all, either to rape survivors or to sex offenders who need to trigger their acceptance through sharing. Sharing is here playing the role of reconciliation with perpetrators’ opponents. To break reconciliation resistance and grant space to sharing, forgiveness as well as the use of wisdom is needed as this still a challenging issue despite perpetrators’ will to change their habits.

Awareness through training done with both rape survivors and perpetrators has made them understand how their habits have been altered negatively. They were able to see what they have become and what they want to be. This attitude could guarantee their process through positive habit change, willing to take responsibility to make the process successful.

As mentioned above, up to this stage, the intervention was held successfully, with at least 86% of rape survivors and perpetrators having acknowledged experiencing negative change in their habits with 14% who changed positively due to the rape issue. Nevertheless, none of them showed a desire to keep

focussing on the negative side of habits; instead, they were willing to change their negative habits first to impact people in their environment. This has become an open window through positive change. Hence the implementation of some values like pardon, reconciliation, sharing, forgiveness, introspection, acknowledging their wrong before accusing or blaming others, loving their opponents, being compassionate, speaking well and improving communication, and being patient have formed the bedrock that would sustain their habit transformation process, either individually or relationally.

Furthermore, a proactive attitude toward change is encouraging to a successful achievement of the process as they are all led by principles like motivation and desire to change, knowing the direction from the very beginning, giving priority to a win-win approach while interacting with peers and other people, searching to understand before being understood, applying synergy in a group, and sharpening social, intellectual, spiritual, physical, mental, emotional faculties for the sake of change. These principles have been shared with them to engage them in a successful way of handling their habit change, benefiting themselves as well as their environment.

Awareness intervention made them draw lessons in various ways, depending on the group to which they belong, either survivors, rape perpetrators, or community leaders.

- Lesson learnt from training from habits change training:

Awareness training on habits change was a first and new approach of exposing rape survivors as well as perpetrators to understanding how they have been filled by negative attitudes, beliefs and emotions, changing their habits from good to bad after rape adversity, but that the desire to change bad habits into better has arisen. The awareness has produced great impact on both survivors and perpetrators, who not only decided to change, but started practicing their habits change process. *“I’d like to thank our teacher Josephine Mauwa (the researcher) for this training. Because I knew that I’m a human being but thinking how to initiate the way of changing myself, my habits and behaviour positively, I’ve never thought about it”* (RSFGJn). This statement confirms the originality of the approach that focusses first on survivors’ and perpetrators’ change of attitudes toward their acceptance, which will further lead to their social reintegration. Narratives on their change process express the success of the intervention.

“Personally, I was so happy and blessed attending this training. Last night after training, I woke up and started doing introspection on everything that happened to me. I realised that some of us passed away, but I’m still alive. God saved my life from death and returned me back to my parents and family. I was pregnant, I couldn’t believe that I will give birth, but God helped me to deliver my child and that child is helping me and rejoices my heart. Then I asked myself, why am I killing myself with thought though God rescued me? I therefore took a resolution of burying all bad thought that was disturbing my mind from my past life and resurrecting good, new, and positive thoughts and training for good habits to feel myself free in front of other women and people. I ended up forgiving the father of my daughter Tito and told myself, if only one day I come across that man, I will ask him for forgiveness. I will tell him, ‘My husband, maybe what you did to me was not bad. Let’s forgive each other because life has been done for us through that way’. If he’s still alive, may God forgive him for everything he did to me. If he passed away already, may God forgive him and keep his soul in peace. From now, I don’t condemn him anymore” (RSFGJn).

This case study has encapsulated the most relevant aspects of rape survivors' change of attitude. After the awareness, introspection was the useful mechanism that led rape survivors to change their attitude positively. From the introspection, they acknowledged their wrong and decide to act. At the centre of their actions lies forgiveness. From a divine perception of the management of trauma, from the training awakening their memories to self-care, rape survivors promptly engaged in a forgiveness process which includes self-forgiveness and forgiveness of her perpetrator and, in general, forgiveness to everyone who deserved to get forgiveness from her.

Even though the training sometimes brought back rape memories, it served a positive purpose. It allowed rape survivors to see properly positive and negative aspects of rape, to clearly lead toward actions like raising forgiveness desire. This attitude has challenged survivors who put themselves in front of the truth: "life matters more than death; life matters more than rape". Acknowledging such truth, survivors freed themselves from traumatic thoughts, turning pain to victory by deciding to forgive without perpetrator involvement, a detailed and global forgiveness going so far as forgiving dead rape perpetrators, a sincere forgiveness. One rape survivor lived to completely forgive her perpetrator 16 years late after rape occurred in 2012. This positive resolution was not only taken by one survivor, but most of them took the same mechanism, forgiveness, prior to their change.

"We have to forgive. Forgiveness is good for change" ... "But yesterday, this training has touched my heart. I did realise that it's not good to bear a grudge against somebody and be shy. I thank the researcher indeed" ... "The thing that remains for me is to keep on working on my change. Keep doing introspection" ... "To ask for forgiveness from those who hurt me who I hurt. May everyone who I hurt forgive me, may God forgive me as well for every wrong" ... "My husband who married me, even if he is absent from home because he travelled, I asked for forgiveness. May my husband forgive me as well for every wrong I did to him up to the present. And if I have hurt someone, please forgive me" ... "The thing that I kept is, it's not good for someone to bear a grudge against somebody. There is a great advantage to not bearing a grudge against somebody. We are doing good to ourselves. You can think that the person who hurt you is the one who suffers for what he did to you, though, after hurting you, he even forgets that he hurt you. You, who does not forgive, is the one suffering for the issue. It's the person who has been grieved who keeps on being hurt so much. That's why, I have to free myself from grudges" (RSFGJn).

The majority of rape survivors as well as perpetrators acknowledged the power of forgiveness for positive change. For them, not only does forgiveness become the key mechanism for habit change, but also for their own good and interests such as good, physical, psychological and mental health. Discovering the wrongdoing done to oneself due to the lack of forgiveness and the advantage that they could get from forgiveness, they have chosen to forgive as the first benefit goes back to themselves. It has freed them from anger, grudges, etc. Hence, they have found that forgiveness should be accompanied by some values like humility to make the forgiveness process successful and for the sake of repairing and improving relationship quality. It also must be reciprocal if necessary.

Awareness of habit change contributed significantly to their introspection, which led them to acknowledge their weak and negative attitudes that could not benefit them in the change process. Also,

the training relieved them from their mental burden, motivating them to embrace the change process as they could rarely think about the possibility of working on their own individual and personal change which has a great impact on relational change. This has boosted their minds, thinking of initiating their own change process as central to influencing change and power to handle the change process. If rape survivors and perpetrators have learnt and decided to practice lessons for their positive change, male and female community leaders who were doing follow-up on them have also acknowledged the relevance of this current approach of focusing first on primary actors, both rape survivors and perpetrators, before influencing change in their environment.

b.) Inheritance

Inheritance is a challenging aspect of men and women's relationships and a disturbing aspect for the family due to its mismanagement.

"Us, women of Kalonge are victims of inheritance. You can give birth to children that will be registered but never your marriage" ... "Here in Kalonge men don't like to make legal marriage. How are we going to deal with this issue? This is a wound and a funeral. Who is a legal wife?" ... "Here in Kalonge, men are not willing and don't have that habit of making legal marriage, even if the husband has means. Example: there is a man here in Kalonge who had 9 children with his wife. Then, he went to marry another wife legally after dumping the first one" (RSFGJn).

The required condition for a woman to inherit starts with a legal marriage following a typical matrimonial system that the couple has chosen. However, for men legal marriage does not seem to be a priority, which makes wives vulnerable, with limited access to inheritance resources. Not being legally married made couples fragile and did not provide any future lasting marriage guarantee. Among those who participated in this training, 6 women out of 21 (or 30%) had a legal marriage. The weak percentage of legal marriage expresses the level of women's marriage abuse. This has sources and consequences for the mismanagement of the inheritance.

"Customs are pushing us into a deep ditch" ... "Customs of this area are not good. Here it's the heir, the unique chosen heir who has right to inherit. He is in charge of sharing or offering inheritance to other siblings at his own will" ... "For example, the first son of the king Nakalonge is jobless, assisting people to carry goods by the border between Bukabu and Kamembe. He is doing that job because the Nakalonge son who inherited didn't think about him as that son is from another wife" ... "There is a woman who passed away because of the inheritance. That woman gave birth to girls only. After their father's death, the family decided to provide them with a man, a paternal uncle, to take care of them. That man instead of taking care of them, he started menacing them about their inheritance until he made the mother die" (RSFGJn).

Custom is the source of women abuse in the area. As narrated above, inheritance is not a female affair. Inheritance is a male affair. Besides having unfair treatment on inheritance, women are at risk of losing their lives if they resist to claim their right. On the other hand, children who are supposed to have right of inheritance are also discriminated against, boys among them, but girls are especially excluded from inheritance. Whether to children or wives, inheritance is extremely discriminating in the Kalonge chieftaincy. Sometimes, it does not, at a certain level, respect the right of heirs. Hence, children as well

as women are victims of an unfair, nefarious customary inheritance system which needs deep awareness. The local traditional inheritance custom produces miserable generations of children, hurts, increases family misery, conflicts rise, families split, and women are maintained in a position of position due to the masculinization of inheritance. To make the change happen, awareness should be directed to men, who seem to be the core actors of inheritance mismanagement.

“These teachings are interesting indeed for us. Our husbands must learn and be aware of them as well” ... “For those who don’t have husbands, they will teach them to their children” ... “If every chief of village is trained, he will train his people and men from his village because those children born out of rape are not welcome in this community and don’t have” ... “Our government must think about how to make this law available to men in our communities. They must be aware of it” ... “We have learnt that each child has right to inherit her/his parents’ riches whether it is a boy or a girl. The inheritance sharing is done equitably to all children. whether it is a boy or a girl; whether it is an adult or a young child of the family” (RSFGJn).

From the training, it was revealed that children born from rape do not have a right to inherit due to men’s resistance to their social integration. Hence, training men, who seem to be ignorant of inheritance law, on the issue of inheritance will contribute to the change and boost those children’s acceptance. For participants, many settings should be involved to fix the inheritance mismanagement, from local to national levels, where everyone has responsibility to socialize her/his people in their living environment. Teaching husbands as well as young people on inheritance rights is important as inheritance socialization constitutes a transformative approach to change attitudes and behaviours toward inheritance violence. What motivates participants to advocate for men’s awareness of inheritance sharing is the knowledge gained during the training. Given that this knowledge has opened their minds, they wish they could transfer it to those who seem rigid to changing their attitude on abusive inheritance.

To overcome the mismanagement of abusive inheritance, modern legislation should consider traditional custom for better responsibility, as the issue of inheritance in the local tradition still radical, resistant, and dangerous to change. *“There is a son who after inheriting he chased away his mother from their house. Another one chased away his mother and built for her a small house” ... “Our husbands are able to plot against you and kill any person who is awakening our conscience and intelligence on inheritance and our rights”* (RSFGJn). Ignorance of inheritance law has led to violence against women in various ways. Given that men are still radical in the traditional approach of inheritance management, any person who challenges their approach is seen as being against them and their custom. For these reasons, they can use violence, even extreme violence, to any challenging person, even to their own mothers. Maintaining women in ignorance and abusive positions is well appreciated by men as knowledge awakens women’s mind. Women would wish to claim their right. Hence, the need of empowering them on this inheritance issue becomes relevant.

“We have realised that the issue of inheritance is linked to our traditional customs. For us, inheritance means customs. It’s not a law for us to have right to inherit. It’s not the law that will resolve it. We practice it

traditionally” ... “Coming to marriage settlement, we are imposed to choose the community marriage settlement” ... “When a wife works together with her husband, the richness and income belong to the husband. The wife does not have anything at all and does not have right to it. And the day the husband passes away, the heir is the child, the elder son of the husband, even if that child does not belong to that woman with who the husband got that money, even if you have been married legally. The most victimized become your children born from rape, as they do not belong to our husbands’ families” (RSFGJn).

Violence against females due to inheritance mismanagement is embedded into traditional violence, the pillar of which is masculine respect of custom where women and girls do not have a choice either to claim their inheritance or choose the matrimonial regime. Constraining them to male will, they are unable to protect themselves as well as certain categories of their offspring, such as children born from rape, as they are abiding by traditional customary law, not by modern law. Women seem to be used to make their husbands rich and produce without any compensation or benefit, as marriage does not guarantee their inheritance.

Awareness of inheritance rights, and modern legislation from training has awakened their minds.

“From this training about inheritance, we do understand that a woman, a girl, a female has right to inherit” ... “When you taught us about separation marriage settlement, that has opened up our minds and awakened our consciences. We do understand that each and every woman must work because even after our death, our children will benefit from it” ... “With the separation of both husband and wife’s riches, this will benefit their children separately. This teaching has awakened us because each woman will have to work for her future and inheritance. We know already that a woman must work, have an economic and financial activity, etc. for it to help her offspring, especially those born out of marriage or out of rape” (RSFGJn).

Being taught about rights of inheritance that do not discriminate against anyone and grant benefit to everyone in the family, women felt relieved by the knowledge gained from the training. Inheritance rights given by law seem to be a salvation of women and girls compared to the customary law that submits them to all kinds of violence related to inheritance. Knowledge gained from training has motivated women to work for themselves, and for the sake of their offspring’s inheritance, especially those born from rape, previously rejected, and excluded from the inheritance. Women are therefore determined to work and invest for their children born from rape’s inheritance. Masculine violence against women based on inheritance has served to empower women to invest for their offspring, instead of expecting to get support from men only. Women have also understood the benefit of getting a choice of their matrimonial system. This freedom also contributes to their offspring’s inheritance guarantee as the preferred system that would work in the context of higher violence against women due to inheritance issues is that of out of community of property.

c) Constitution

There are some laws that women must be aware of in order to empower their lives and claim what is their right in order for them to feel relieved. From the awareness, women survivors realised how abused they have become by their husbands, due to the lack of knowledge of what exactly are their rights.

“Our men dumped us here and come back only to make us pregnant and go back again” ... “Women are victims and wrong at the same time. It’s women who encourage that male behaviour” ... “Unfortunately, it’s imbedded into our customs. If you refuse to apply the ‘rule’ which is to have intercourse with your husband under any condition, you are seen as a pariah woman and wife. The husband will go to report to male traditional leaders. Those men will come back to you blaming you and oblige you to do so” ... “Yet, the act is an irresponsible one. Further, the wife is not legally married to be subjected to that bad reality” ... “Women at the other side when they hear that news, they come back against you as well, advising you to let go the trend as willed by the husband. In this way, women are the ones who contribute to circulating that custom” (RSFGJn).

Rape survivors are facing women abuse in their so called “marriage”. As mentioned above, 86% of them are not legally married. Men are taking advance of women’s silence, women’s ignorance, their lacking knowledge of their rights. The way in which they are most being used is to produce children for men. In this regard, women feel like they are only useful for giving birth: there is no meaning of couple life, no collaboration, no consideration, etc. – they are only abused by the so-called husbands.

Abuse of women in this case is a difficult issue; from the revelation of being abused, survivors found themselves caught into a complex issue of managing their abuse. They are caught in custom and fellow women’s attitudes which do not contribute to breaking the abusive behaviour of their husbands. Rape survivors blame themselves for encouraging that system, of being responsible for driving that abusive attitude due to their ambivalent attitude and silence and the lack of support and solidarity between the young rape survivors’ generation and the older women’s generation who suppose that a woman’s duty is to give birth and accomplish their intercourse duty, no matter what. Therefore, rape survivors are silenced and keep on living under men’s abuse. This is reinforced by custom. The custom-made silence has encouraged male abuse with men perceiving survivors who reject the tradition of that custom as pariahs due to their attitude of opposition. Lacking support to defeat customs which are strongly supported by male solidarity, the only option for women remains to submit to men’s wrongdoing, men’s abuse, and the irresponsible act of illegal marriage.

d) Rights

Rape survivors, both girls and women, are vulnerable and exposed to abusive customs. Negative perceptions of females in the community do not change, on top of their status of being rape survivors. They keep on being expected to fulfil what it is known as benefit to their family and community.

“A girl is called Nabintu which means richness; Feza means money; Nankafu means cows; Nabirugu means richness or valuable goods. After 18 years if a girl is not yet married in this community, people start criticizing her. Her uncles are the first” ... “After 18 years, there is nothing that men could see in a girl if not richness. At that age, the girl’s family starts being pressured by other family members like uncles. Their thought is, girls education ends up in the kitchen” ... “The girl herself, when she sees her agetates getting married, she is influenced by that and drops out of school” ... “Women must at all levels of life and profession be represented. It’s only under that condition that we will feel safe, protected, secured and at peace” (RSFGJn).

Perceptions of women which are equated with richness leads to female abuse. They are pressured to get married at a young age to benefit their family, not for themselves. Being considered as a source of

family richness, not knowing their rights as women and girls, families pressure them to fulfil their expectations. Constrained to satisfy their family expectations and trying to compensate for their guilt at being raped, they become vulnerable and concede to their families' pressure. On the other hand, survivors are affected by men's expectations, which influence their attitudes, failing to claim their rights, for instance that of education. For them, even an early, precocious marriage is better as it covers their mistake and satisfies male relatives' expectations. To prevent the worst, survivors plead therefore for a means of empowering them to protect themselves as well as their fellow women. To face men and customary abuse, women have concluded how relevant it is to be educated and be empowered for leadership positions where they would be able to protect their rights. The second aspect to prevent the worst is financial empowerment of survivors, girls, and women, as this has many advantages.

"The advantage of money is huge. It covers many needs; allows us to change the neighbourhood attitudes, provides respect, attracts friendship, basis of longevity, diminishes trauma, creates joy and well-being, provides solutions to problems, is a source of good health, makes you valued as a survivor, brings peace and joy in the family, stops vagrancy, is a source of respect to a married woman, makes her gain respect from her husband (the husband can listen to the wife), helps to keep her in good spirituality, makes a person influent in the community, protects against anger, etc." (RSFGJn).

Improving the financial aspect of rape survivors is useful and relevant for their acceptance and reintegration in their family as well as in their community.

e) Money

Money is the most important tool to boost rape survivors' acceptance as it enhances many values for them. From sentimental or any other non-material aspects, money contributes at both personal and relational levels. Single survivors need it to give them value, preparing their present and future opportunity to seize any potential life in terms of building relationships, whether with friends or husbands. For married survivors, it contributes to stabilizing their relationship as a couple, equilibrating their consideration, and more importantly, protecting married survivors from many marital abuses from the husband. Furthermore, it provides spiritual stability as they are believers. The spiritual aspect increases and speeds post-traumatic growth process. Hence, money has a great impact on their healing process at an individual level as well as on their acceptance and social reintegration at a relational level.

Regarding those who have children born from rape, money is enough for them to solve many issues, like that of investing for their children's inheritance, a very challenging issue for their children.

"The woman, the mother should make money for her child born from rape. She must gradually keep money for his/her future" ... "Men in this community are criminals. They kill those children through witchcraft. They used to show those children their sex to kill them. The solution here is one, keep money for those children's future" (RSFGJn).

Rape survivors' investment for the sake of their children born from rape's inheritance will reduce children's frustration as well as the recurrence of their murder in the family and community. Hence,

survivors' financial capability will save not only solve frustration but will also save their children's lives, a crucial result from money advantage. Money, to rape survivors, not only contributes to covering basic needs but goes so far as saving lives and resolving conflicts in the community and family, and is a remedy against family exclusion, rejection, children in jeopardy, and community violence.

f) Family

The attitude of rejection is held first in the family where there is a father driving the belief, and the mother and daughter are submitted to men's beliefs. Love is the key factor bonding a family together and preventing rejection and exclusion. But the challenge comes from the fact that showing love to rape survivors by taking care of them causes discomfort. *"If you show love in this village, people nickname you as a flatterer 'kaji pendeza'. For example, when maman Jeanne (local leader) took care of me, those who hated me started criticizing me"* (RSFGJn). This is uncommon solidarity challenged by other people in the community who lack compassion for rape survivors' life improvement. Love and all its connecting aspects like compassion, solidarity, help, care, etc. do not mean as much as they are supposed to.

g) Father

Family violence caused by men, fathers of the family, or stepfathers, against children born from rape as women testified in a rape survivors' focus group.

"I have twelve children, eleven with my husband and one from being raped. However, my husband told me to kill the last one who was born from rape to lead a life with him. I told him we are not witches to kill this child and he said, he had a great witchcraft which will kill the child tonight. He said that the child must die. And I told him to show me that witchcraft. He told me that he will make the child suck his penis, and then the child will die tonight. I took my child, the whole night running from the village. For the moment my child is 14 years old. If I had not taken this decision, the child would be dead. That's why they don't want to accept those children in this village. The lives of these children depend on their mothers. Even their half-brothers and sisters discriminate against them. If we die, they will also die. If we live, they will also live(RSFGJn)"

... "When we leave for the farm, his stepfather stays at home revealing his private part to the child. Then you find the child's health degrading because of his stepfather's insane acts and the child may die. These men are pure evil(RSFGJn)" ... "

Custom kills. You know that custom is belief because if you believe in something it could cause you wrong or misfortune. And all the Shi tribe people know that if a man reveals his private part to a child who isn't his biologically, the child must die. There is a term that he will use in the Mashu tribe "look at your mother's friend". When the child hears these words in our custom, the child must die ... "One day in my absence, my husband told my child 'Look at your mother's friend'. When I came back from Ngweshe village, I found the child dead. It's been 15 years now(RSFGJn)".

The researcher asked a follow-up question: *"When you find the child dead, how do you know that the stepfather revealed his private part to the child? How do you know that it is the forbidden custom that caused the death?"*

“The skin of the child will change colour; he will become like he had Kwashiorkor. The child can die the same day or progressively die. There are some who die the same day. When we find foam or blood coming out of the child’s mouth and nostrils, directly we know that it was his stepfather who did that. In our custom, if someone dies with blood in the nostrils and mouth, we know he has died because of a violation to our custom (FCLJn)”.

Stepfathers use superstition to get rid of children born from rape. As a mothers’ resistance is higher, protecting their children born from rape, men, stepfathers have an implicit approach of completely excluding those children through superstition and murder. This extreme violence has two advantages for male killers: avoiding being held accountable and escaping judicial sentence. The cold murder of children born from rape is reinforced by the traditional, local custom that encourages the spread of the system without any resistance from the community belief system in which is operating. Given that evidence of murder through superstition is known, but no prosecution follows the act, this expresses complicity at different levels, from family to community extending up to the local judicial system where rape survivors are once more victims of their children’s murder. Women are silenced because men’s domination and control does not allow them to sue children born from rape’s perpetrators. The only option they have is to protect their children born from rape as quickly and as cautiously as they can to prevent the murder happening. Unfortunately, this survivors’ battle is done in a way where rape survivors do not unite themselves to fight and develop approaches, that could save their children from murder successfully. Survivors’ isolated, separated battle goes from divorce to misery sacrificing their marriage and any resources that could sustain their lives, like pieces of lands, habitations, etc. The sacrifice to save their children is huge. This must be taken into consideration and used as motivation to put survivors together to get a common battle plan to protect the lives of their children. However, this option has not yet found motivation for survivor mothers to take advantage of it. Mothers’ strong attachment to their children, their resignation to marriage and any richness is already sufficient to unite themselves, a mechanism to banish any fear, challenge, and defeat men’s dominance against their children’s safety.

Rape survivors facing customary and traditional precepts found it difficult to challenge and overcome the beliefs in which they have been socialized, that of male supremacy. In this context of male supremacy, women find themselves too vulnerable and fragile to initiate any approach to challenge and defeat men’s established system of murdering their children. Belief and customary practices constitute therefore the greatest challenge to overcoming rape survivors’ isolated battle and customized silence. This is a very complex issue of family extreme violence which crosses family limits and reaches the community to constitute male dominance and a criminal system against women.

The father of the family, of whom protection is expected has opted for extreme violence, putting this protection into doubt. Orphans or children lacking a father find themselves vulnerable, at risk of death, if they rely on their stepfathers’ protection.

h) Mother, and family

Facing the complex criminal mismanagement of children born from rape, survivor mothers have come up with some suggestions, even though they do not meet with the consent of every survivor mother. There are mothers who suggested keeping their children in an orphanage:

“Instead of making the child unstable in the family, it’s better to take her/him to an orphanage. The child will understand that it was for her/his protection that the parent went to leave her/him in that orphanage ... But will the child be able to understand that it was for her/his protection that the mother went to place him/her in the orphanage?” (RSFGJn).

In the context of children born from rape, mothers constitute their safety pillars, without whom their protection is weak. Given that mothers also are violated due to their protection of their children, they found themselves squeezed into a vulnerable position where children’s instability increase. For this reason, some survivors suggested protecting their children otherwise, by giving them away to an orphanage.

For those who suggested this, the argument lay in their lack of power to ensure their children’s protection. However, the decision is still challenging, as mothers fear to break their attachment or any feeling linking them to their children. They also fear the unpredictable reaction from their children, which seems to blame them once they place them in the orphanages. Children would think they are being dumped by their mothers, although it was for a good reason.

There is another group of survivors who are opposed to the previous, thinking that the solution is not one of orphanage but one of relying on their transformative power to battle for their children’s social integration.

“I think that the good thing is not to place her/him in the orphanage. But by keeping those orphans children, we have to battle to give them a place because having them is already a challenge” ... “We have to understand and take it as a challenge” ... “We have to take care of them seriously for them to understand that we love them” ... “The thing that we do prefer is to battle for their lives. As mothers, having financial means, having financial activities for their future” ... “We should pay attention while battling for financial means. We are not supposed to sell ourselves, prostitute ourselves to get money for them. Otherwise, we will die from disease like HIV/AIDS” ... “We have to work together, in a group. Putting money together and start turning it from one person to another one for us to improve our life” (RSFGJn).

The second option of battling to protect their children was greatly saluted by most survivors. For them, the great battle of mothers should remain that of children’s social integration into their family, community, or any living environment. To make that decision, which seems to be the best option happen, some restrictions must be followed.

Rape survivors must acknowledge that children born from rape’s social integration is the greatest challenge that they must face. The acknowledgement prepares survivors to psychologically accept that their status of having children born from rape is equalled to a challenge, in order develop strategies and

approaches to make the battle successful. This should be taken seriously to face the issue. While battling, survivors' attitude towards their children must be attractive, to develop more attachment and tighten their bonds. This will help both to overcome the challenge. Following is the issue of means to succeed, to get some financial activities which will allow mothers to support children's social integration in various ways. However, survivors have warned themselves to battle in honesty, as a dishonest battle is a trap against themselves. They should not expose themselves to immoral activities to get financial means to satisfy their children's social integration needs. The dilemma of social integration is here the fact that in battling by any means to make social integration possible for their children, survivors must control themselves to come up with the solution safely. While they are battling to get strong financial independence, , they should not compensate their lives for that of their children through prostitution. They must think how to save their lives as well as those of their children avoiding the children's murder and their own implicit or explicit death. Hence, a strategic battle beyond children born from rape's social integration dilemma needs the most important energy. This energy can either be found inside the survivor mother or in synergy. From their suggestion, working together, supporting each other, they will be able to defeat any challenge which could come their way. Group energy is needed as they have a common battle, current protection, social integration, and a better future for their children, as well as overcoming a dominant patriarchal system which fragilizes them in their daily effort. There are some other attitudes that will reinforce survivors' battle success, which are avoidance of laziness and courtesy.

i) Laziness and courtesy

From the awareness training, survivors have learnt to change their habits from laziness to being active people. "A lazy person will never change as s/he takes a decision but never applies it to change his/her life. That's why change is difficult for a lazy person" ... "To positively change life, we have to take a decision to change and apply it. That's the secret of change" ... "Power to change, act comes from willingness" (RSFGJn). As they trained on the disadvantages of laziness and procrastination, and being in search of power, either financial or social, for their children social integration, women learned that laziness is the enemy who will end up killing their vision if nothing is done. Hence, being aware of applying their project to save their children live and future is one thing, but implementing their resolution is the most relevant aspect to drive their objective properly, as learnt during the training. Decisions made must be implemented for the change to happen: a strategy for change. Hence, the power to change positively, to get transformative energy for change, is to associate willingness with implementation.

Courtesy is a tool to bond synergistic energy. However, rape survivors, from training awareness on the advantages of courtesy, have acknowledged their wrongdoing and for being what will not help them to positively change.

“Here in Kalonge, the person who helps others, the one who can sacrifice for others is seen as a problem for the community. The person is seen as a pariah” ... “A woman of this village does not have confidence in herself as having rights to talk or to intervene. If she tries to behave like that, they will nickname her as ‘Cibone’, she is missing trousers only to turn into a man” ... “The fear of nicknaming her weakens her and limits her more to a talker than someone who can tell the truth” ... “Here a woman is not supposed to have a lot more money than men. Because man will feel himself nothing. Thus, to avoid losing her marriage or divorcing, the wife is constrained to keep her poorness of being under her husband, or run away from a man who is not? willing to promote her” ... “We are not awakened as well like women from town. The stress, bad life conditions, all these things make us uncourteous” (RSFGJn).

Survivors have realised that the courtesy is not their culture. The fact that solidarity is weak among people – even among women themselves – means that any person who shows courtesy is seen as a pariah, as it is an unusual attitude in the community. At an individual level, women do not have the confidence in themselves which could motivate them to keep on being courteous while they have been encouraged to abandon this attitude. The resistance to change becomes higher when the lack of confidence is mixed to cultural abuse. Cultural abuse has altered women. The culture of encouraging other women to pursue their dreams, to implement their decisions is weak, and they are challenged in accomplishing their objectives. The challenge also comes from the belief that women are inferior to men, and such they should keep their r of inferior and never try to improve their lives and become more valued than men. Other external factors like misery (not having an open mind, weak consciousness, poverty), hypocrisy, being talkative, etc. block courtesy from being effective. Those challenges should be overcome under conditions such as creating equilibrium between genders: men must be prepared to accept women’s improvement and share domination and power. The power aspect being left as exclusive to men’s domain does not help to improve women’s status. Even though power sharing will create tension between genders in the community, a shift should be encouraged to support improvement of women’s lives, supported by men themselves. On the other hand, fearing women’s domination, men do not seem to be ready to share their power as they are rigid, and feel entitled to control women.

j) Orphans

Children born from rape are considered more than orphans as they don’t have a fixed identity, not knowing who their genitors are. Under this condition, family violence is expected to be higher than for normal orphans.

“An orphan who has something or richness, inheritance, is exposed to men’s abuse even to death. Men used to steal orphans’ inheritance. Instead of protecting them, they abuse them” ... “The majority of stepfathers love those children of their wives. But a child who is born while being married already is not welcome as the issue of a child born from rape. Because s/he is considered as a child from unfaithfulness” (RSFGJn).

Orphans in general, in their families and local community, are protected neither by law (which is ignored) nor by the traditional, customary system as men themselves are the first in most families to be the cause of orphans’ abuse. The exception lies in children born from rape, where stepfathers commonly do consider children of their wives but those born from rape are considered as being from an illegal,

shameful, humiliating relationship. Those children reveal the husbands' weakness in not being able to protect their wives while the rape happened, or support what the community considers as shame, therefore increasing stepfathers' hate against those children. Those children are less welcome and very much exposed to abuse. This is another reason motivating survivors' protection of the inheritance of their children born from rape to avoid risking murder of their children.

k) Rape

Rape still a difficult word for rape survivors as I observed when I (researcher) asked them what rape means to them. They all kept quiet for a while without saying anything, without telling each other to keep quiet; the silence just appeared spontaneously and was common to all of them. It was difficult to resume with that question to get their impressions on the issue, until after a while, more than 5 minutes, I was obliged to bring another funny story to calm their emotions and let them speak. I then changed the question to get the meaning of their silence. When I asked the meaning of their silence, they responded as follows: *"The worst that sex offenders have done to us has made us keep quiet, see the destruction of social cohesion and lack of fair trial. That's why we keep quiet. We are silenced"* (RSFGJn). The criminally unfair treatment from rape perpetrators, which is lacking a fair trial, is the most challenging issue they are still struggling with. This is the most relevant aspect to boost their healing and make their narrative on rape change positively. They also think in a particularly interesting way.

"When Kabila came, we welcomed him but under his sovereignty, we suffered from rape and we have lost our dignity, self-esteem" ... "Since Kabila was ruling, international NGOs take more care of Internal Displaced Persons (IDP) than rape survivors, direct or indirect victims of rape" ... "Before, it was men who were pursued to be kept in wartime. But nowadays, things have changed, it's now women who are pursued to be kept and killed. Women's rape has become the target in wartime" ... "I have sent my son to study law for him to defend women from our community" (RSFGJn).

For them, rape is a mismanagement of the political issue. They related their rape suffering to the former President Kabila who responded negatively to support of women. The weak government response to their support, and the loss of their dignity made them understand rape as a political mismanagement. This has also affected international NGOs, which should normally take care of rape survivors but on the contrary have also imitated the governmental mismanagement of rape. They have taken the matter as the one that should be treated as emergency issue, although rape needs to be monitored in a long-term not in a short-term intervention. Dealing with rape as a short-term issue with emergency interventions is frustrating survivors who felt abandoned by both their government as well as international NGOs. For them, rape survivors need more care in the long term. As there was a shift in the people targeted in wartime, from men to women, and as at political and humanitarian levels survivors do not feel they are getting care as expected, some women have suggested caring for themselves. The most interesting mechanism was to support their children to be educated and get legal knowledge to promote women's defence and provide their own lawyers. The assumption motivating

their approach of community lawyers from their offspring lies on relying on the person who would better protect their rights.

l) Prison

Another mechanism to reduce rape criminality in the community is the sex offender social reintegration mechanism. “Here in Kalonge we don’t have any structure for social community reintegration. Work on social reintegration of prisoners in our community to reduce the rate of criminality is very needed and important” (RSFGJn).

Awareness of perpetrators’ social reintegration has made rape survivors, as well as perpetrators themselves, advocate for their social reintegration to reduce the recurrence of criminality such as rape in the community, but also to secure rape survivors. The social structure organization appropriated to perpetrators’ social reintegration is still relevant and needed for the good of rape survivors, rape offenders and the rest of the community as well.

m) Coaching

Participants have acknowledged lacking human and material resources for social reintegration to keep the training legacy going on.

“There are not enough resources in the community to take care of us. There is a lack of trainers for specific trainings needed, like for social cohesion” ... “At church, apart from common preaching, specific training, particular intercommunity and intracommunity dialogues regarding our issue, the issue that disturbs our community, is rare. Pastors are limited to common preaching. Some Protestant churches are specialising in health and spirituality care. Other Protestant churches are only in spiritual and social care” (RSFGJn).

The after training was the biggest challenge of participants, who were delighted to attend the training and become aware of many themes related to their status and to their needs toward social cohesion. Knowledge gained during training periods needs to be capitalized on and resumed by a permanent community committee. The module created for the sake of social cohesion being a new approach to social reintegration associated with post-traumatic growth for rape survivors, children born from rape and for perpetrators, still needs a follow up, to be spread with a deep programme implementation for them to feel satisfied. The need for training coaches on the same topic is relevant for community ownership after training. Participants’ advocacy lay on the continuation of the programme by experts to complete and reinforce what had been done around and in the community by some structures, like religious organisations. Unfortunately, some participants refuted those structures’ care, as their teaching is still common, not specific toward social cohesion of victims of rape, rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape. They need the reinvention of solutions to their challenges to live in a cohesive community and change rape survivors’, victims’ and perpetrators’ narratives, a fitting strategic approach to come out of routine, traditional interventions.

10.2.1.2 Economic interventions for practical habit changes: first stage toward creation of new social network

Rape survivors' investment is a crucial tool to improve their post-traumatic growth narrative and their social reintegration for both mothers and their children born from rape. As mentioned above, survivors decided to work in synergy to overcome their traumatic lives.

The financial activity that rape survivors chose to extend their social network is a small business. Awareness done and the decisions taken by survivors resulted in the implementation of their decisions taken during training. Women have created a financial system contributing to improving each other's quality of life using a rebate system. Rebate activity has been successful. For them, small business is a mechanism that would drive their acceptance and create a new social network speeding their social reintegration as well as a preparation for their children born from rape's inheritance as mentioned above. Survivors went through the following process: women gathered into two small groups (group A and group B) under the supervision of one female community leader to help them organize a rebate activity. This had to partially and in turn refund themselves gradually until all of them got funding to start a small business. This experience has shaped a new process of doing synergy group work.

Given that groups were created randomly without following any criteria, this spontaneously disbanded only two weeks later. They went through a process of group formation, group dislocation, then group reformation. This stage helped them to join a fitting group where each survivor felt comfortable to be led by the leader and with group members of their choice. The reformed groups seem to have a strong bond as they formed naturally and comfortably. This is a natural reformation of the group under a trusted figure. To get a reformed group which functions well, this should follow a natural process.

The following steps are the outcome of first experience of financial synergy group formation.

- a. Radical group formation: choose members randomly
- b. Spontaneous reformation of the group
 - Let the group gather, and function normally. As trainee, start observing group members' trends and complaints. Complaints will guide and provide reasons to migrate from one group to another one.
 - Incubation period: Leave free time without any comment or orientation to the group. This is the time that members will start moving from uncomfortable to comfortable group, attracting each other in a comfortable group.
 - Allow members to migrate toward their trusted figure of leadership.
- c. Natural formation of the group members under the trusted leadership figure
- d. Inside reorganization of the group: management of group members, frustrations, and stress as well as that of their leaders
- e. Emergence of new ideas inside groups: ideas come up due to the level of freedom of group members. Those ideas emerged from the objectives of the group toward their achievement

- f. Strengthen bonds of group members among themselves and with their trusted figure
- g. Leaders must collaborate for the good of the group

This process has been followed due to the psychological status of rape survivors, which still weak and sensitive. To manage them into a group and hope to get a positive result of their togetherness, a careful process had to be observed. This strategy has contributed to the stability of the groups and has produced positive results for members who stick together for a common goal and have developed friendships. However, for the sake of post-traumatic growth development, more long-term activities are needed to expose rape survivors to narrative change for their own social reintegration, as I will present later in the acceptance schema.

Testimonies of rape survivors at the time they were doing small business in synergy are encouraging.

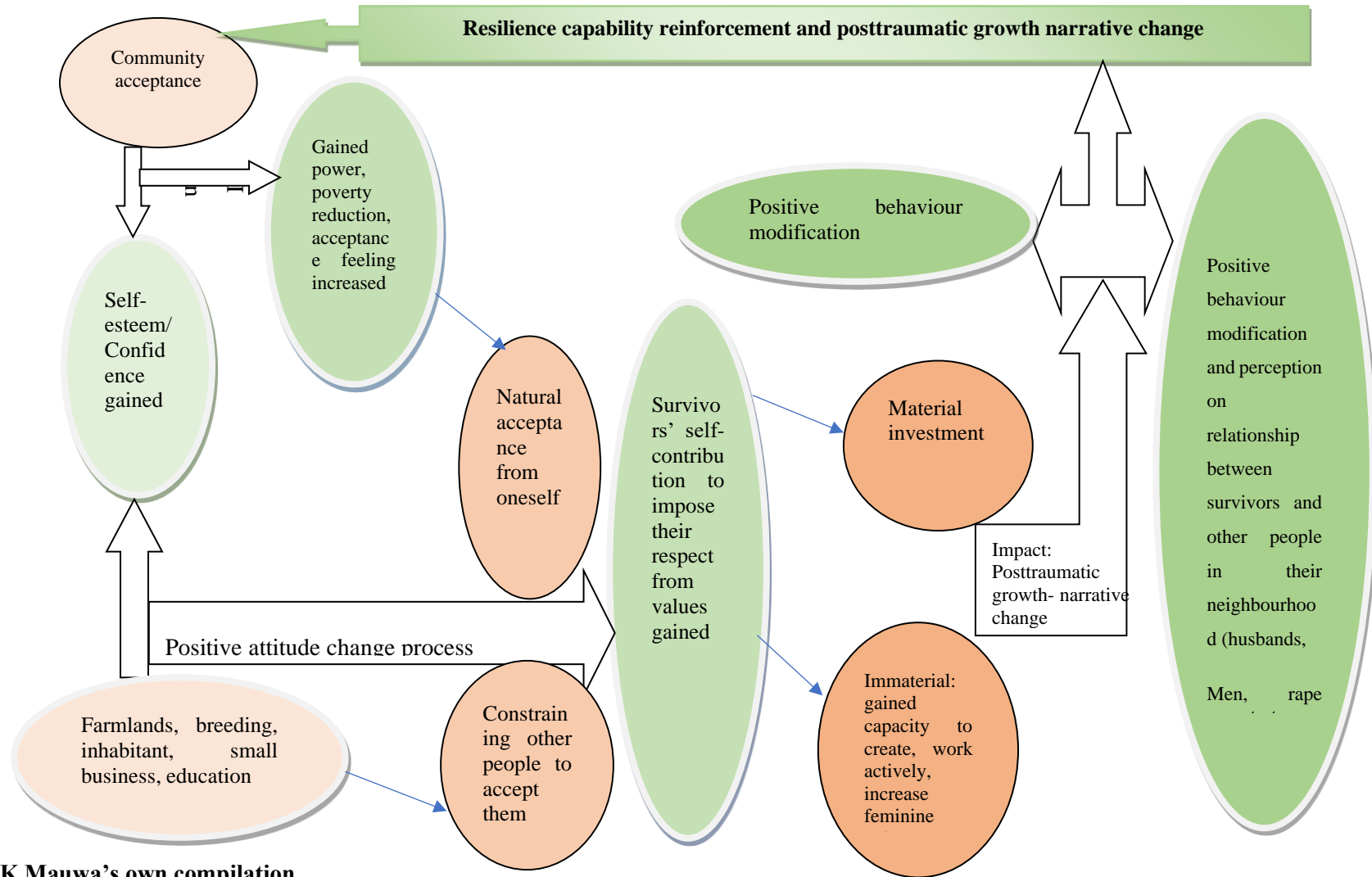
“We have to work together, in a group. Putting money together and start turning it from one person to another one for us to improve our life” ... “It’s because of this system that today, I can go to buy goods in Bukavu for my business. Business helps to put us in touch with other people. When I’m in Bukavu, I meet other people who are interested in me. They can approach and talk to me. That’s made me blissful. How can we make it? We must help each other to improve our lives. I can testify to the advantage I gain from this group” (RSFGJn).

Working in synergy has produced many advantages to survivors, as they testified. The most relevant advantage up to the time of this focus group was the creation of a new social network. Many of them extended their social network through financial activities by breaking the isolation, being exposed to other people, getting in touch with clients, moving from their local community to other areas outside their living environment. The displacement for reasons of business has created more benefit to survivors, who have discovered in a new environment how worthy they are and are considered as normal human beings, different from their living area. The difference between their neighbourhood consideration and consideration got from the outside neighbourhood has transformed their narrative as well as their own consideration and feeling. It has contributed to confidence, esteem, consideration, pride, created joy, etc.

“You know when I joined this group, I couldn’t imagine that maman Nabintu could get and be strong as I see her today. She was weak when I saw her for the first time. But today, I’m surprised to see her changing since she is attending this women’s group” ... “When you are working alone, you can’t do important things. Thus, some advice for us who joined this group, we should encourage each other, work together to improve our lives. One day, we will realise that improving our business is no longer a big deal” (RSFGJn).

Working in synergy, as they suggested then put into practice, has reinforced training lessons learnt. As learnt, the strategy for positive change is to apply the decision taken. They have experienced the change process as taught. Survivors’ solidarity for the future of their children as well as for their own post-traumatic growth has strengthened their coalition. This strategic synergy has produced full-blown women who started forgetting about their traumatic lives and stick to a new progressive narrative change, a real improvement, defeating their social and psychological limits and moving toward individual and relational skills improvement.

Figure 10:1 Rape survivors' resilience capability reinforcement and posttraumatic growth process



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

The acceptance schema I created from survivors' narrative, coming from their experience after rape and training, shows that their acceptance is a long and complex process which needs many components for acceptance materialization. Given that the protracted trauma has maintained them in a cycle of deterioration, either individual or relational, they need a strong booster which could come in various ways, predicted or unpredicted, prepared or random, material, or non-material. The strong booster must be a trigger situation or element that increases rape survivor values, which will constitute her social capital values. This is the first stage toward her acceptance.

At an individual level, the strong booster that provided social capital values will start a transformative process inside a rape survivor producing confidence and self-esteem. As her mind is transformed by self-esteem and confidence, she will gain power, being able to make things happen. At this stage, the rape survivor uses her booster factors to defeat her challenges, whether poverty or other challenges. Meanwhile, the impact of the power to defeat her challenges increases feelings of self-esteem and confidence and produces two effects: self-acceptance of her transformative change which becomes natural causing therefore, in a natural way, other people to trust her. This influence changes both the attitude of rape survivor and other people attitude towards the survivor in a positive way.

In the third stage, the survivor takes advantage of this positive attitude to impose her respect, convinced that she is completed enough to start working on her own acceptance process. The most important project of survivors (having children born from rape or not) is to invest for her life as well as that of her child born from rape, if any. This goes together with her capacity to create remunerative activities. Being creative makes her feel gain and increases her feminine values, providing some hope for her current and future life. This is a way toward post-traumatic growth. Witnessing how life can change from good to bad (from normal life to rape), then from bad to better (new life improved) due to lessons learnt from rape adversity, the narrative changes and affects her behaviour. The modification of behaviour, as well as her positive perception modification of other people over her, also modifies her relationships which creates equilibrium in the survivor's relationships.

The last stage of her acceptance become therefore the resilience stage and post-traumatic growth narrative change, where after overcoming adversity through an acceptance process and gaining all the advantages connected to post-traumatic growth, she can resist new life challenges. At this stage, the survivor regains normal life. The survivor is accepted into the environment beyond her close relationships, which increases her self-esteem once more, with confidence making her live, if she can maintain it, a cycle of success. While the process of survivors' individual and relational acceptance can be followed (or not) by every survivor, the most relevant aspect is to start transforming a survivor's attitude, which changes her narrative for her own acceptance and ends up by influencing her acceptance by others. Stages might not follow the cycle of survivors' acceptance but include relevant components. Some illustration from survivors have confirmed the acceptance schema.

“One of our fellow survivors while she was under medication at Panzi hospital met a good person who took care of her after being discharged from the hospital. She took her to her place, stayed with her there in Bukavu. She provided her with every necessary thing that she needed for her health and stability. Our fellow became so beautiful and in very good health. Then she decided to come back to our village. When her husband who chased her away because she was raped saw her, he started negotiating to take her back. The husband was attracted by her beauty and good health, etc. which increased her value. The survivor ended up by accepting her husband again” ...

.... “There is a story of another fellow survivor who has a girl born from rape. They were all staying with the husband of her mother together. One day, the girl was impregnated. The husband got angry and chased away the girl from his house. Our fellow survivor at the moment of that incident gave birth to her husband’s child of 6 months. The wife said, I do consider every child who came from my womb as equal, born out of rape or not. As you chased the one born from rape, I will leave this baby with you and go with the one you are chasing away from this house. The husband found himself constrained to accept his wife as well as her girl born from rape. That woman has imposed her will and the husband ended up by respecting her decision due to what she has produced for her husband” (RSFGJn).

The increase in survivor value in any way and no matter what kind of value, contributes a great deal to her acceptance process, based on her social reintegration. Values are a central and pivotal tool to shift from bad to better lives. From the awareness training, rape survivors have not only learnt lessons and gained knowledge, but also have gained practical skills that they have implemented while the intervention was processed. Benefits of this training have impacted survivors lives as an immediate result of the knowledge and skills gained. For instance, female community leaders who attended the training, after getting a notion of their rights to inherit and the matrimonial system, have advocated for the case of their friends who got divorced without any compensation to be compensated, and ended up winning the case heard at the traditional court in Fendula village.

10.2.2 Interventions with children born from rape

The method used for the focus group with children born from rape was the game story. The game story was a useful tool to discover common challenges that children born from rape are facing in their families and community. The results of the training have shown that family and community violence against children born from rape is not a new reality to them. They are already familiar with families’ violence to the extent that the first time 20 children born from rape met, they were able to make one story coming from small fragments of their own reality which formed the whole story expressing their challenges. Two illustrations made expressed violence they have been facing and solutions that they would prefer to see.

10.2.2.1 Children born from rape’s common challenges

The common challenge that children born from rape are facing is family and community violence as narrated throughout their game story technique. Children born from rape expressed their challenges, needs and solutions to end maltreatment against them through game stories.

a. First game story expressing children born from rape's abuse and solutions

- Formation of the story: First stage of the story

This is the story of a child born from rape nicknamed Cimbari (ChFGA).

Nsho: There was a child named Cimbari in X village. When he passed in his neighbourhood, other children used to throw stones at him, insulting him and wondering what he will become in his life because they were disdaining him and not considering him like a normal human being, a non-educated child. They were saying, "Someone who is not studying, is he a human being like us?"

Al: Then, his mother told him, "My son, people could insult someone, and those insults won't do anything to him. Calm down. There is nothing that does not have an end. They may insult you, but it will go away and end one day. "

Jib: And that mother was wondering about the reason that her son was always insulted like that, and she herself as well was insulted. When they talked to people, those people wouldn't respond to them.

Ali: One day, that woman sent her kid to fetch water from the river. People started insulting him, telling him that he is weak, even his mother was insulted. They told him that he is a witch. "Where did your mother pick you up? See this useless boy".

Al: Then his mother came to defend him. When she stepped where her son was, they started insulting her as well, telling her "See how vagrant you are, without any place to stay. Even for you to eat you always beg people to give you food or you must carry charcoal of other people for you to get paid. See how old you are now because of that.....".

Zaw: Even though that woman was insulted, she kept defending her child and said to those who were there, "Why are you insulting my son?" They answered her, "He looks like he has been picked up somewhere, not born, he is from the jungle". His mother answered them, "You are not the one who gave birth to him".

Bas: They kept on insulting him. "Is he a child this one as well? Take your stupid boy there! Can this one be a human being as well! A vagrant on earth, he has neither a place to stay nor to live. Take away your stupid son from here".

Nsho: His mother told him, "Don't worry my son. All these insults will end one day".

That's how Cimbari's story ended. This story is an illustration by children born from rape of community violence. Fragments that came out of their story repeatedly are those of an abused child whose mother always protects him. Lacking identity, the child is depicted as a "picked" up child, a jungle child, an orphan, an uneducated child, a miserable and shabby child. Child maltreatment is at forefront of children's lifestyle. However, their mothers' attachment is still the only hope that could rescue them from their abusers, even though this protection is not appreciated by every child. Mothers also ended up being abused due to their protective position regarding their children. If mothers are not discouraged to protect their children no matter what, children themselves have some suggestions to strengthen their mothers' actions.

- Formation of solution story: Second stage of Cimbari story related to solutions

Solutions came from the question of what kind of solution or advice to give to Cimbari for him to feel blissful and integrated into his family and community. Answers to this question from children born from rape expressed the need of those children and the approach they thought could end their abuse.

Nsho: They sent Cimbari to school. They gave him money to do small business. They took him to live where he could feel calm, relaxed. They did mediation between him and people in his neighbourhood and his parents, especially his stepfather, to re-establish their relationship.

Al: They gave him clean clothes and fed him.

Jib: They built a house for them (him and his mother) and gave them means to feed themselves.

Ai: They gave them land to cultivate.

Dia: They gave him clothes, bed sheets to cover himself when he is cold.

Ali: They bought a cow for him to breed.

All children: When they gave him all these advantages, he felt blissful. He told himself, henceforward, he would no longer be undermined. He was now a child like other children. He became proud of himself. He started playing with other children in his neighbourhood (ChFGA).

Children have expressed their need to transform their current lives to a better future. For them, solutions to feel they are living in harmony and integrated into their mothers' families and community must put them in a position of feeling valued. In this regard, fulfilling basics needs such as education, clothes, habitation, food, offering them a good education, etc. remain their priority. Furthermore, the need to overcome their misery must be covered as well. For that reason, they would need to ensure their future lives through business, farm, breeding, or agriculture which would contribute to safeguarding their future.

This individual need which could boost their self-esteem must be completed by the improvement of relational issues. To improve the quality of their relationship, the requirement lies in the diplomatic management of their abuse, such as mediation between them and their abusers (especially their stepfathers) to re-establish their relationship. For children, the quality of relationship should be improved from families to community. Once these needs are covered, children will feel equal to other children of the family and community. Hence, their main worry is their need to feel equal to other children. The equality of relationships will produce many advantages, such as the enhancement of child self-esteem and acceptance which could lead to their social integration.

The last section of the game story of the first focus group ended with advice that they should give to their friend Cimbari, the child born from rape. Advice means here responsibility that the child holds for his/her abuse reduction and acceptance.

- Advice to give to Cimbari

What is your advice to your friend Cimbari henceforward?

Jib: Don't be provocative in your neighbourhood anymore. Stop with that behaviour. You are the first to provoke people, then you run away to your mother to report.

Al: Be polite. Behave. Don't be aggressive. Life is round, turning around. It will be okay when your turn will come up.

Bas: Don't report lies to your mother. You should listen more and calm down.

Ali: Don't behave like a delinquent. It's because of your delinquency that people don't like you in your neighbourhood.

Nsho: Even when they insult you, hurt you, just calm down. Don't be what other people are insulting you and making you resemble (don't behave like a delinquent because they said you are like a delinquent), be encouraged, calm down. Life gives us great surprises, you will get yours.

Dia: You should respect yourself. Sometimes, you should calm down, keep quiet. You should collaborate well with people who take care of you. Keep secrets, don't be talkative (ChFGA).

To defeat abuse, children born from rape themselves have a responsibility to significantly reduce abuse against them. Children did acknowledge from their advice that their bad attitude and wrongdoing could cause abusers react against them. For that reason, they have a responsibility to stop their own abuse. The desired responsibility should be a tactical, proactive and reactive approach which is good attitudes and behaviour to avoid provoking any abuse from their abusers. They should react against the abuse by silence, meanwhile hoping for a better future life. The encouragement to come out of the cycle of permanent abuse is their great hope that encourages them to resist against abusers. To set the change, children ended with making a song as a change approach. It was a song of hope, as the objective is not to distress children but connect them to a hopeful better life. Composition of the song related to Cimbari friends' advice:

Dear Cimbari listen! (x2)

Don't pay attention to all negative words (insults) of cunning people who hate you (x2)

Dear Cimbari don't be a provoker (x2)

If you stop provoking people, they will appreciate and love you (x2)

Life is round, turning around! (x2)

Calm down! Your life will positively change, tomorrow is yours (x2)⁹⁹

10.2.2.2 Second game story: Raising hope to overcome traumatic lives

The second focus group of children born from rape focussed more on family violence. Children expressed their worries and abuse from their stepfathers, then made a way of finding a solution by also making a song to set up their solution.

- Formation of the story

Children imagined the name of a child born from rape. From this child, they made the whole story of a child born from rape's abuse, which story came from the experience of their abuse.

Ros: There was a child named Aksanti. Her stepfather used to beat her too much and tell her that it's not him who engendered her.

⁹⁹ To watch/download the song, please click on the following link
<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1BVtP8sLOX68nvc4UkSXL0aKXIbbzsf3n?usp=sharing>

Bul: He was beating her because he doesn't love her at all. That kid became pensive, depressive, because she felt orphaned, without a father.

Cub: The child lost weight, became skinny, she even got sick as she had been beaten too much and for the fact that she was not well fed. She reported that to her mother and asked her the reason that her stepfather was maltreating her like that. Her mother's answer was, "Because he is not your biological father."

Est Ba: Aksanti started asking her stepfather, "Why are you keeping telling me that I'm not a child from this house?" Then the father answered, "It's because your mother brought you from the jungle. When your mother came back from the jungle, she was pregnant with you, then gave birth to you." Then the stepfather continued to say, "Why is it that this child does not resemble me?" Then the husband started threatening his wife to take back the child from where she brought her. The wife was vexed. Then that child became a child.... (Silent moment. She didn't finish her part of story, , she became pensive)

Aru: The big issue was then that of taking that child back where she was brought. Then, that woman took back the child to her father. Then the woman said to the biological father, 'You should pay me back a cow because I bore you that girl, I brought her from the jungle.' (in other words, 'I accepted to give birth to that girl'), then the woman left that girl into that marriage, with her biological father.

Est: The child who was left with her biological father felt very well, blissful because she had left where they were maltreating her, where they were making her miss peace, disturbing her.

Noe: The child started a new life of "good peace", eating well, she was blissful.

Lum: Because henceforward, people stopped maltreating her, making her miss peace, she started studying.

El: Then her life became nice as she started studying, well dressed and fed. She felt free. She started playing with other children and she became blissful (ChFGA).

This game story from children expressed a child born from rape's abuse from their stepfather. The core of children's abuse is their identity, which is not appreciated. Children, from their complaints about the maltreatment from their stepfathers, have discovered that they are maltreated since they have a hated identity, and are depicted as wild, from the jungle, without any identity. From my observation, some children do not bear with abusive attitudes against them. While recounting their story, it was hard for some to keep telling their piece of the story as it was so emotional. From this attitude, I understood how painful children born from rape find abuse, which destroys and traumatizes them.

As they are still young, children's resilience is fragilized by adults' and families' extreme abuse, e making them confused and vulnerable. The exclusion and open permanent rejection of those children, witnessing and experiencing hate, made children think about the solution, which is to take them back to their genitor. For them, there is no way to get peace for a better life if not under their genitor's responsibility where they would find relief. Yet, this is a complex solution as their genitors are not known individually but have a common identity: "rebels" or "militias". The fulfilment of their basic needs could be one of the solutions.

Advice to Aksanti

Children's advice to their friend Aksanti reflects what they would like to be as a child born from rape in an abusive context.

Aru: Respect your parents, be obedient to your relatives.

Est. Nya: Your curse is to leave your biological house. Don't ever be tempted to leave your father's house. May God help you to not experience rape and get a child born out of rape like your mother has experienced.

Noe: Shame my dear Aksanti!

Lum: Never accept that someone undermines you!

Bul: Never be diverted to go back to your mother's marriage or household, where you were staying.

Ros: You must always remember your mother despite everything that you will face.

Cub: Never follow bad advice of wicked people

Esth.: Make sure you take care of your father as he makes you live in good conditions now (ChFGA).

Children try to keep a non-provocative position as an approach to protect themselves against adult and family abuse. Being aware of their hated situation and blaming themselves for being born in those families, and not being under their genitors' responsibility, children do consider those facts as factors causing their abuse. As they lack support to change the situation for their good, the only alternative to live in peace is to be obedient and non-provocative. They connect themselves to the divine force to defeat their pain and overcome traumatic events. Also, they try to support themselves to break the cycle of violence. They protect themselves against the cycle of intergenerational violence to which they are exposed. The most relevant trend is to connect to their future, hoping to have better lives free from abuse. Hence, valuing themselves becomes the most important key mechanism of their freedom. To strengthen their feeling of feeling, children made a song of hope.

Composed song:

Sister Aksanti, don't cry!
One day your tears will be wiped out
Sister Aksanti don't worry!
You are as important as other human beings
Sister Aksanti may peace be with you!
Feel free as other human beings (ChFGA).

The song made raises confidence, trust and hope in children born from rape, as well as feelings of freedom which are the most developed to connect children born from rape to their future. Intervention with children had to achieve the objective of strengthening their capacity of resilience as they are facing abuse and are exposed to intergenerational violence. This is a music therapy to reduce children's stressful lives and increase happiness to contribute to protecting themselves from intergenerational violence. The song mechanism has not only helped children born from rape to be motivated, to create joy and happiness, but also has been sung by other children in the area, making a connection between those born from rape and those not born from rape as an opportunity to make them play together. Children being able to bring to their community something that other agemates admire, a song that connects them, increases their value, and creates space for their acceptance.

During the intervention, play space was provided for them to feel happy and make them understand that they can create their own joy without depending on their agemates but that they were able to create their own new network of friends, such as other children born from rape. By sharing same story of their trauma and by thinking in same direction, toward solutions, they connected and created friendships between them. Each child born from rape understood that s/he is not the only child who suffers from family abuse. There are many children born from rape experiencing the same abuse. The time they spent together creating the story game made them understand that they can suffer from family abuse, but their goal is to focus on their future lives. They must adopt some positive attitudes and behave accordingly to achieve their objectives.

This gathering moment changed their perspective and perception of themselves which was negatively affected by the deep and strong abuse. They discovered that only they are not only hated: there are people who appreciate and love them. This revelation has been provided by their mothers, witnessing how happy their children were.

b) Rape survivors' impressions on their children from rape's intervention

Training produced immediate results for children, positively influencing their living environment, as their mothers witnessed.

"My boy told one of his half-brothers that 'We were lost indeed'. Can you imagine how you can hold a cup of tea given by your mother? His brother said yes. I will hold it with my two hands. And he replied, no! you should hold it as we use to hold a calabash with your two hands. That's how I held the cup. I drank the tea that the researcher gave us with so much pleasure. I was amazed. Then he said, 'Today, I have met a person who loves me. I was thinking no one loves me in this world. I thought everybody hates me. That person gave us food and cold drink and we ended up by singing.' Then he started singing the song they made and taught it to his half-brothers" ... "My child asked me 'Mum, where did that researcher comes from? She is not from our village even not from our community, but she helps us. That's amazing! Moreover, she has a natural skin colour, she is humble'" ... "Mine told his half-brother 'May God bless that researcher a lot. You should pray a lot for her to see her back again in our village for you need to meet her as well. You will be amazed'" ... "My daughter told me what you did with them. She said, 'We started by recounting our stories, then made a series of advice ... We ended up by composing a song.' Then she started singing the song for her half-brothers. From the advice that song made, she started advising her half-brothers as well telling them 'Life is like a circle, round. Today maybe we are suffering, but tomorrow, everything will be good. Don't complain don't cry any more'" (RSFGS).

The interventions done with children were to change negative to positive self-perception. Due to abuse, children's self-perception had deteriorated. They felt as though everyone hates them and that they do not deserve to be loved. Time spent together sharing their stories of abuse and creating solutions; in a focus group, knowing that they are not alone but that many children born from rape experience same abuse; enhancing hope for better future lives; having time to play as other children, entertaining and having fun with other children in an environment where they feel safe, protected, loved, respected, valued, etc. have positively impacted perceptions of themselves. Treating them with respect, serving them food with love, listening, speaking to them with respect and consideration, etc. was done by the

researcher for the time they spent together (9 months of intervention, from individual interview up to the intervention) and this made them discover the sense of their humanity.

Children discovered the missing love considered as a lost feeling. Experiencing love from the researcher, they had great admiration up to saying, “We were lost indeed”, “Today, I have met a person who loves me. I was thinking no one loves me in this world. I thought everybody hates me.” Those statements are deep in sense. For the first time, a child born from rape, after more than ten years, could find someone showing him love, that’s incredible! Being used to abuse, rejection, etc., children have lost confidence in themselves and drawn negative conclusions of not being loved by anyone. The amazing feeling got from the love they received created joy and happiness. The hated feeling has been dispersed as they were impressed to feel loved. This feeling of love was transferred to their half-siblings. Instead of transmitting hate and abuse, after training, children were able to transfer love, joy, and admiration to other agetates, as well as to other people.

Knowledge and experience gained from their game stories were transferred also to their agetates and half-siblings. This is a teach-friend mechanism that lies in the knowledge transfer from one child to another. The aim is to transform other people (abusive or not)’s perception of children born from rape who have been for a long time considered as not valued, to enhance value and consideration toward them. This mechanism also has a reciprocal impact on their relationships. Not only do those children feel valued but they are considered as such due to the contribution in knowledge and advice that they have been able to offer to other people. They have therefore transformed other attitudes like admiration which boost respect and consideration toward them. In the end, it contributes to bonding children together in their family, and attracts friendship that was a complex and difficult aspect for children born from rape to get from their agetates.

The influencing and transformative attitude of love, respect, consideration, and humility from researcher to children impacted their live and granted them space in their environment. The technique used by the researcher to act purposely, targeting to change children’s attitudes through positive feelings received, is relevant. Teaching by exposing myself as a model of love, respect, humility, and consideration was a successful technique for training children.

Thus, training with children born from rape was successful as from the immediate result, children could change their way of perceiving themselves and learnt to transmit good, positive feelings that they also received from the training. This contribution was enough to break the further violence cycle as children were able to advise themselves. Advice orientation was more connected to hope for better future lives and managing the current abusive situation well by responding to it positively.

10.2.3 Family dialogue: Interventions with perpetrators

Intervention to encourage social reintegration of perpetrators into their families as well as into their community is an individual approach that has taken their environment into consideration. Also, we created some awareness to influence people of the community to support the process of dialogue. This approach used individual and collective strategy concomitantly to make social reintegration work. There were two major interventions involving perpetrators that were held throughout the social reintegration intervention.

10.2.3.1 Individual interventions

The first intervention is that of a married perpetrator against an under-aged victim of rape in the village. To handle the intervention, the approach used was a mixed method involving knowledge, experience and skills from both researcher and the psychologist, who worked also as a social worker. From the individual interviews held with perpetrators, we planned an intervention. The first thing was to associate a social worker to handle the intervention, due to the knowledge and experience of the social worker on social reinsertion of people who are rejected from their families and community. We met perpetrators individually then did family dialogue with some. We created awareness among some influential people in the community to support perpetrators' social reintegration. The goal of this awareness was to make those supporters play the role of social controller to dissuade perpetrators from rape relapse attempts.

From the dialogue between social worker and perpetrators, many challenges were discovered on the side of perpetrator, such as lack of being trusted in his living environment, his frustration and isolation, and his lack of safety. The social worker reported the issues as follows:

“There is a problem in his neighbourhood. However, he is not appreciated. People are rejecting him. He himself is afraid of being in touch with other people in the area. He is afraid of everybody thinking that people are rejecting him. He is not conscious of what he did (rape). He keeps denying it to divert the victim's family from bothering him. He is isolated himself, afraid of policemen and militias as he was a militia” (SWJn).

There is lack of trust toward the perpetrator in his neighbourhood as he is a former militia whose reputation has been altered, since he can steal, reminding people of militias' criminal behaviour that their group committed against their own community. This is the reason why he was threatened like a thief in the area, which blocked his social reintegration process. In his environment people were resistant to his social reintegration, because of his offence, which in turn made him frustrated and feel rejected and lack confidence in himself. To protect himself and face rejection, he resorted to denial and isolation to divert his victim's family's attention. His weak strategy maintained him in an unsafe and insecure life.

Being aware of the perpetrator's frustrating life, the social worker decided to visit the perpetrator to start some counselling intervention:

“I went to see him twice. He has his auto defensive position. If only he feels menaced, he will easily attack, hurt the person who will provoke him. He will do it as he will be trying to defend himself using his energy, even cruelly. He has this problem either because of his bad behaviour or because of other bias or prejudice against him. Even his family does not approach him. Madi¹⁰⁰ smokes drugs and drinks too much alcohol” (SWJn).

According to the social worker’s observation while doing counselling, for the sake of self-protection, the perpetrator is using auto-defensive approach, ready to attack in a cruel manner any person who would destabilize his safety, worrying about being prosecuted once more as he felt himself being in imminent danger. Two factors affected him deeply: rejection due to the offence done in the community, and his own defensive reactive approach (which seemed to be a weak approach) to negotiate, preventing therefore acceptance in the community. In this regard his social reintegration project became complex to handle, intensified by a feeling of self-rejection, mental health problems, and trauma as well as by his relatives’ rejection.

Also, relationally, his situation remained traumatic as he was living with his in-law family, depending on his in-laws’ assistance to live as a man and married person. *“Madi is more aggressive. He took other goods without any permission. He has lost his esteem. Currently he is staying in his wife’s family. In that environment, he is likely limited in feeling free and comfortable. What I know is, he doesn’t have friends. When he was a militia in Raiya Mutomboki he used to maltreat people in his neighbourhood”* (SWJn). Frustration from the perpetrator’s lack of independence as a married person leading his own family freely, depending on his in-laws’ resources to live, made him lose self-esteem, be powerless to feel free, be friendless, and frustrated, and he became aggressive due to his in-law family’s control upon him, etc. These are factors that constitute the first window toward his social reintegration and trauma healing.

From counselling and social worker observation, we planned more dialogue between the social worker and the perpetrator. Advice for his social reintegration had to be used first to make the perpetrator change his defensive position and frustration which could not help him to boost his social reintegration in his environment. The perpetrator attitude change session is an approach to prepare a perpetrator himself for his social reintegration using a gradual plan. This means starting with perpetrator preparation and then reinforcing the procedure by the dialogue planned between the perpetrator and his relatives, close family members and his wife, the first cycle of relatives. *“I told him to keep being in touch with someone who is closer to him, a person that you trust. We do have a problem either because of our bad behaviour or because of other prejudice. I was warning him and making him get conscious, feel good and calm”* (SWJn). The social worker’s advice focussed on the perpetrator’s change of attitude. For him to do it, closeness between him and the perpetrator was a requirement to boost

¹⁰⁰ His true name has been changed to Madi

perpetrator introspection, make him conscious of his wrongdoing, mistakes, rape crime and the self-discovery of a response to the social worker's awareness advice. Acknowledging the offence, working on his frustration to be calm and get peace of mind, became the first successful window toward attitude change. Being in touch with a trusted social worker, the second step after the acknowledgement of the wrongdoing, was to create perpetrator confidence to handle his social reintegration (although he would be assisted).

Social work impact: Being motivated towards attitude change, the perpetrator responded positively to the social worker's strategy of social reintegration, a change of attitude. The third step was to expose the perpetrator to other people in his environment, testing the change of attitude approach from isolation to exposure.

Dialogue between perpetrator and social worker:

Perpetrator: Sometimes I used to give goods to my wife to sell instead of doing it myself because I'm afraid of people in my neighbourhood. I use drug and alcohol to overcome my frustration.

Social worker: You should try to do it by yourself, to make yourself used to being in touch with people. Don't use an intermediary to do business because you need to get in touch with people. You should do it to restart being in touch with people (SW & P, Jn).

According to the social worker, the perpetrator's frustration made him avoid being in touch with people, trying to play strong to cover his weakness. As such, isolation could not help him to start his change of attitude process. For that reason, he had to be encouraged to gain confidence by defeating his frustration through the confrontation of the presence of other people to create a new habit. Using intermediaries to accomplish his duty would only maintain him in isolation. This is also the process toward mental healing, a self-help healing process, by changing his activity, as the perpetrator was using drugs and alcohol to overcome his worry. Instead of becoming addicted to drugs and alcohol, to degrade backward to a nefarious attitude, the change of habit contributed to connecting him to new activity (business) so that he could be in permanent touch with other people and stop isolating and using drugs and alcohol. In this regard, the resolution for the perpetrator's social reintegration, which meanwhile must impact his mental health and trauma healing, needed to be reinforced by the assistance of his close relatives and influential people surrounding him.

"We should know the quality of people who used to be in touch with him to help him well. The thing that we should do for Madi to help him complete his healing process is help him leave his family-in-law to stay alone with his wife and children, at their own place. Another thing is to introduce him in a social group like church, literacy centre, or other organization in the community, etc. The chief of the village should take care of him as well for his process of reintegration, for him to reintegrate socially into his community. The chief should involve him in community labour for him to feel among other people who have accepted or will accept him. After that dialogue, we have become friends with Madi" (SWJn).

The strategic approach to wrap up the intervention was to use other influential people to contribute to the success of the process. This means assisting the perpetrator to come out of his uncomfortable zone (in-laws and his living area) to join a comfortable zone, a new social environment, without hurting himself and others. The perpetrator had to start the relational improvement process by being able to control his environment. To make this possible, he had to get relational freedom, for instance independence from his in-laws' control, and instead take control of his life and his family responsibilities as well as overcoming his frustration while being in front of other people. Meanwhile, separation from the uncomfortable zone had to be automatically connected to his new social group reintegration which gradually boosted his social acceptance and reintegration. To control his insertion process and prevent the relapse of the same wrongs (rape, use of drugs, and stealing), the social control actor had to be an influential person. Hence, we resorted to the chief of his village, as the perpetrator trusts him. The chief of the village contributed to manage the perpetrator's social reintegration dilemma. Getting in touch with a new social group also dissuaded him from relapse, which could block and alter his social reintegration and trauma healing processes. A new social group, new friendships, being in touch with the chief of the village, and a dissuasive approach contributed significantly to his social control, maintaining his individual, relational, social, and mental health progress, and giving him an opportunity to clear his wrongdoing, break frustration and connect him to a guaranteed better future life free from crime relapse.

The second intervention involving perpetrator done as follow up purpose was not as complex as the first one but was still a serious case full of challenges to overcome. After the individual interview, the social worker started the intervention. Here is the feedback from the social worker: *"Bal¹⁰¹ is sick as a consequence of torture. He still urinated blood after more than 6 months of escaping from prison. The risk for him is to become sterile. Financial issues are still a big deal for him"* (SWJn). The perpetrator's frustration remained his great challenge that prevented his social reintegration process from working out normally. His frustration lay in his weakness and the serious health problems resulting from tortures experienced after rape during popular justice that made him unstable and worry for his future life, due to the misery caused by the mismanagement of rape issue.

Individual awareness intervention was followed by collective awareness management interventions for perpetrators' social reintegration, which had a great impact on their trauma healing, frustration, and the reintegration process. Hence, the second very relevant stage toward the accomplishment of the intervention included perpetrators' families as well victims' families, according to each case.

¹⁰¹ His true name has been replaced.

10.2.3.2 Group interventions: Family dialogues, mediation, or negotiation

a) First intervention: Dialogue with perpetrators' families

Family dialogue came at the time that perpetrators had started practising being exposed to other people, when they were in the process of breaking their isolation and building their new social network. Nine months later, a perpetrator could witness the relevancy of the intervention as narrated.

“In my neighbourhood, people are no more bothering too much as before. My victim's family as well. Because we had a time of negotiation. I had time to tell the survivor's family as you advised me. It was in February 2018 that the rape occurred. We met in October 2018 with the family. In March of this year (2019) again we met on the same issue after your advice. That family keeps on telling me to pay that cow and goat. They asked me to marry that girl. Yet I'm married and the victim still under-age. I told them, I can't do such thing as I'm miserable and broke. The chief of this neighbourhood is the only one who helps me in this area. His name is Richard. He helped me to get land where I'm cultivating. The thing that I can do is to pay the indemnity. They asked me to pay a cow and two goats. As you can see, my children do not even have shoes to wear, they are starving. How can I get a cow and goats to pay them back. Can you please help me to solve that problem?” (SW & P, Jn).

The intervention started in October 2018 with individual interviews aimed to set up interventions to contribute to preventing both the rape survivors increase in trauma due to the unsafe presence of the perpetrator, as well as the perpetrator's rape relapse attempt. The perpetrator, from the beginning of the intervention, was encouraged to contribute to his social reintegration, an approach to contribute to stopping violence in the community. The perpetrator started the negotiation process with his rape survivor's family, but they couldn't find a way forward due to the complex and heavy requirement of the rape survivor's family. After, nine months of processing the intervention, he was able to come out of the complex hopeless issue. The perpetrator could witness the success of the intervention at several levels even though this was still to be completed.

Positive feedback from other people in the community made perpetrator start feeling comfortable to stay and live in his living environment, reducing therefore his isolation as he has been confronted with other people's presence. However, the management of the survivor's family's demand was a challenge. Marrying a single under-aged girl to a married perpetrator whose poverty does not allow him to take care of the second wife (rape survivor) was a traumatizing decision for the perpetrator. This traditional rape management did not work here, and a new win-win approach was needed to solve the issue, which had to be accepted by both sides.

During the intervention, dialogue was held first inside perpetrators' families. For a married perpetrator, it was between the perpetrator and his wife and children who were willing to attend the session. The objective here was to hold a family talk to reinforce the ownership of the process of perpetrator social reintegration. The perpetrator's family's support was the most important thing needed.

The diplomatic strategy used by the perpetrator, negotiating with his survivor's family, created a kind of stability as they were talking to find a solution. However, the illegal marriage, the core issue of the negotiation rejected by the perpetrator, was still challenging, as well as the means to the suggested solution of the perpetrator, the indemnity to be paid. To come out of the nightmare of rape resolution, he kept asking for our (researcher and social worker's) intervention to find a fair win-win solution. To contribute to a win-win solution, some suggestions were given to the perpetrator as well as to his family members.

Researcher: For your social reintegrative process, you should integrate into a group in a church for you to get new friends and feel good.

Perpetrator: I agree with you to be baptized and to be active in church. I do promise that I will be a member of one of churches in the village. Because that will be helpful as no one knows anything about me in that new church I will be attending. Which would prevent me from being discriminated against or rejected.

Researcher to perpetrator wife: You should help your husband to socially reintegrate into your family and community. Your support throughout the process is worth enough to come out of his nightmare.

Perpetrator's wife: I'm ready to support him for us to live in peace as this issue affects all our lives. It's such a bad issue that our happiness, family harmony, etc. deteriorates.

Researcher to perpetrator: On your side, you should control your behaviour, acting in a good manner to attract others' friendship and trust to you once more. That will be considered as your way toward social reintegration.

Perpetrator: Anyway, I feel already relaxed as I can talk with my family openly on this issue. I also feel free to work now and meet my survivor's family without any worry (SW & P, Jn).

From family dialogue, the perpetrator got support from his wife for his social reintegration process. Two duties were given to the family: the husband would integrate into a new morally good group where he would feel comfortable and start getting new friends who would support his social reintegration. As a Christian believer, we advised the perpetrator to join a Christian group where he should be active participating in many church activities. Singing in church, for instance, would keep him busy and connected to singers to maintain his own acceptance.

The wife, despite their disharmony, should support her husband's reintegration from their household attitude outwards. The husband's positive change of attitude, and self-control therefore remained the only motivation to his wife to keep supporting him. As agreed, the perpetrator felt happy and relieved to see his wife agreeing to support him and promised to accomplish his duty.

In the community, the engagement of some actors contributed to ease the process. As mentioned above, the strategy to re-establish perpetrators' relationships was to assist them to find balance in their relationships by creating a dissuasive mechanism protecting them from criminal attitude relapse in their community. While they were going through their social reintegration process, the dissuasive mechanism had to be developed to strengthen the process. The dissuasive mechanism is the social control mechanism to connect the perpetrator to people in the community feared by perpetrator, such as the

chief of the village or other community leaders who were respected and accepted by perpetrators, those who have impact and can influence perpetrators' lives. In this case, we (researcher and social worker) decided the perpetrator should connect and live under the responsibility of the chiefs of the village for monitoring him for a dissuasive purpose. This dissuasive mechanism contributed to encouraging perpetrator steadfastness and commitment to his promises. In turn, the chiefs had responsibility to accompany the perpetrator's social reintegration process as the process is an open-ended one and not yet measured.

As practices of conflict transformation need to re-establish relationships between victim and offender and at the same time prevent the worst between them, we finally decided to meet the survivor's family and provided direct and indirect mediation. The process gave us the possibility of indirect mediation to boost a win-win peaceful resolution of the issue to get balance in the process.

Dialogue within the rape survivor's family aimed to prepare for mediation between the perpetrator and them. The aim of the dialogue was to reinforce both the perpetrator's process of social reintegration as well as that of the survivor, and at the same time prevent rape relapse. The under-aged survivor was associated with her mother throughout the process. After a long negotiation associated with talk and training in which both rape survivor and her mother participated, after seven months of follow up, we came up with a positive surprise response from the rape survivor's mother. The following is the narrative from the mother of the under-age rape survivor on the resolution taken as the peaceful win-win management of the issue.

I have already forgiven Gill. All the severe anger I had against him is diminished. There is one month, Gill greeted me. How did that happen? One day, I went to fetch water from the river. I saw him passing by. After passing some meters, he came back and greeted me. He did it with much respect and consideration saying, "good morning mum? ma'am?". When he greeted me, he gave me a fright. I was actually speechless as I couldn't imagine that one day, he could even greet me due to pressure I was putting on him to marry my daughter as a solution to the rape. I was lost myself and didn't know at that time which kind of reaction I should have, if I could respond or keep quiet? I was embarrassed! Finally, I decided to answer to his greeting. For me, I couldn't believe that could happen between me and him. How someone who was running away from me could have the courage of coming closer and greeting me. it was just odd. That's why I finally decided to answer to his greeting. Since that day, I forgave him and we are still greeting each other up to the present. He cannot pass where I stay without greeting me" (SW & VF, Jn).

The final family dialogue with the rape survivor's family ended in an amazing way that couldn't be believed. The social reintegration intervention done with both sides, perpetrator, and survivor's family, finally produced a great, positive result. As mentioned above, the perpetrator was advised to break his isolation and interact with people, as a way of working on his acceptance and social reintegration. Since he applied interaction instead of isolation, he had himself confronted his rape survivor's family to find his own solution to get forgiveness and the desired solution of rape management. The perpetrator's confidence, gained throughout the intervention, produced an improvement in the quality of relationship

between him and the rape survivor. Suddenly and irresistibly, he has gained the battle by giving what he was able to offer.

On the other side, intervention with the rape survivor was aimed also to contribute to her social reintegration but using a different approach. Talk of forgiveness as one of the themes developed throughout the intervention had a positive and powerful effect, contributing to mediation, a win-win approach between rape survivor and perpetrator. It changed their attitude positively from emotions such as avoidance, isolation, hate, anger, revenge, etc. to a reasonable approach toward closeness, acceptance, harmony, respect, consideration, etc. The transformative greeting convinced opponents to accept the perpetrator and grant forgiveness. However, the change of attitude did not exclude cautious measures to prevent rape relapse and degradation of relations.

From my observation as researcher, the intervention sessions which started by individual interview were handled with difficulty. At the beginning of the sessions, the mother of the under-aged survivor was in deep grievance against the perpetrator. She couldn't speak to tell the story of her daughter's rape. Crying was her expression of anger, grievance, and disappointment. The bitterness kept her in a revengeful attitude. She claimed a cow and goats as indemnity. Nevertheless, after seven months of talk and intervention, she ended up forgiving and finding herself as well as her daughter, the survivor, free from grief, which was the key to restore their relationships. On the perpetrator's side, he couldn't believe he was forgiven by his opponents, but that is what was the most needed.

The successful case of a perpetrator's social reintegration, relationship quality improvement, and acceptance of both rape survivor and her perpetrator have shown that constant and permanent follow up of more than six months could lead to improvement in individuals and relationships. The intervention approach, which started to work on the survivor as well as on the perpetrator, individually and separately, then developed a sharing mechanism for attitude change from negative to positive attitude and behaviour for both, and finally the application of training legacy as a unique way to get to change, was handled successfully by some attendees as is the case of this survivor and her perpetrator.

b) Second intervention

This is a case of a married perpetrator and a married rape survivor. The intervention opened an avenue to another type of result. After attending the training, many attendees applied knowledge gained from the training for their change of attitude for their acceptance and social reintegration. A perpetrator narrates,

There is one month ago I'm a choir member, I'm singing in a church and I'm in a literacy centre that you (created). My meeting with papa Sylvestre (Sili) and Bahati on my wife's child born out of rape has interpellated me, especially when I was answering their inquiry. I was challenged by them. The way that I take care of that child when there is a dispute between him and my biological children, what I do to prepare him

for his future, etc. Just made me think twice on this child's future. Myself, I try to show him that he is our child. I do consider him as our biological child as well (SW & P, Jn).

This perpetrator has a very complex involvement in the issue of rape. He is at the same time a perpetrator who raped a married woman and the stepfather of his wife's child born from rape. He was attending the training and benefited from the intervention knowledge as perpetrator and stepfather of a child born from rape at the same time. Hence, he was involved in intervention regarding stepfathers of children born from rape, applying same method that we used to approach stepfathers.

The method used to approach a stepfather using indirect mediation to consult him on children born from rape's acceptance was used to create awareness in this perpetrator to accept and keep his child born from rape from abuse. At the same time, he had to work on his own acceptance and social reintegration. For his social reintegration, the perpetrator chose to join a church, as a singer in the church choir. He managed to create his new environment, to get acceptance from the new social moral group, his first cycle of reintegration. When he started attending church activities, and he accepted and engaged to care for, to work for the benefit of, his child born from rape's better future life, many things changed positively in his life as we will present later.

“What I do is to go to other families that have those children born out of rape to make them aware of the way of considering them. I used to tell them that those children are as normal as other children that we have in our family. There are 15 children that I used to go to their family to sensitize their family. These are names of those families (...) ¹⁰². I tell them that they should consider them as equal to other biological children. But when I'm telling them about that issue, they think that after sensitizing them, I will take care of those children, to pay school fees for example. As I don't have means, my answer to them is still simple: take care of those children as you take care of your biological children. If they are unable to take care of them, they should be incapable of taking care of all of them, not only for their biological children. I tell them that life is so complicated. Children are all the same. We never know. We should take care of all those children at the same level as our biological children. We should treat them fairly. Treating them as equal, gives us a chance to be helped by them one day in our life, even more than our biological children (SW & P, Jn).

The perpetrator has found a particular way of confronting his environment to get acceptance. Besides joining a church in which he served as a singer, he has created a social activity, raising awareness in his village, trying to advocate for children born from rape's integration into their mothers' families. His aim is to contribute to recuing family violence against children born from rape. He has been using family talk as an approach to convince families of their responsibility to care about children born from rape, treating them as equal to other children from their family. However, he has met some challenging questions on the issue of the poverty of those families who are unable, despite his campaign, to take care of those children.

¹⁰² Names of those family having children born from rape have been omitted for the sake of privacy.

The success that he has had while campaigning for children born from rape's family integration to stop family violence has caused him to gain trust to be a mediator of families and couples that have been separated due to rape issues and the issue of hated children born from rape.

There is a husband of a victim who dumped her because of having that child from rape. That man already married to a second wife in another village. For the brief story, his mother was raped and got a child born out of rape and his father dumped his mother. His wife had a child from rape as well. He dumped his wife as his father did to his mother. I'm sensitizing him to come back to take care of his mother who is already old and weak and his children and wife as well. I told him, money that he is gaining there could help his own children to study, and his family will take advantage of it. I told him, you must think about the future of your family by coming back home and restarting your normal life. He answered me that he is planning to come back home one day even if he didn't give precision on which day exactly, he will come back home (SW & P, Jn).

Not only has he been advocating for children born from rape's family integration, for their equity and the reduction of family violence against them, he has been also working on family reunification. He was trying to get in touch with husbands, convincing them of their families' responsibility, the need for family stability and strengthening family harmony and bonds, and advocating for husbands' reintegration into their families. This perpetrator has been involved in the complex issue of rape that has torn families apart and brought misery into families. In the midst of complex rape issues and his will to solve those issues, he has received acceptance into his family as well as into his community and positively transformed himself and his relationships. Due to his responsibility, the perpetrator has been transformed in several ways.

Before getting through this process of social reintegration I was frustrated, isolated and avoiding getting in touch with people. But since I started these sessions, it has opened my mind and motivated me to work to help other people to avoid what happened to me. I was drunk, couldn't take of myself. But now I can take care of myself due to responsibility that I hold in my family and community (SW & P, Jn).

Responsibilities held in his community have also impacted this perpetrator's life. Playing a role model in his family and community constrained him to behave accordingly. Hence, assistance of other people has turned back for his own benefits, reinforcing his acceptance and social reintegration as well as preventing him from further rape relapse.

Actors involved in community awareness are community leaders (both men and women), customary law-keepers, the perpetrator who was at the same time a perpetrator and stepfather who has transformed himself into a community mobilizer, and stepfathers of children born from rape. As awareness made by the perpetrator-stepfather has been presented above, this will be omitted here.

Awareness with community leaders and customary law-keepers was made during training sessions with perpetrators and rape survivors. Here is their impression according to lessons learnt, the way they have been impacted by the knowledge got from training, their decision to implement the knowledge, and its contribution to change and to the restoration of the cohesion and peace of their community.

Male community leaders gave their impressions from awareness training, the impact that it has created in rape survivors' lives and the originality of the approach, from content to learning method. *"At the beginning participants were ignorant of the content of the seminar because they are not used to having that kind of your seminar. They used to attend small seminars, trainings, but they have never attended seminars on themes on which you are training them like habit and behaviour"* (CLFGS). Testimony given by community leaders comments on the difference between the current and previous training provided to rape survivors and perpetrators. The difference is in the content, as this seemed to have new transformative themes. Themes like positive change of altered habits awakened their minds and put them in the position of holding their responsibility for positive change.

After rape, habit and behaviour change. They are now in another place where they have lost their ancient habit and behaviour. When you explained everything about habit, we have noticed that you are a researcher, a scholar, a thinker indeed. I have noticed it in two aspects: your behaviour and your spirituality. When you spoke about love of enemy, that has touched a lot of us. It affected us so much. How? When you are in conflict, against someone and you hate that person who raped you and made you miserable, ask a victim to forgive that offender for her own change and good. When you said that forgiveness is a must for their habit change. The fact that in your presentation you didn't talk only about forgiveness demand, but also about forgiveness results, that has affected participants, especially victims (CLFGS).

The content of the training on habit change was a complex and challenging one as it was dealing with protracted traumatic events which also needed a strong content to convince both rape survivors and perpetrators to get into their own transformative change using habits as a window. Hence, raising questions on forgiveness demands, results and advantages was the most relevant aspect of forgiveness. The change trigger lay in the explanation of how forgiveness benefits first the victim, not the offender.

The trainer's attitude also impacted the learning, as being in front of believers, the fitted approach was a mixture of knowledge transmission as well as spiritual connection to provide forgiveness' sense. Training content and training spirituality mattered to make them decide for the change that brought hope for a better future life. This connection and the fact of pinning on some aspects like challenging love, "cautious love for enemies, offenders or victim" (which does not mean love to expose oneself but love to protect oneself from hurt) sounded the most relevant tool that triggered their change decision. This also focussed on a challenging "exchange of forgiveness" game, a "must forgive" for their own healing process, forgiveness without reciprocity.

Apart from mixing knowledge and spirituality as an approach of training, benefiting all components of the issue (rape survivors and perpetrators) has brought transformative change on both sides. *"I think, inviting those sex offenders and asking them to attend this seminar was a good idea that will bring transformation on both sides"* (CLFGS). The mixed approach brought hope of change that should go and reach beyond the limit of the local community up to national and international levels.

When you started to associate the two aspects, showing how social cohesion can lead to changed behaviour and brings it to normal, that's a proof that you have been educated to train. I think this training shouldn't be

for one or two days only. We need to see that module in the form of a course. If you could get funds to keep this activity going to cover the whole village and south Kivu province, even all the country and further, that could be okay. You will be a messenger from God (CLFGS).

Male community leaders' participants suggested extending the training as it was relevant and original, to contribute to both rape survivors and perpetrators' cohesiveness in their community. This approach of putting them personally at the centre of change would improve the individual and relational quality of their lives. Hence, the outcome of positive results from training was higher.

I'm very sure that next time you will get good results of this training. Further, it will produce positive fruits. As you can see, 86 % of survivors have negatively changed their habits and behaviours against 14% only. This is a great sign of lacking training for their reintegration. That's why, if we could get training and trainers like you and as you do it, the weak percentage will turn into strong percentage one reaching even 70%. The goal of their change is to change first their perception of themselves and of others of them. For that, they must work on their own change, change of their habits, and must be creative and proactive. We trust as you said after 6 months you, we will get positive result as they will apply their decision for change. With God's help, we will defeat negative habits (CLFGS).

Changing their perception from expecting help from other people or organizations into expecting and trusting, being confident to work themselves for their own change was a successful approach, which met their need for change, hoping to defeat negative habits through self-confidence. However, this demands to be proactive and creative to be accepted.

The result of training has gone beyond participants expectations to the extent that it builds hope for leadership improvement. It has impacted community leaders' perceptions of the content and the approach to handling their own lesson transmission and allowing their followers to have their lives transformed. *"When you started training, I wasn't writing anything. But the more you were teaching, the more it become interesting and made me write, for it to help me in future when I will need those kinds of teaching to train my people in the community"* (CLFGS). The "learn to teach" was the resolution of participants to keep the energy of training going successfully. This is already a good, positive, immediate result of leadership training. This male experience of training, witnessing the process of change, has been also experienced by female community leaders.

Female community leaders noticed rape survivors' acknowledgement of the relevance of change. "This training has helped survivors to understand that the ancient and bad habits, behaviours must be abandoned. Because we have noticed that we have gained negative habits from rape. The ones that have distorted our lives spiritually, physically, and socially (CLFGS). The most damaged domains of rape survivors' habits are spiritual, mental, physical, and social. To start either the healing process or the reintegration process, change in oneself remains the key process.

Yesterday's training has taught us about introspection. We must fight ourselves to do it and realise how wrong we are and mistakes that we have committed. After acknowledging them, the person should plan a way forward to abandon them and start a new life with positive behaviour which will help her. As we said in reference to habit and behaviour in the neighbourhood, they will end up by nicknaming the person. That will be for you

the second identity and you will be behaving in such a way. If that happens to you, you must be proactive to act to clear that name. After thinking you must create something new and good whether an activity or habit that will make others change their perception of you, to perceive you positively and end up by changing that bad nickname and identity. They will therefore start reconsidering you through a new positive lens. They will say, even if we have already disfigured this person, there is something good that can come from her/him. All this will happen because you used your brain to bring change of your perception, visible or not, to you or to others. That has helped us because not only did we take those teachings under the personal aspect, but also spiritual ones as well. Abandoning bad habits will help us to go to heaven. Because if you see your enemies and pray for him/her for God to help you for your reconciliation, that will benefit you all. This has helped us spiritually and socially (CLFGS).

The process of habit change is composed of many stages. Female community leaders noticed from training that all should start with introspection of oneself to discover one's wrongs and mistakes that provoked the failure, instead of focussing on perpetrators' mistakes. The battle for introspection exercise, to face their wrongs and mistakes, links the introspection to desire for change and motivates proactivity. The proactivity attitude toward change challenges creativity desire and works to make it happen, to plan for change to happen. Female participants acknowledged that change happens when it is planned and implemented.

Proactivity and creativity should aim to change, given the disfigured self-identity and others' perception of that disfigured identity. This is a way of changing rape survivors' environment and relationship quality and shifting from deformative to constructive identity. Changing one's self-perception boosts and transforms individual and interpersonal relationships and opens the door to reintegration.

Female community leaders learnt lessons on self-change: "I have to work hard to expose myself to activities that will make me change positively. Keep faith in change. Also, I must teach my subordinates to make them become like me, empower them to teach like me" (CLFGS). Community leaders have warned themselves to transform themselves before transforming others. They must impact their lives to influence other's lives. Hence, good transmission of leadership lessons should start with transformed, positively changed leaders capable of influencing followers' habit changes, able to empower them for positive change. Constancy, perseverance, and faith are fundamental values to make the change happen.

The training awareness shows that only participants (survivors, perpetrators as well as their community leaders) have the power to take responsibility to change their negative habits to positive ones, therefore changing their narratives for the post-traumatic growth process, preparing for themselves their own environment for acceptance and, further, for their social reintegration for a cohesive community. This contributes to exposing themselves to moving their lives forward, connecting them to hope for a better future life.

Given that the immediate result of the training was higher than their expectation, community leaders advocated to implement it as a programme not only for survivors and perpetrators but for the entire community and beyond their local community, up to regional level.

Intervention with stepfathers aimed to integrate children born from rape into their family, reducing family violence and treating them as equal to other legal children of the family, which would also influence community attitude and behaviour change toward those children. The technique used was an indirect mediation, where the peace committee had to meet stepfathers who were willing to attend awareness sessions and family dialogues. This was wished by children themselves, to have mediation between them and their stepfathers to re-establish their relationship, hoping to create a peaceful child living area, free from family violence. However, most stepfathers resisted attending the sessions, others were indifferent, and some others were menacing their wives to stop the process once started. Here is the feedback of the peace committee involving community leaders and customary law-keepers.

Even though he never attends the stepfathers' meeting, he understood that he shouldn't bother his wife's daughter born out of rape any longer because there are people watching him. His anger against community leaders, as they wanted to find out about that child's life to get a proper dialogue for their social cohesiveness, was a challenging signal on his behaviour against that child. That reaction shows his defence against accusations, finding himself guilty. The fact that he's been confronted by community leaders is a dissuasive step to prevent the stepfather from maltreating the child (CLFGS).

The peace committee met some stepfathers but couldn't achieve their goal of holding a talk with stepfathers due to the resistance that they encountered. Some stepfathers did not allow them to get through family dialogue. They used anger and harsh negative reactions against the peace committee, intimidation on avoiding any talk about the issue of discrimination of children born from rape, and family violence against those children. However, for the peace committee, the fact of using anger and intimidation expressed stepfathers' guilt and implicit acknowledgement of their abuse against those children.

Since they couldn't hold family dialogues as planned, these meetings have played the role of an alert to stepfathers, warning them about their abusive attitude and behaviour against children born from rape under their responsibility. This is a dissuasive warning to protect children born from rape and contribute to the reduction of their abuse in the family. The peace committee confrontation with stepfathers produced many advantages as mentioned above.

That will work as a social control to make him behave to the advantage of the child. The truth is the meeting has a disadvantage because it got the mother and her daughter in trouble as the husband was shouting at them, telling the mother how she has betrayed him. But that didn't make the husband indifferent. It has dissuaded him. The fact of sending messages to the researcher (Mauwa) to find out about what she wants to do, with those children or what she wants to make those children become is already an alert against his discrimination to that child (CLFGS).

In front of the child and her mother, the stepfather behaved aggressively, traumatising the child and her mother, expressing his disagreement to involving other people to intervene in child abuse prevention. Children's abuse by their stepfathers seems to be an untold, untouched, and reserved issue that is not discussed external to the family. For the stepfather, it seems like the child, who needs mediation between him and his parent to find family harmony and stop his abuse, has betrayed the stepfather by inviting

people to mediate the issue to find solutions. The great advantage of this meeting was to activate social control mechanisms warning stepfathers on their abuse against children born from rape. Social control is either implicit or explicit, has served to make stepfathers aware of being monitored. It has played a dissuasive role against child abuse.

On my side, it is risky to forcibly provoke positive change to protect children against abuse. I was threatened by stepfathers to abandon the process for my own safety. Otherwise, women in the community warned me in the same way to be careful about my safety. As the peace committee noticed after being in touch with stepfathers, the change process is a great risk. Those who are involved in it, either the victims, participants, or the trainees, should all be aware of the risk they are taking to break the established abuse system to bring new areas of change. The change can be small or big, but the most important thing here is to provoke the start of the process and let the course keep on moving towards real and visible change.

Joint intervention: literacy centre creation to reinforce social cohesion values: Throughout our social cohesion intervention, we came up with a common joint intervention that would contribute to creating a new social network to provoke the acceptance process which leads to social reintegration and post-traumatic growth for more resilience. The joint intervention that was created is the literacy centre. The specific objectives of the literacy centre are traditional and adapted. The traditional objectives of the literacy centre are to teach rape survivors, children born from rape and perpetrators who are illiterate to read and write; to expose them to social cohesion values like solidarity, harmony, feelings of belonging, assistance, etc.; and encourage and expose them to change their traumatic narrative toward a post-traumatic growth. These three specific objectives have contributed to increased social capital and human capital values of trainees. The literacy centre has many advantages, such as exposing trainees to a new social network as the centre is not only a space to train survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, but is also open to everyone who needs to get knowledge for the benefits of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape's cohesiveness.

With the contribution of a female community leader, we opened three literacy centres situated in the three village to allow trainees who were coming from far away (walking around 20km) to attend the training easily. The principle lies in the local contribution to achieve specific objectives of the centres. The management of the centres is ensured by fees from other trainees who do not belong to the category of our cohort (survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape). The intervention has its proper module, which content is composed of two aspects, social cohesion values and post-traumatic growth development, provided through seventeen themes.

It has used a transformative learning model for change purpose, in which the content and sharing of experience are capable of changing their beliefs, attitudes and behaviour from negative to positive and motivating them to guide their actions to achieve the aim. We have mixed both individual and collective

interventions. Individually, we started with interviews which led us to focus groups with each group separately. Then, a common focus group for training adults was organised and another for children born from rape. During our intervention, we experienced both successes and challenges. Testimonies from survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, from social cohesion intervention to transform their conflicts, are provided below in terms of evaluation where successes and challenges are expressed.

10.2.4 Evaluation of the interventions in the post-training period

The evaluation of the intervention was mainly done together for rape survivors and children born from rape. After the intervention, the overall issue to evaluate was rape survivors and children born from rape's narrative's variation and how it impacted the rest of the attitudes and behaviour. Survivors recounted their experience of both the healing process and social reintegration into their family as well as their community. The outcomes of the intervention regarding rape perpetrators as mentioned above provide insights on their attitude and behaviour change. Nine months after the intervention was done, they could notice differences between before, during and after the intervention.

10.2.4.1 Post-traumatic growth process

There are factors that contributed to post-traumatic growth of rape survivors which were indispensable to change their narrative and their attitude positively for their own advantages.

“Alone is not an easy process of change. Rather, other people help you better to recover throughout your healing process” ... “Alone you won't be able to contribute to your healing process. At the time that you are even not able to eat. You lose appetite” ... “Friends' advice, female local leaders from the association/organization who come to my home to do the follow up to my healing process in a permanent way, more than psychologists from a clinical centre or hospitals” ... “It's those female leaders who contribute indeed and a lot to our healing process” (RSFGS).

Changing the narrative from negative to positive for a protracted trauma event that affected rape survivors is a huge and long process. They have acknowledged the failure of self-effort in the healing process, lacking inner strength to successfully overcome mental problems. Being caught in a complex issue of rape, the consequences of which are devastating, rape survivors need enormous support from themselves and other people. Apart from themselves, the first category of supporters are friends. Friends have played a great role in assisting and helping rape survivors to overcome their adversity, better than other structures in their living environment. Closeness between rape survivors and their friends, permanent valuable follow-up from friends and female local community leaders, has produced a positive impact sustaining and strengthening survivors' post-traumatic growth. Hence, those two categories of people in the community have proven how useful they are in the process of survivors' post-traumatic growth. There are some other categories which would contribute to their post-traumatic growth, like survivors' families and social structures like churches, due to their traditional function of protection. Unfortunately, protection and support expectations have hardly been received from them.

“Churches as well helped us with tuition, instruction, but churches do not help me so much as they don’t have structures to take care of us as do female community leaders” ... “Families as well help in the case when among family members there are some who are your friends.” ... “It’s your family which bothers you more than other people. The fact of staying together, that proximity is what hurts more. Some will be insulting you, saying things, words that end up hurting you and vexing you. There are even those who do not even want to eat with you” ... “Everyone in the family is happy when you come back home as it’s good to see you back home” ... “Families do not help us very much due to shame involvement. They are submitted to the same feeling of the victim’s shame. The risk is to be stigmatized, both the victim and her family” ... “Therefore, love and support that they could give you vanished suddenly and turn into hate, lack of care, etc. The family becomes victims of your situation as well. Therefore, you turn into an element that bothers the peaceful cohabitation of the family” (RSFGS).

Supports from social structures seemed to be limited, as the assistance is not enough, not consistent or permanent, and not specific to contribute to positively change their narrative. Many survivors are believers who would quickly feel impact in their lives from religious teachings, but the fact that churches’ care is still traditional and not specific to satisfy the needs of these categories like that of protracted? rape survivors, means that churches seemed to hinder spiritual hope and survivors’ benefits. Much more, families which could provide a space where survivors find safety, calm, peace of mind, etc., have turned into a space of psychological violence that survivors hardly find helpful. Being involved in a rape issue, which puts families in the position of indirect victims of rape due to shame experienced, means that instead of supporting survivors, families turn into a space of survivors’ abuse, wishing to get rid of survivors as their proximity disturbs family honour. As they are not able to get rid of survivors, this incapability turns into hate and maltreatment of survivors. Hence, survivors seemed in this regard lacking proper social structures as family assistance is under condition, a destabilized peace, weakening therefore family bonds.

“Relationship with other family members becomes weak as they are the first group to vex you though it should be the place where you get peace and support” ... “If our family could give us their support, take care of us, that would make our healing process faster” ... “The thing that my family used to tell me or insult me is the same insult that other people outside my family repeat to insult me as well” ... “Hence, that weakens me and my relationship to others. Insults humiliate, weaken, reduce the intensity, the level of cohesion” (RSFGS).

The main consequences of lacking family support are the delay in the trauma healing process affecting post-traumatic growth. A vexing family has deteriorated relationships by increasing trauma, marginalization, family abuse transfer from inside to outside the family, and limiting the trauma healing process. In contrast, survivors do acknowledge that family support would speed and increase the trauma healing process, since family is still the primordial support for this, as well as providing improvement in the quality of their relationship.

However, from survivor’s perceptions and their evaluation of the impact of long follow-up on their post-traumatic growth and the improvement of their relationships, some improvement has been felt in survivors’ lives. *“Fear has gone away because we were feeling death permanently. Worries have diminished as we are already in our family” ... “If we can think about death, we do it as a normal*

human being can fear death. Life became a bit normal even if that is not the case as it was before and early after rape” (RSFGS). Some have acknowledged the support from their family. The fact of living among their family members has produced feelings of safety despite family maltreatment. Much more, they feel they are returning to normal life, considering death as normal as other human beings perceive it. The normalization of perceptions of death proves the growth of their healing process. If there are some insights on post-traumatic growth, there are also some on the social reintegration process.

10.2.4.2 Social reintegration process

Socially, survivors have improved their quality of relationship as an impact of their post-traumatic growth. However, the change of attitude depends on the personality type of each survivor, and whether they had a child born from rape or not. Survivors have witnessed their post-traumatic growth advantages in their social acceptance. Many factors have influenced it.

“Even when I meet people who criticize me, I greet them then go away. This happened after one year” ... “After three months, when I pass by where people stay, they could be criticizing me or not, I feel free to pass by and go away without any worry as I don’t care about what people are saying against me” ... “After two months, when I realized that people kept on criticizing me, I would just go away” (RSFGS).

As we noticed from survivors’ narratives, there are some survivors who naturally have overcome trauma syndromes and started feeling comfortable. What shows survivors growth is the fact that they could start greeting other people or approach their abusers without trying to behave as such. They have become proactive and feel free from abusers’ attitudes by making a self-effort to undermine critics. This attitude is a self-decision that survivors made to stop being continually pensive. This natural way of overcoming trauma is possible, depending on each survivors’ personality, and the time needed also depends on each survivor. In this case, most survivors who did not have children out of rape, went from some months up to one year to change their narrative and attitudes. Hence, individually, some survivors have learnt to overcome their trauma toward a healing process.

“I convinced myself to abandon keeping thinking about rape and all those stressful things surrounding it” ... “When I sleep, I convince myself to stop thinking about that situation which makes me worry; then I tell myself, it’s normal that happened to me” ... “I spoke to abusers, because I said to myself, if an animal died no one can prevent to cut a portion. And when I sleep, I pray God to help me get to sleep. And I sleep well. I start most of the time by singing a gospel song which helps me to reduce thoughts and consoles me” ... “After one year and two months, when I realized that thoughts were bothering me and couldn’t stop, I decided be open to other people” ... “There are 8 months that everything is okay. In 14 months since the rape occurred, minus 8 months, it still 6 months that I feel good” ... “I was telling myself that it could happen. It’s just a matter of time. The day people will be willing to stop criticizing me, they will do it and abandon criticism” ... “I’m consoling myself by telling myself that those who passed away lost their lives. At least, I’m still alive” (RSFGS).

At an individual level, many factors have contributed to survivor growth. There is a self-conviction to get rid of embarrassing raving thoughts and to externalize annoyance as soon as a survivor is irritated; most believers use prayer and song, asking for divine assistance to get peace of mind, a great spiritual support initiative; survivors decide to open up to other people, a proactive talk and dialogue approach;

there is normalization of the adversity and its consequences like stigmatism; relying on the time flattening effect; undermining abuses; life sacralization consideration; etc. are all factors that motivated survivors in an individual and reasonable manner to naturally battle to stop being pensive, a factor that weakens and delays the trauma healing process and is a further source of hindering the post-traumatic growth process. The need of trauma burden relief, self-control, and self-empowerment to overcome abuse has put survivors on their path of attitude change which allows them to get self-acceptance.

For some survivors, self-conviction of the issue, positively boosting their change of attitude, has come from their faith. Believers relied on churches' resocialization., *"After one year, church has influenced my healing the process as I was meeting people who were consoling me" ... "If God allowed that to happen to me, as I'm still alive, that's the most important thing. Otherwise, I could die like others"* (RSFGS). Churches' teachings have transformed survivors' narratives. They started considering rape and all its consequences as better than death. Still being alive is worth enough and expresses the goodness of the divine intervention. Instead of complaining, they have justified their sorrows by God willingness which prevents them from blaming themselves as well as others.

Socioeconomic factors have exposed survivors to other people, allowing them to be accepted and normalize their trauma.

"I started selling goods to the market. I went to see a woman in my neighbourhood to borrow money from her for me to start my business. When I started it, I got in touch with people and am still in touch up to the present. I speak to my clients. This activity contributes to diminishing people's criticism against me" ... "After 8 months I started feeling relieved. Currently I feel healed. I braid, plait women's hair and my clients help me a lot to recover. The time I'm doing their hair, we talk so much with them. That helps me to destress and relax ... When I'm with them, we speak about things that make us lough which makes me feel good. Their advice and those of my friends as well make me feel comfortable" ... "If we keep on our training, the one that you instruct us and, on our business, I'm very sure that my life will change because I will be able to provide for my needs and those of my children. If I can go up to Bukavu to buy my goods for business, I will feel good" ... "When I'm able to provide for those needs, people themselves will come closer to me. That will be a way for me to get in touch with people and restore my old relationships" ... "That will make me feel I'm living among other women who will start greeting me" (RSFGS).

Survivors have become proactive, looking for an economic activity that exposes them. Benefits gained from that activity motivate them to keep on doing it. Making abusers change their attitude from criticsers to friends, getting new friends from their business activities, relaxation and entertainment are advantages that survivors gain. The time they spend with their customers, the service that they render to other people, gives them value and makes those people need their assistance. The mutual need-assistance exchange from both sides (survivors-abusers) creates a kind of equilibrium in their relationship, leading to cooperation instead of domination. Thus, post-traumatic growth emerges from knowledge gained during the training on creativity, the application of their decisions made (such as economic initiatives) which contribute to improving their relationships. Rape survivors testified how

useful they have become, feeling that they belong to their community by working on their own social reintegration.

Knowledge, as testified by rape survivors above, has boosted their creativity, and they are becoming proactive working on their own social reintegration.

“Particularly, I say thanks to you (researcher Mauwa) for your teaching because I was pensive and that was bothering my head” ... “I had made bad decisions and I was ready to execute them. After this training, I’ve decided to dump those ideas and move forward. I’ve decided to get, keep good thoughts in my heart and head and allow them to lead me” ... “Personally, I say thanks. Bad thoughts were bothering me, devastating (*ku ni vamiya*) and I wasn’t able to abandon them. But after this training, I feel I’m regaining my self-esteem and confidence” ... “Me, I was ready to go back home to my parents’ place. But after this training, I’ve decided to stay in my marriage. I won’t go back to my parents’ home any longer” (RSFGS).

Knowledge gained during training, throughout the intervention, has opened survivors’ minds. It has changed their attitudes and helped them to make right decisions for their relational improvement as well as for their own narrative change. Acknowledging the influence of knowledge, which contributed to their traumatic burden relief, diverting them from negative and raving thoughts, has transformed their attitude. The transformative knowledge has individually benefited them to gain self-esteem, restoring their closer relationships either inside the family or in their community.

Rape survivors who do not have children from rape have a different experience of their post-traumatic growth when they feel changed positively. It seems to be less lasting than those who have children born from rape. Post-traumatic growth becomes more complex, but not impossible, to those having children born from rape as they have not only to deal with their own acceptance and social reintegration but also that of their children.

10.2.4.3 Specific evaluation with rape survivors having children born from rape

From rape survivors who have children out of rape, post-traumatic growth, as well as social reintegration is a complex issue. “*Re-establishment of the survivor is very difficult and complicated*, (RSFGS)” said some survivors. The complexity of their relationship re-establishment, their post-traumatic growth, is acknowledged by them, making a difference between them and those who do not have children out of rape. The complexity starts from the trauma healing process up to their social reintegration into their family and community.

“As sometimes I feel like I’m healed though it’s not true” ... “When people are criticizing me, it’s at that time that I realize that I’m not yet completely healed. Those criticisms remind me that I’m not yet healed. I feel like I’ve never been healed” ... “Currently, I feel better because I don’t feel that those criticism bother me as it was before” (RSFGS).

Despite their personal efforts to make the trauma healing process work, they still acknowledge their weakness and lack of inner energy to boost the process. Emotional and psychosomatic disturbances keep on reminding them how traumatised they still are.

Knowledge gained during the intervention on their social reintegration, whether from church, community leaders or from researcher training have opened their minds and contributed to their attitude change toward social reintegration. *“Church teaching and other teaching from community leaders contributed to my re-establishment” ... “After 3 years. Church teachings, psychologists counselling” ... “The psychologist teachings, counselling, church teachings help me socially and spiritually to recover”* (RSFGS). For believers, church teachings have impacted their attitude and growth positively as they relied on spiritual support. But apart from spiritual support, social and sociopsychological support have also contributed to rape survivors’ attitude change processes.

“Especially, since I meet you (researcher), because of your teaching, that was for me just like the beginning of my stability. Church teaching as well helped. Before, I couldn’t understand anything about what happened to me. I was lost. I was like in a folded packet alone” ... “My daughter is 15. But, after two years, from female local leaders, my friends’ advice, and since I meet you, that has increased my healing process” ... “It’s only after 17 years that nowadays, 6 months ago, that I feel completely healed because of teachings” ... “I started feeling stable after 4 years. Because of female local leaders and my family. I don’t spend my time thinking about that issue and feeling lost. My heart is stable there are now 6 months after the teaching that you’ve been teaching us” ... “After two years because of the teachings that I have” ... “Two years after church teachings, other teachings from people like you (researcher) and women leaders in the community” ... “It’s after 3 years that I started feeling a bit better. Church teachings’ influence and other teachings like the one that you trained us” ... “From the third year after rape, I start getting okay” ... “After 6 years, female local leaders’ teachings helped me. Nowadays, I feel better. I have peace of mind, especially as I belong to a group of women that I integrated into 6 years ago. There are 3 months since I feel better” ... “After 12 years, I couldn’t feel well. My daughter is 14 years old now. Nowadays, because of the teaching on which I’ve been trained, it helps me so much” ... “After two years. Teachings from women, local community leaders. From their teaching, I feel my head calm down progressively [her daughter is around 13 years old]” (RSFGS).

There are pillars of survivors’ attitude change which boosted their post-traumatic growth, like community leaders, researchers, family, friends and sociopsychological assistants. Those categories have contributed to change rape survivors’ narratives due to their proximity, which has not been affected by rape survivors’ trauma. Knowledge gained during training despite being delayed (after a decade for most survivors), seemed to be a booster triggering their change. However, the most relevant category which contributed the most to their attitude change seems to be the researcher and female community leaders. If the researcher has brought a new perspective that made their mind up to act, boosted energy toward action and change, this has been done for a short period of a year, limited by the length of the research. Female community leaders are the most cited, praised for their work for survivors in the community that has contributed to changing survivors’ attitudes due to the long period and follow-up that they have been doing with them. This long-term follow up seems to be useful for survivors’ post-traumatic growth but what is needed is a new perspective of fitted knowledge using transformative learning toward action, to reinforce the female community leaders’ process as a turning point toward change, to provoke stability, speeding up post-traumatic growth, reinforcing the healing process, and releasing joy and self-acceptance. Their efforts have been maximized, reshaped, and transformed by researcher training, which focussed on various aspects challenging rape survivors to act for their own

social reintegration by coming out of their old habits, which is an approach contrary to the one applied by female community leaders, whose intervention was the assisted approach (instead of a self-assisted approach). In other words, the researcher's approach was from inside toward outside, encouraging rape survivors to work on their issues first before getting outside support in which rape survivors are proactive. This is contrasting with that of female community leaders, which goes from outside to inside, from support to personal in which rape survivors are reactive and passive. Hence, training has been a new energy boosting female community leaders' perception for survivors' change.

There is a case study that shows the relevancy of a mixed approach between long-term female community leaders follow up and the triggered transformative learning from researcher training which boosts post-traumatic growth as well as their social reintegration.

I started feeling a little bit stable after 10 years. Me Shasha¹⁰³, I was very far from life. I couldn't want to see or to be supported by community leaders nor anybody else. I was insulting them when they were coming to sensitize me. Up to the present I keep on crying when I think and remember what happened to me 17 years ago now (my daughter is 16). I don't feel healed yet. This weak, bad marriage as well is not helping me heal, in contrast it reinforces my pain and makes the healing process become slow. Criticism of people in my neighbourhood reinforces it again, especially when my daughter tells me the way she has been discriminated against, it fragilizes me. But as I'm attending the training of this group of Mauwa (trainer and researcher), it helps me. From this training, I made a decision of fighting myself for my healing process and forgetting all those issues that make me cry. I decided to engage myself in a process of change and contribute to my healing process. [she was saying it with much joy, admiration, pleasure and had a smile on her face and lips] (RSFGS).

A 17-year- rape survivor testified to the goodness helpfulness of female community leaders doing a lasting follow up, which did not work completely for her but had an impact on her. This has been boosted by the transformative learning from the training, which stimulated her decision to act for her own growth. From the radical rejection of help due to deep grief and trauma, the survivor, despite female community leaders' assistance, couldn't acknowledge her healing improvement after 16 years. However, training knowledge engaging rape survivors in their responsibility of acting to come out of their negative perceptions toward a positive attitude and constructive change, has triggered change in a short-term intervention of almost one year, despite factors which were weakening her process. This experience has shown the power of being intellectually aware of her current situation to act in a transformative manner. The powerful revelation from training has automatically boosted the self-strong change decision. Furthermore, training sessions had surprising practical results, revealing some previously unknown silenced truth. It revealed the above survivor's lifesaver from the second term of rape after being previously caught and taken to jungle for rape. That was the real motivation of the female community leader's persistence on her follow up, contributing to the rape survivor's healing process.

¹⁰³ The real name has been changed

From my observation during training sessions and from the above survivor testimony she was taken to the jungle for rape, then the second time while militias caught her to take her back to the jungle for rape, she was saved by the king of the village, whose wise intervention to stop militias from taking her to the jungle was relevant and helpful. For the first time, after 17 years, the survivor saw and recognized that the woman, the female community leader in front of her, was the one who fought to ask the king to write a letter to the militias to free her. When she discovered the truth and acknowledged the redeemer's defensive acts, she was shocked. Exchange of experience and story-telling processes during training sessions also made the female community leader reveal her reason for sticking to the follow up of that rape survivor as she narrated: *"I have never given up following up her case to make sure that she is improving her trauma issue as I was the one who battled to stop her second rape, despite the fact that the victim couldn't stop insulting me for trying to help her"* (FCLJn). Community leaders have kept on following rape survivors' healing processes up to their complete healing. From this case, female community leaders seem to be perseverant in following up and supporting survivors' trauma healing process and their social reintegration into their community. The invincible female community leadership remains the great proof of community leaders' successful follow up, which would have positive impact once it is mixed with knowledge that boosts their interventions, which need to be reinforced intellectually to sustain post-traumatic growth and social reintegration of survivors.

The story of Shasha is the great proof of granting female local community leaders a special place in rape survivors follow-up for the protracted mental, social, and relational problems related to rape. This perseverance of 17 years appears to be possible only with local community leaders, especially female ones. Their endurance to see the healing and relationship restoration become real and successful, deserves thinking about a shift in the approach to intervening in cases of protracted mental and social issues related to rape.

Other survivors could testify about the benefits gained from the training in several ways.

I know, I can tell differences between things, what is good and bad. I'm now committed to our literacy centre and I'm the secretary of my group" ... "In my neighbourhood, people have started asking me about the change that has occurred to me. They don't understand, how come the change occurred, they don't understand anything about my change ... They are asking where I could get money or where did I find money to make me feel good, do business since you (researcher) helped us to do business and teach us about how to live.... The more they are asking themselves about my change makes me proud. I feel good and worthy, considered in my neighbourhood. I have self-esteem and confidence. It makes me good, proud (RSFGS).

This is another powerful example of positive attitude change, post-traumatic growth of a survivor who has added value to her life through the literacy centre. The survivor was committed to attending lessons at the literacy centre created for survivors and others. She has learnt to read and write, and she became the leader of her group because she is able to write and read and take notes for their meetings and reports. This position has granted the survivor a leadership position among other women, which created feelings of self-esteem, confidence, self-acceptance, and pride, changing her attitude positively. Much

more, the fact of neighbours who were previously abusers changing their attitude from negative to positive, the fact of them becoming amazed by her change, gives her value in her neighbourhood. This has speeded up her attitude change and affected her mental health, restoring her relationship, and she has gained respect and consideration in her living environment. The spectacular change revealed the transformative learning benefits of the training and the literacy centre, a space of happiness, joy, and post-traumatic growth, where survivors could discover their real and clear picture of themselves.

When I met the survivor for the first time, almost one year ago, she was so sad and timid. She couldn't laugh at all due to the painful rape experience. However, after that follow up, and specially her admission to the literacy centre, the empowerment result made her a blissful woman. Full of self-confidence, she transferred that feeling of happiness around her in her neighbourhood, where everyone can notice the difference in her positive change which has encouraged and boosted others to respect her.

In summary, training sessions as well as the literacy centres' impact have been great and visible, affecting not only rape survivors themselves individually but also relationally: their relatives, as well as other people who previously were some of their abusers. The effect of social cohesion intervention on rape survivors and children born from rape as well as on perpetrators has produced positive results to all those components. The intervention has played a triggering function, boosting social cohesion, transforming attitudes, behaviour and conflict in the families and communities.

10.3 Discussion of social cohesion interventions based on conflict transformation practices: Evaluation and lessons learnt

The intervention aimed to contribute to the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors in their community using conflict transformation as theory and practice under the umbrella of participatory action research methodology. To get the desired outcomes of the intervention, the three main components of the study have been supported by external actors. I highlight successes and challenges of the intervention, and lessons learnt from the inquiry of this research. To conclude this study, I introduce recommendations for further studies endeavouring to restore social cohesion in the context of widespread rape of women in the local community.

10.3.1 Evaluation of social cohesion intervention

10.3.1.1 Intervention characteristics and theoretical models

Characteristics of the intervention that have affected the outcomes are those aspects that such as the nature of the intervention, capacity building activities, and external factors facilitating the process. The nature of the intervention, which is also the goal of the intervention, is the action-oriented attitude change awareness which emphasised the central proactive role which rape survivors, perpetrators and

children born from rape played as main actors. Capacity building activities were based on four main components to get the desired outcomes which are: training, community awareness, family dialogues, and human capital improvement (through education, the literacy centre activity) to contribute to restoring social cohesion with the participation of existing community structures and actors, such as local community organizations leaders, customary law-keepers, and trusted influential men and women of the community who formed the peace-committee of the intervention, to get external contribution as they represent the guarantors of social cohesion in and of the local community.

The theory underlying attitude change awareness-action-oriented intervention is conflict transformation, applying conflict transformation practices limited to individual and relational levels of main actors of the intervention. Given that there is great debate on the indicators of peacebuilding, of which conflict transformation is one of the components, as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2007: 28) states, “‘universal’ indicators may simply not be relevant or useful in a particular context”. Some felt that indicators in this field are often limited to outputs, such as number of meetings, number of trainees, etc., and do not indicate any changes that occur as a result of the activities and do not show any improvement. For this reason, I used mixed models of resorting to conflict transformation practices and social cohesion values. I have used indicators adapted to the practices of conflict transformation, such as levels of conflict transformation theory which are intrapersonal and interpersonal relationship qualities supported by the structural levels, and some indicators of social cohesion values such as trust and support, with the assumption that the ownership of an attitude change process oriented to action determines central actors’ contribution to their acceptance, reintegration and the transformation of the quality of their relationships towards cohesiveness and positive change in their family and community, using attitudinal and behavioural measures (Acket et al. 2011b). In such a way, conflict transformation is therefore a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses (Miall 2004) in which narratives indicate the change and can be understood in terms of post-traumatic growth.

10.3.1.2 Outcomes and challenges of the intervention

The attitude change awareness-action oriented for social cohesion has produced many outcomes related to different activities done throughout the research process from individual interviews, focus groups, training, family dialogue, community awareness up to literacy centre activity. Each group of main actors has been impacted by the intervention throughout the inquiry process, as well as the supportive groups. However, the success of the process has been constrained by some challenges.

10.3.1.2.1 Training effects on learners

Outcomes from training are impacts at the intrapersonal level of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape’s own perception, affecting relational levels. Acknowledging the deep

alteration of their attitudes and behaviours, the gain of knowledge has contributed to challenging main actors (rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape) to work on their own change. This is practical lessons learnt by them. The effectiveness of attitude and behaviour change has been observed in cognitive and perception aspects, boosting their action. From the knowledge gained, and the introspection done, the process started with a series of acknowledgements:

- a. Acknowledge the alteration of attitudes and behaviour seen through negative habits acquired. The discovery of what they had become motivated them to regain their previous state, toward a positive transformation. However, from rape adversity, almost 20% of rape survivors changed their attitudes and behaviour naturally and positively, battling for the improvement of the quality of their lives, and for acceptance and creation of new social networks.

For those who had children born from rape, the acknowledgement is as follows:

- b. Acknowledge being responsible for driving the violent system against them: attitudes like custom-made silence which maintains the perpetuation of their children's murder by their stepfathers, lack of knowledge of their rights, frustration in claiming their rights, a lack of women's solidarity all maintains their own violent system, and some compensate for their rape guilt by precocious or undesired marriage.

From the acknowledgement, they considered attitudes that must contribute to their positive change if the knowledge gained is applied:

- c. Consider attitude change as a duty and mandatory
- d. Use of permanent introspection as a mechanism to keep improving antisocial attitudes and behaviour change
- e. Priority toward change: Forgiveness with or without reciprocity to ease their collaboration and the acceptance of the opponent abusers So as to be freed from remorse against abusers. This has been seen as a mechanism of change to improve their quality of communication, and overcome their relational limits
- f. Ownership of their change (holding responsibility for their change): Proactive and creative, to be accepted and to change, a powerful mechanism toward change
- g. Change of self-perception: This is a starting point toward relational reparation. Improvement of their relationships, restoring old relationships and creating new friendships using some mechanisms of relationship improvement like sharing, to break their isolation, clear up their antisocial behaviours.
- h. Offspring inheritance guarantee: Challenged to invest for their offspring born from rape
- i. Need to stabilize their couple or marriage relationship through financial empowerment
- j. Rape survivors have chosen a mechanism of closeness which is sharing. They have understood that sharing is a powerful tool to connect them to other people and a starting point to break their isolation and clear up their antisocial behaviours.

Hence the implementation of knowledge, values gained from training and decision, and determination to change formed the bedrock that would and has sustained their habit transformation process, either individually or relationally. Among the powerful practical outcomes which occurred during and following the immediate post training period are:

- a. Healing process enhancement: Complete forgiveness of rape perpetrator after 16 years
- b. Reconciliation between rape survivors with female community leader

- c. Creation of new social network initiative: small business as a mechanism that would drive their acceptance and create a new social network, speeding their acceptance and social reintegration as well as being a preparation for their children born from rape's inheritance and breaking isolation and silence to meet people
- d. Change of narrative: able to create and get in touch with a new social network. It has contributed to the self-confidence, esteem, consideration, pride, and creates joy
- e. Pivotal change of thought: Encouraged to focus on a better future instead of the traumatic past; creation of hope, a shift from past to future by preparing from the present
- f. Female community leaders who attended the training, after getting notions of their rights to inherit and matrimonial systems, advocated for the case of their friends, who got divorced without any compensation, to be compensated and ended up winning the case treated at the traditional court in Fendula village.
- g. Rape survivors' comfort: Some could start greeting other people or approaching their abusers without making effort. They have become proactive and feel free from abusers' attitudes by making a self-effort to undermine critics.

The need of trauma burden relief, self-control, and self-empowerment to overcome abuse has put survivors on their path of attitude change which allows them to find self-acceptance.

On the side of perpetrators there have been some positive outcomes as well.

- a. Relation improvement: Sharing to trigger acceptance, to break reconciliation resistance and get forgiveness with reciprocal effect acknowledgement of forgiveness as a power for positive change, by using some astuteness for successful forgiveness like humility, and respect of rape survivors and rape survivors' families.
- b. Willing to take responsibility for the process of change
- c. Perpetrator social reintegration strategy: Involvement to stop child abuse through family campaign for children's equality and family reunification (perpetrator was at the same time a rape offender and stepfather of his wife's child born from rape)

Training also had a positive impact on children born from rape. They gained knowledge that would allow them to protect and defend themselves.

- a. Inheritance rights: Female and male children have the right to inherit from their parents equally
- b. Responsibility to contribute to stopping abuse against them for the sake of their acceptance
- c. Alternative for peace: Keep being obedient to abusers, avoid provoking abusive attitudes from abusers
- d. Alternative to protection: Resorting to divine force for their protection

There were some immediate effects of the training on children and on their relationships with their agemates:

- Reminder of attitude change: To set the change and perpetuate the training legacy, children ended up making a song of hope as a change approach. The objective is to relieve children from pain and maltreatment and connect them to a hopeful better future life
- The song connected them to other children as they could all sing the same song and share its enjoyment.
- The song created raised confidence, trust, and hope in children born from rape as well as feelings of freedom which are the most developed to connect children born from rape to their future
- This is a music therapy to reduce children's stressful lives and increase happiness to contribute to breaking children's isolation

- Restoration and creation of children born from rape's friendship experience: sharing same story of their pain and trauma during training sessions and by thinking in same direction, toward similar solutions, connected them and created friendship between children born from rape. The time they spent together making the game story made them understand that they can suffer from family abuse, but their goal is to focus on their future lives. During the intervention, a play space was provided for them to feel happy and make them understand that they can create their own joy without depending on their agetates
- Discovery of love: This gathering time changed their perspective and self-perception which was negatively affected by the deep and strong abuse. They discovered that they are not only hated but that there are people who appreciate and love them.
- Change of narratives: It is incredible that, for the first time, a child born from rape, after more than ten years, could realise and express that he has found someone showing him love

The training period impacted children's relationships with other agetates as well as with their half-siblings. The aim was to transform other people (abusive or not)'s perception of children born from rape, who have for long time been considered as not valued, to enhance value and consideration toward them.

- a. Love experienced from other children and people like the researcher was transferred to their half-siblings. Instead of transmitting hate and abuse, after training, children were able to transfer love, joy, and admiration to other agetates, as well as to other people as they brought something new to them, like making a song that reflected on their lives
- b. This was a teach-friend mechanism that lies in the knowledge transfer from one child to another.

Other results come from other types of interventions, which are community awareness and family dialogues. The effect of community awareness has been seen at two levels, at the levels of community leaders and stepfathers. Community leaders, comparing this to their routine intervention, have acknowledged the difference in the approach and the knowledge added to theirs.

Leadership improvement:

- a. Capacity building of community leaders needed: There was acknowledgement of the necessity of a new approach of attitude change awareness-action oriented learnt during training to help and keep using the new approach centred on rape survivors and perpetrator ownership of change.
- b. Attitude of trainers to impact change process
- c. Adapted teaching approach to the beliefs of learners (religious, spiritual) to create more impact
- d. Especially, female community leadership remains the great basis of and proof of long-term follow-up needed for rape survivors' and perpetrators' acceptance, but this still needs to be reinforced intellectually to sustain post-traumatic growth and social reintegration of survivors.

Awareness done by community leaders in the peace committee for stepfathers also had an effect on their abusive attitude against children born from rape, even though the process was not completed as planned.

- e. Dissuasive approach to stepfathers: Peace committee had family dialogue with some stepfathers, mobilizing them to protect children born from rape under their responsibility. This was a dissuasive warning to protect children born from rape and contribute to the reduction of their abuse in the family.

The great advantage of this meeting was to activate social control mechanisms warning stepfathers on their abusive attitude against children born from rape.

Family dialogue outcomes

Apart from family dialogue done with stepfathers as result of training in which children demanded to meet their stepfathers for advocating on their issue, other family dialogues were done in the context of perpetrators, for their social reintegration and family support. The following are some outcomes:

- a. Perpetrator attitude change sessions: This was the approach to prepare a perpetrator to be involved to his social reintegration using a gradual plan, a counselling and dialogue technique to prepare him to confront people and break his isolation
- c. Social approach to hold perpetrator accountable: Acknowledging the offense, working on his frustration to be calm and get peace of mind, which was the first successful window toward attitude change
- d. Positive feedback, like attitude appreciation received from people in the community, made a perpetrator start to feel comfortable to stay and live in his environment, encouraging him to break his isolation
- e. First stage toward social reintegration: confront perpetrator isolation. He succeeded in confronting his rape survivors' family to repair their relationship and get forgiveness
- f. Perpetrator confidence gained: The transformative greeting to his rape survivor's family convinced them to accept the perpetrator and grant forgiveness. The achievement of the reconciliation process and repair of their relationships
- g. Perpetrator's family support: The perpetrator felt happy and relieved that his wife agreed to accomplish her duty by supporting her husband throughout his social reintegration process

Literacy centre outcomes

Apart from contributing to enhancing human capital of rape survivors and children born from rape, as they felt proud of themselves knowing how to read and write, the literacy centres produced a supplementary outcome, which is the formation of leadership.

- a. Rape survivor leadership opportunity: From learning reading and writing, she became the leader of her group because she is able to take notes for their meetings and reports. This position has granted the survivor a leadership position among other women, which created feelings of self-esteem, confidence, self-acceptance, and pride, changing her attitude positively
- b. Positive change of attitude toward rape survivor: Confidence gained from becoming a leader has influenced people in her neighbourhood to accept her, as they were amazed by her progress and positive change. This speeded up her attitude change and affected her mental health, restoring her relationship, and she gained respect and consideration in her living environment.

The spectacular, incredible positive change reveals the transformative learning benefits from the training and the literacy centre, a space of happiness, joy, and post-traumatic growth, where survivors could discover a real and clear picture of themselves.

If these activities produced positive change at intrapersonal and interpersonal levels, there were some challenges that restrained and continue to restrain some achievements.

10.3.1.2.2 Challenges of the intervention

There were many challenges that obstructed the acceptance and social cohesion of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, among which the main ones are as follows:

At intrapersonal levels,

- a. They have acknowledged the failure of self-effort in the healing process, missing inner strength to successfully overcome mental problems. Survivors are still assistance seekers
- b. Cultural resistance to change: Cultural violence against women mixed with weak women's self-confidence to overcome and challenge the patriarchal belief socialization (women inferior to men)
- c. Blockage in women's solidarity: Courtesy is not the culture of the women within the local community of Kalonge. A courteous person is seen as a pariah, which blocks the process of uniting women to fight together for their issues, such as protection of children born from rape
- d. Child maltreatment is at the forefront of children's lifestyles and is considered as deserved in their families and community
- e. Children claim: Take back them to their genitors. Yet, this is a complex solution as their genitors are not known individually, but have a common identity as "rebels" or "militias"
- f. Stepfathers' resistance to family dialogue and to stopping child abuse

10.4 Conclusion

Attitude change action-oriented is the intervention that has been applied to the issue of intrapersonal and interpersonal distortion of relationships of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, as main actors of the transformation. The intervention emphasises the proactive approach, based on self-effort of the main actors to change their attitudes to impact the attitudes of other people, instead of a reactive approach, passively waiting for others to positively change their attitude toward main actors.

The intervention aimed to contribute to the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors in their community using conflict transformation as theory and practice, under the umbrella of participatory action research methodology. To get the desired outcomes of the intervention, the four main components of the intervention (which are training, family dialogues, community awareness and human capital improvement through education via the literacy centre activities) were supported by external actors such as community leaders, customary law-keepers, the researcher of the inquiry, and the peace committee of this inquiry. In other words, the intervention has touched several components of the society towards change.

Not only did the outcomes of the intervention produce positive effects, like gain and enhancement of knowledge on attitude change, family reconciliation and forgiveness between perpetrators and rape survivors' families, improvement of relationships, stepfathers turning into community mobilizers to protect and end abuse of child born from rape etc., but the impact went beyond participants' expectations to the extent that it builds hope for leadership's improvement of the quality of their

traditional approaches to addressing the issue of distorted cohesion of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape. Despite challenges that the intervention encountered, this constituted a motivation to address the issue and create more approaches to handling it. Hence, male, and female community leader participants have suggested extending the training, so original and relevant was it to contributing to the cohesiveness of their community.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS OF FURTHER STUDY

11.1 Introduction

The conclusion of this study includes three main components, the conclusion including the recapitulation of aim and objectives of the study, alteration of rape survivors' social cohesion and the holistic design for rape survivors' social cohesion.

11.2 Conclusion

11.2.1 Recapitulation of the aim and objectives of the study

The overall purpose of this study is to explore the way in which social cohesion could be restored by means of conflict transformation in local communities in South-Kivu, after widespread rape of women that occurred between 1996 and 2016. The specific objectives are as follows:

- To explore the issue of rape by analysing its nature, root causes, its extent within and its consequences on social cohesion in local communities in South-Kivu;
- To devise and apply a conflict transformation mechanism to rebuild social cohesion by means of action research in local communities in South-Kivu;
- To draw possible lessons on the restoration of social cohesion after large-scale rape against women and devise a mechanism of social cohesion and reintegration for victims and perpetrators, based on action research outcomes in local communities.
- To evaluate conflict transformation mechanisms developed through the study intended to rebuild social cohesion that were devised and implemented throughout this study.

The overall design coming from the methodology and approaches to restore social cohesion through social re/integration of rape survivors in which children born from rape and rape perpetrators are involved is summarised in the diagram below followed by the summary of the intervention applied.

11.2.2 Alteration of rape survivors' social cohesion and the holistic design of social cohesion

Preceding by the circumstances in which rape survivors have been capture and taken to jungle for rape, the root causes of rape and its effects disrupting social cohesion dimension, the alteration of rape survivors' social cohesion has been presented throughout three phases of their social reintegration which are the earlier, the later and the current stages using dimensions of social cohesion and conflict transformation theory and practices. It has included children born from rape and rape perpetrators involvement throughout rape survivors social reintegration process which influenced in turn theirs as well. From this analysis, a design of rape survivors' social cohesion has been made to explain and understand process, methodology and components of social cohesion devised.

Findings reveal cultural, social, personal, and relational factors that have been obstructing the restoration of social cohesion of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape in the community, including risk factors increasing the alteration of the issue in the pre-rape period, during rape time, and in the post-rape period. The three periods' factors have worsened main actors' social reintegration for their cohesiveness. From the results of the three periods and stages of social reintegration, an intervention has been made to have

a) Pre-rape period

Before rape occurred, patriarchal culture related to the perception of females and customary practices on sexuality socialization had effects on the two following periods (during and after rape) significantly affecting social reintegration of main actors as well as their post-traumatic growth process. Cultural perceptions of men of women and girls has affected and influenced perceptions of females, shaping their own attitudes and behaviour regarding sexuality values questioned due to rape incidence.

- Cultural frivolity norms, banalization of customary practices of sexual violence in the community intensified sexual violence against women
- Female sexuality socialization embedded into restriction-forbiddingness-protection has turned into guilt, moral burdens, and trivialization of sexual morals after rape incidence
- Wrong beliefs producing guilt have created opportunities for men to abuse rape survivors, a factor of trauma aggravation, altering men and women's relationships
- Differentiation in sex value between female (sacred) and male (natural, object of sex arousal satisfaction, tool to achieve an objective) motivated men to rape
- Destruction of female genitals equal to male dominance over female, but for females this is considered as destruction of a tool for holding gender relationships, gender bonds
- Female perception of their genitals considers them as a curse, having a fatal distractive role, destructive of their own life after rape due to the cruel attractive role they played

Cultural norms in the pre-rape period of sexual socialization have been a heavy burden on rape survivors and have increased their traumatic status, disturbed their cultural beliefs about sexuality and altered their relationships. Sexuality socialization differentiation between men and women has affected perceptions of rape survivors during and after rape incidence.

b) During rape incidence

During wartime, since the capture operations of women and girls for rape was cruel, the protective role of most men failed, making them resort to cultural principles in order to justify their own protection, and the abandonment of females.

- Since customary practice is to protect women from danger, armed groups have used women to trap men, giving them a dilemma of protection. If they protected women, they were killed; when they protected themselves, sacrificing women, they were humiliated by the rape of their females

- Cruel acts from armed groups have been done more to husbands than to fathers and other male relatives of women
- Cruel rape series have weakened rape survivors' health mentally, and physically

c) Post rape period

The increase in the number of social group abusers like their family members, agemates, husbands, people in the community etc, and issues that they had to deal with have fragilized rape survivors and their relationships

- At intrapersonal level: Rape survivors had to deal with themselves, their trauma, lack of safety, disfiguration of their identity, misery, guilt, reluctance to socialize, insecurity (psychological, financial) – all obstructing a feeling of belonging
- At interpersonal level: Rape survivors had to deal with social ostracism, social anxiety, family frustrations, blame, isolation, and seeing themselves according to society's negative perception of rape survivors
- For married rape survivors, there was intimate dependence frustration
- Rape survivors' misery has significantly contributed to cause the delay of the trauma healing process and obstructing post-traumatic growth
- For rape survivors having children born from rape, the rejection of their children constituted a psychological, financial, moral, and sociocultural burden which maltreatment delayed the mothers' healing process and the improvement of relationships
- Children born from rape's maltreatment has obstructed their social integration as having a hated identity, which is a social burden for their mothers
- Children born from rape's self-defence led most to resort to criminal mechanisms to lessen the pain, and protect themselves against extreme violence and overwhelming abuses
- For rape survivors living in the same area as their perpetrators, lack of safety and worry about perpetrators' offense recidivism is higher

Regarding perpetrators, in the post-rape period they faced structural challenges which had been considered as rape survivors' burdens, and their own interpersonal and intrapersonal issues in dealing with different opponents

- Lack of holding perpetrators accountable
- Impunity of criminal justice system
- Lack of community structures for perpetrator social reintegration

The consequences of the three periods of rape (pre-rape, during rape and post rape) and the lack of proper social structures for their social reintegration have reinforced and worsened rape survivors' intra- and interpersonal relationships, weakened support and solidarity towards them, fragilized their feeling of belonging, made them reluctant to trust their perpetrator or vulnerable to their presence, and disturbed cultural norms and customary practices. These factors have therefore obstructed the reestablishment of their relationships and the process of mental healing, stretching it up to more than 15 years, especially for those who have children born from rape.

Being the focus of this study, the feeling of belonging experienced by rape survivors has been broken down into four stages. The first stage focused on the underlying causes of rape, the tactics used to capture them from their living environment to jungle for rape, and the entire rape process they underwent from capture to jungle up to their escape. Compared to the traditional view of males serving as the primary defenders, protectors, the function of male protection in times of conflict has generated controversy. Given that feeling of belonging has been used as the primary measure of social cohesion for the social reintegration of rape survivors, this has been broken down into three stages: the earlier, the later, and the current stage.

a) The earlier stage

- Covers the shortest period of their social reintegration stage: two weeks after their return from the jungle
- Actors are limited to relatives, family's members, in-laws, neighbourhoods (direct and indirect victims of rape)
- Safety and support are still concerns for relatives and families
- Latent formation of the disruption of their sense of belonging, accumulating emotional shocks alongside less or limited reactions from rape survivors,
- Subjected to external constraints that impeded their social reintegration process from the start, including external attitudes that were both for and against them;
- Seen in light of cultural standards
- Approach: understand and explain the problem

b) The later stage

- Covers a time span ranging from a few weeks to a year then extended up to more than ten years
- Depicts period of discovering who they are after rape incidence, how society treat and consider them and the way they understand the type of community they are exposed to
- Features a complex cast, configuration of actors involved throughout the stage include previous (not only relatives, family's members, and in-laws) and new actors brought on by the presence of children born from rape disturbing their mothers' rape survivors as well as the large community
- Rape survivors' attitudes were seen, examined, and regarded through the lens of cultural norms and under the prism of the society
- Higher intensity of feeling of belonging disruption period, more manifested, interactive confrontation was at their peak period
- Rape survivors started speaking their opinion and began using their self-defences mechanisms
- Safety and support include both personal and public issues
- Approach: understand and explain the problem

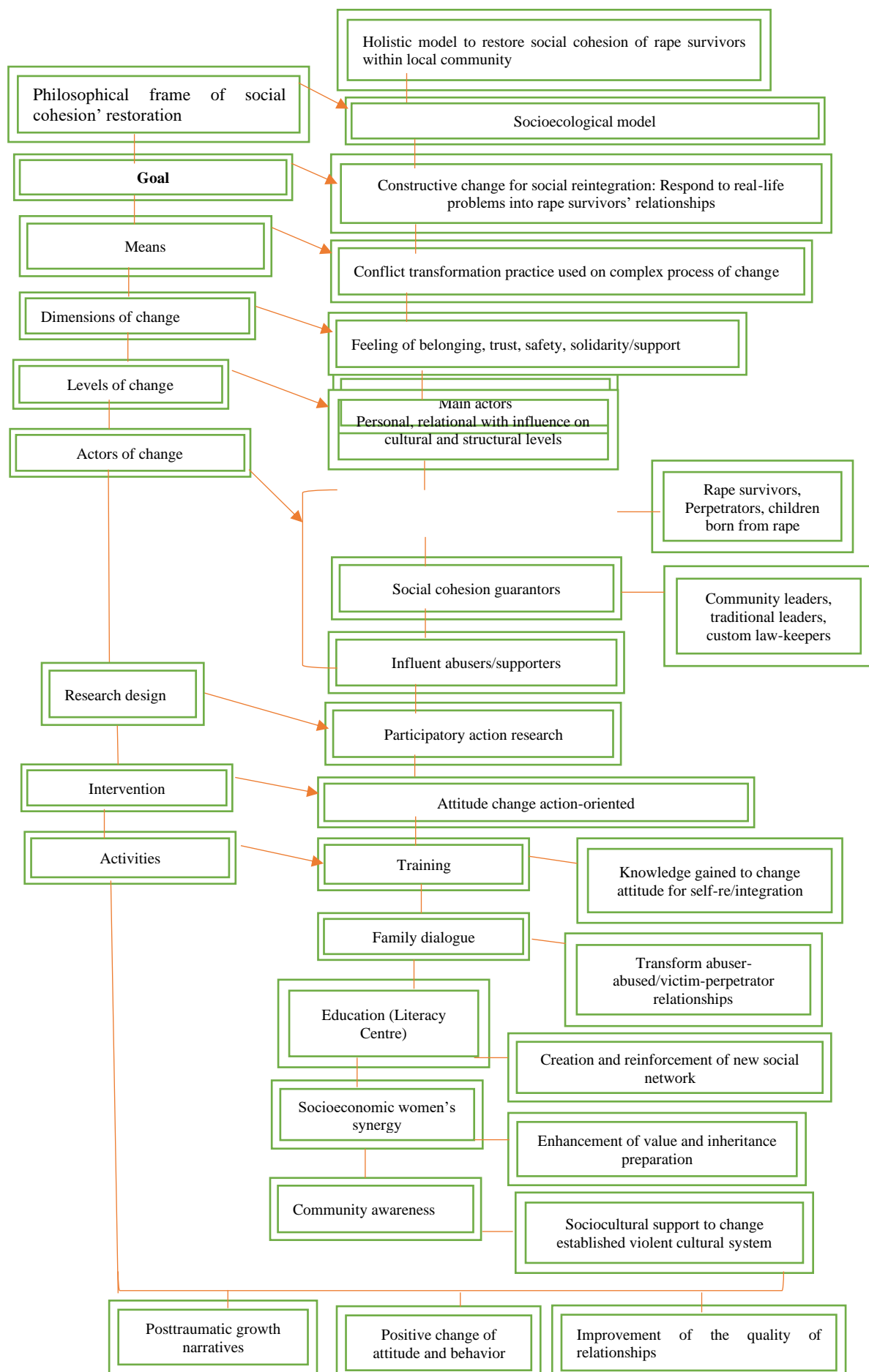
c) The current stage

- Covers the recent period including one year before this study and throughout the study
- Challenged by research interventions for their change, they were capable of composing a beginning point to reflect on their new mechanisms, strategies to handle social reintegration issues
- Self-effort towards social reintegration is activated

- Rape survivors are central, at the core of the acceptance mechanisms
- Proactive engagement to create, initiate activities and maintain positive feeling of belonging and trust
- Applied therapy by responsibility, improve rape survivors' synergic mechanism towards acceptance and cohesion
- Speed up healing process, posttraumatic growth narratives change, and enhance relationships quality
- For those who have children born as result of rape: choice of matrimonial regime is crucial for both their protection and the one of their children. financial independence, investment in their children born from rape's future and their safety are other important considerations
- Approach: solution oriented

Hence, the holistic design displayed is a solution-oriented schema toward social cohesiveness of rape survivors in their living environment as presented below.

Figure 10:1 Holistic design for rape survivors' social cohesion



Source: JK Mauwa's own compilation

The effects of wartime rape on survivors have been devastating. Being multidimensional, they have caused physical, emotional, economic, spiritual, and social damage, with trauma as a persistent characteristic of the effects. The tenacity of the impact affects the entire life of the rape survivors for a long period. Issues of widespread rape of women still have complex root causes, persistent effects, and weak management that have altered social cohesion and obstructed its restoration in South-Kivu, the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DR Congo), especially within the Kalonge community.

The study is a contribution to restoring social cohesion among rape survivors, involving several contributors in the community, including the main actors, who are rape survivors, rape perpetrators, children born from rape, and the guarantors of social cohesion, who are community leaders both traditional, custom law-keepers, and community leaders, as well as other influential supporters and abusers who boost main actors' energy to contribute themselves to their change.

This study utilizes action research in its design, with there being no evidence of a previous study using action research in which women victims, children born out of rape, and offenders are participants in efforts to rebuild social cohesion in local communities after widespread rape in the DR Congo. Thus, methodologically, this offers a new approach to studying the issue of widespread rape in a post-conflict period, in a war-torn society, in order to generate solutions that heal victims from their trauma and restore relationships in the community between direct and indirect victims for the sake of a cohesive community.

Based on the philosophical model of socioecological, theories of conflict transformation and social cohesion were utilized to present and analyse the results on the issues and find solutions. This has led to the development of a holistic model to restore social cohesiveness of rape survivors in the community. In reality, conflict transformation practices have been used as means to change the complex disintegration of rape survivors' cohesion in a positive way. This is in order to achieve the goal of positive transformation for social reintegration, which is the response to the real-life challenges that rape survivors face in their relationships throughout the three stages.

As dimensions of change, I've utilized dimensions of social cohesion and conflict practices including trust, sense of belonging, safety, solidarity, and support as components of social cohesiveness. These have been used to personal and relational levels of conflict transformation with influence on cultural and structural levels. Five axes of intervention were used to crown theories and practices: training, family discourse, education (literacy centre), and community awareness.

In fact, training was useful to transfer knowledge to assist rape survivors, rape perpetrators and children born from rape to change positively their attitude for self-reintegration into their community. Family dialogues have been used to transform abusers-abused relationships (rape survivors and their rape perpetrators, rape survivors and other types of abusers either from their families or neighbours in the community, children born from rape and their abusers). The education through literacy centre has served as a platform for those actors to create and reinforce new social network in their community. Rape survivors' socioeconomic women's synergy is a method for rape survivors to improve their human values and prepare the inheritance of their children born from rape, with satisfaction serving as a means of healing their psychological trauma.

Community awareness has contributed in the changing of an established violent cultural system by providing sociocultural support. Hence, the combination of those interventions to change attitude through the abovementioned activities resulted in three primary outcomes: posttraumatic growth, positive attitude and behaviour modification, and improved relationship quality. Below are details of the whole process of the holistic model of restoring social cohesion of rape survivors in their community.

11.2.3 Mechanisms sustaining social reintegration of rape survivors for their cohesiveness

Findings disclosed that social re/integration mechanisms for rape survivors, as well as perpetrators and children born from rape lie in the acceptance mechanism. Self-acceptance and acceptance from others are the foundation mechanism that allows them to feel a sense of belonging to their community, an indicator of their relational improvement and intrapersonal amelioration expressed through post-traumatic growth. Apart from their own acceptance, children born from rape's acceptance and perpetrators' acceptance constitute the two equilibrium wings of rape survivors' social reintegration, as this has direct impact on their cohesiveness in the community. Nevertheless, the acceptance mechanism has been applied differently from one component to another, specifically regarding social reintegration challenges faced by each.

Some dimensions of social cohesion have been used to assess those challenges, such as a feeling of belonging, trust, and solidarity in terms of support from other people; and structures and individuals like community leaders, customary law-keepers, trustworthy people (men and women) known as guarantors of social cohesion in the community. A feeling of belonging has included rape survivors' self-perceptions, their feelings related to the feedback received from their living area and under the lens of society, their worries and insecurity, their efforts to overcome feeling of belonging challenges through role playing other people's lives, and their commitment. For those who have children born as result of rape, the correlation between their children's maltreatment and the alteration of intra- and interpersonal relationships has been considered also. As well as the feeling of belonging applied to rape survivors and children born from rape, trust has been used to assess relationships between rape survivors

and their perpetrators and between children born from rape and their abusers. This has raised issues of dependency and support, risk and vulnerability, and the affect that produces the image of the abuser to children, the perpetrator to rape survivors and vice-versa. To address the issue of their social reintegration, each component provided some solutions. The result of the outcome of the inquiry opened to the intervention, based on their cohesiveness and the transformation of their relationships toward a change in their living areas, based on attitude change awareness-action oriented, an attempt to restore social cohesion in the community.

The approach used to restore relationships between main actors has been based on conflict transformation practices in which they have resorted to some social interaction values as complementary mechanisms to reinforce their acceptance and post-traumatic growth, identified through positive change of narratives.

11.2.4 Social cohesion's lessons related to conflict transformation of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape for their social re/integration

This inquiry devised lessons for social cohesion as well as those for transforming conflict in the context of rape in which there is existence of positive correlation between social reintegration of perpetrators and rape survivors' safety, and between social integration of children born from rape and their mothers' mental and relational stability in their living environment. As mentioned earlier, the practice of conflict transformation, according to Lederach, rests on five pillars which are: Develop a capacity to see present issues as a window, develop capacity to integrate multiple time frames, develop capacity to pose the energies of conflicts as dilemmas, develop capacity to make complexity a friend, not a foe, and develop capacity to hear and engage the voice of identity (Lederach 2003: 48-60). However, the model of conflict transformation practices for positive change needs to have a basis on which the practices must be built. Hence, the five pillars of conflict transformation practices in the case of this inquiry have been used as basis for social cohesion dimensions. The main dimensions that have been used here are: feeling of belonging, solidarity in terms of support, and trust. In other words, this is conflict transformation practices adapted to social cohesion dimensions to change attitudes and behaviour of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape, who have been altered by the issue of rape in which they are involved, in order to facilitate their social reintegration at two out of the four levels of conflict transformation theory, intrapersonal and interpersonal, supported by the community levels as community leaders and customary law-keepers have been involved as guarantors of social cohesion in the community to support the process.

In this inquiry, the first and second pillar of conflict transformation practice were applied to all the components, but differed from the third to fifth pillars, which were applied to perpetrators and their rape survivors who live in the same area, and children born from rape and their abusers. Referring to the theoretical foundation of this inquiry, this is the issue that is considered as a window, the entrance point

to transform relational issues, whether intrapersonal or interpersonal relationships, of rape survivors which is disturbed by the presence of perpetrators (as they fear rape relapse) and the burden of extreme maltreatment against children born from rape which forms rape survivors' burden, lessening the improvement of the quality of their relationships and obstructing their social reintegration. The complexity of social cohesion involving the three components as main actors and the configuration of each issue, such as the positive correlation between children born from rape's maltreatment and their mothers' mental health healing delay and weakness of their relationships; the correlation between perpetrators' lack of a social reintegration program and the lack of safety of rape survivors in the community; and the burden of rape survivors themselves as the effects of rape alter their mental health and their relationships in the community, which overloads and finally obstructs rape survivors' social cohesion, did not allow me to apply conflict transformation on all the three levels of rape survivors' relationships. Conflict transformation practices have been applied more to relationships between rape survivors and perpetrators, using two dimensions of social cohesion, feelings of belonging and trust; and relationships between children born from rape and their abusers, especially stepfathers.

The second pillar, which demands integration of multiple time frames, involves two actions, creating strategies that include responses in the short-term without being limited by constraints, but also inventing strategies for the long-term emphasising specific needs of all actors involved in the process. The short-term strategic responses of this inquiry, for the sake of cohesion and improvement of intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships of the main components, was based on attitude change awareness-action oriented using three main activities which are knowledge transfer for awareness at intra- and inter personal levels for attitude and behaviour change; family dialogue and community awareness for interpersonal improvement of relationships; and human capacity improvement through three literacy centres that I created in the local community. The long-term strategic response lies in the recommendations provided by both main components and supportive peace committee groups of this inquiry.

Hence, at a personal level, acceptance was the key element that determined other feelings such as a feeling of belonging and created harmony for each of the three components. Rape survivors applied the therapy by the responsibility mechanism, and the strategic social interactions mechanism; children born from rape resorted to many mechanisms such as the friendship mechanism, the self-care mechanism, the self-respect imposition mechanism, and the service render mechanism; the mechanisms used by perpetrators were limited: one resorted to a social advocacy campaign and most of them were supported to achieve their social reintegration and the reestablishment of their relationships. At a relational level, the strategy of communication-dialogues was used to break the silence of children's abuse, expressing their needs and ways of addressing their maltreatment issues, breaking the isolation of children, rape survivors and perpetrators to confront outside people using strategic creativity attitudes initiating the creation of new social networks. For this they have resorted to small business, involving themselves in

community activities such as church activities, families' awareness for children's equal treatment and stopping abusive attitudes against children, leadership by heading small groups of other women, participating to community meetings, etc., which have improved their respect and consideration, and changed negative perceptions of some abusers into positive toward them.

The third pillar was more concerned with perpetrators and their rape survivors living in the same local community of Kalonge. The main dimension of social cohesion applied here was trust. With this concept, the third pillar of conflict transformation practices had to deal with dilemmas and complexity to solve the issue. The third pillar is that of choice of handling at the same time contradictory solutions towards constructive change, the heart of dilemma. The formula is then *how can we address "A" and at the same time build "B"?* and this is at the midst of the transformation. Dilemma and complexity in addressing contradictory solutions of rape survivors and their perpetrators was lay in how to address rape survivors' insecurity due to the presence of perpetrators in their neighbourhood and involved perpetrators to improve their relationships with their rape survivors for them to live in harmony in their community and at the same time rape offence recidivism. That was the transformation needed for both. To handle the issue successfully, I used three strategic mechanisms which are: attitude change awareness-action oriented to socially hold perpetrators accountable, mobilizing their will to participate in rape survivors' safety process, and improving their acceptance quality in their neighbourhood; individual and family dialogues to support both rape survivors as well as perpetrators, boosting their confidence to handle their process of social reintegration; and social control groups, which is a dissuasive mechanism to protect both rape survivors and perpetrators to prevent the relapse of rape, without hurting themselves and others. The dissuasive mechanism has contributed significantly to reinforcing social control, and maintaining perpetrators' individual, relational, social, and mental health progress, and provides an opportunity to clear perpetrators' wrongdoing, break frustration and encourage perpetrator commitment to his promises. This has also restrained rape survivors' sexual provocation toward perpetrators to prevent rape relapse. As such, to transform the issue of relationships between rape survivors and perpetrators, both components and their supporters finally ended the management of the issue as friends, since after gaining knowledge of the relevance of the outcome of the transformation, they were convinced, and willing to engage through constructive change. This is the fourth pillar based on the matter of strategic position vis-à-vis the problem, where both sides had to positivize the issue by accepting it as solvable. At this level I had to accept the process as it happened, not holding rigidly to my initial plan to transform their issue, but flexible to follow the trend of the solution, based on knowledge and theory of conflict transformation as well as referring to the predispositions of each component, either central actors or supportive groups' suggestions.

Positive narrative change of perpetrators, rape survivors and those of supportive groups have been identified as the fifth pillar of the process. Satisfaction at the process from all sides, based on the change of individual perception and identity regarding the rape issue, the way fear and hope have been managed

by rape survivors of both types (radical and tolerant), who received satisfaction at their position of feeling safe, and the transformation observed in perpetrators, breaking isolation, and engaging in a process of improving the quality of relationships, have contributed to rape survivors' post-traumatic growth.

Peace committees composed of local community leaders, both men and women, customary law-keepers, and other influential trustworthy people of the community were involved throughout the process as they also needed to be empowered and gain knowledge and skills to contribute successfully to the process of social cohesion of the main components that had effects on the cohesiveness of the rest of the community.

Limits of the process on the awareness seemed to be the failure to engage stepfathers who throughout the process had been taken as a warning tool to understand the sensitivity of the issue and for further action and research. Stepfathers should gain knowledge and skills for transforming their relationships with the children of their wives to stop abuse for the success of the process. As Miall (2004) asserts:

The impact of endeavours for conflict transformation should not only be seen as an issue which affects the parties in conflict. It is also of direct relevance for all the individuals involved. The challenges, difficulties, hardships, setbacks and tenacity inherent in all conflict transformation mean that we must also 'transform the transformers. We must include this group as we focus on activities designed to enhance peace education, to improve training programmes and to create opportunities for self-reflection and spirituality (Miall 2004:17).

Supportive groups gained knowledge on conflict transformation related to the issue of sexual violence altering social cohesion in the community, and skills that have boosted their desire to continue the implementation of such intervention and knowledge for further cases of social cohesion restoration. The diagram below is the design of social cohesion of rape survivors in their community based on the outcome of this study. This model encapsulates relevant stages and content for the expected community cohesiveness outcome.

11.3 Recommendations and areas for further study

11.3.1 Recommendations

a. At local community level

Factors obstructing main components (rape survivors, children born from rape and perpetrators) locally are numerous, but I will focus on the main ones which are their capacity building, community leaders and traditional customary law-keeper issues, and women's solidarity synergy including individual, sociocultural, and human rights aspects.

In fact, capacity building of main components is central to their attitude change towards social reintegration. Focusing on the centrality of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape's

efforts and knowledge gained to overcome intrapersonal and interpersonal challenges that obstruct their cohesiveness should be the most relevant target. This is because their creativity to invent and implement strategies that value them changes people's perceptions naturally and positively, anticipating the change in their environment instead of forcing it and waiting for other people in their environment to change their attitude towards them. Hence, they must work first for their acceptance, and being proactive should be emphasized instead of remaining passive to see change happen. Their efforts should be reinforced then by the support of local community leaders.

Given that local community leaders are social groups and structure, are components of Civil Society Organization that have an unlimited mandate, are permanent in the community and have proven how the long-term follow up has produced positive effects on rape survivors' support, they should be trained to gain knowledge on strategies to help rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape to overcome social reintegration challenges, and avoid stretched mental problems in order to be accepted in their families and neighbourhood. Community leaders' have a responsibility to mobilize men towards attitude change as they are in a patriarchal community and because men are the first factor of violence in the family of children born from rape, and orphan abuse is still relevant and needs external support.

The level of solidarity among women is very low: scarce, almost non-existent. Women should be empowered through knowledge gained, and encouraged to work together to defend their rights, value themselves, protect their children born from rape through advocacy against murder of children born, and the use of a fitting matrimonial regime to benefit their children born from rape. A fitting matrimonial regime, like the separation of property regime (with the possibility of joint acquisitions), will contribute to their financial autonomy and independence.

At the sociocultural level, two of the most relevant mechanisms that should be applied to nurture and protect children born from rape are resocialization and the bilateral kinship system.

- Community resocialization on the integration of children born from rape should use an adapted social covenant which has equal power to the blood covenant to influence the attitudes and behaviour of people in the Kalonge community. This is to prevent both tiers, the people in the community and children born from rape, from using violence as an approach to managing the extreme abuse of children, as the covenant will allow them to function under the same principle of "do no harm" to each other. The social covenant should be set as an entire system to achieve this goal for the cohesiveness of the community.
- Based on the customary system, in a society where the number of children born from rape is very large and the cycle of violence is maintained, the bilateral kinship system is useful, where descents from both the male and female sides have rights to equal esteem in each lineage since the right of inclusion by blood reflects the mother's lineage as well. This flexibility would significantly encourage inclusivity, mutual protection, cohesiveness, unity, togetherness, harmony, and the building of peace in the community.

Polymaker: At the human rights level, the creation and promotion of new rights that protect specific children in a post-conflict society, such as children born from rape, adapted to the context of each society, should be guaranteed to avoid the situation of children being disenfranchised by their

communities and include, for instance, laws which should guarantee the protection of the bilateral kinship system for an inclusive society.

b. At national level

Two major aspects should be considered: a criminal justice impunity system, and creation of social structures for perpetrators' social reintegration and e to raise the voice of children.

The Congolese government, through its structures like criminal justice, should reinforce the system to stop impunity to allow a fair trial of rape perpetrators which will value survivors, grant them human capital and stabilize the healing of trauma process. The criminal justice system should also serve as a dissuasive approach to prevent children born from rape's murder by abusers like some stepfathers.

The creation of social reintegration structures for the care of perpetrators will contribute to reducing and preventing sex offense recidivism; reinforce Civil Society Organizations capability related to the transformation of conflict practices related to issues of rape survivors, children born from rape and perpetrators; and create social integration structures for children, where they would feel free to raise their voices combatting their discrimination and any form of abuse against them, find space to play for their human development and contribute to preventing the recurrence of criminality for the safety of the community.

c. At international level

International NGOs should review the period of their interventions in order take a long-term approach and/or review the content of their interventions either in the long term or short term.

- Policy makers should review international NGO strategy for emergency interventions in order to empower communities for the ownership of the interventions. Distinctions about types of issues such as sensitive and non-sensitive issues should be considered during the planning and implementation of the projects to address sensitive issues. Hence, International NGOs should hand over the process to community leadership. In their after projects, communities should be able to resume the activities of social reintegration of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape. Capacity building of community leaders by International NGOs should be planned to achieve this goal to allow monitoring of social reintegration, mental healing and post-traumatic growth processes of rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from rape in a long-term approach.
- International NGO policy makers should adopt the proactivity approach, focussing on the effort and creativity of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape in being accepted socially and reintegrating into their community, supported by social structures of social reintegration, instead of assisting, limiting them to the emergent approach
- Policy makers should develop specific rights to protect children born from rape in wartime in post-conflict society

Recommendations should be made conjointly at a certain level for the efficiency of the intervention and the expected positive outcomes, at the judicial level, for instance.

- Government, international organizations, and the local community should collaborate for the successful implementation of the criminal justice system, whether in the case of rape survivors' restorative justice, or perpetrators' accountability in cases of both perpetrators rape of women and that of abuse of children born from rape.
- The implementation of social reintegration centres for perpetrators and children born from rape should be done, supported by community local leaders, government, and international organisations.
- Advocacy should start from local community effort up to the level of international organisations, including the Congolese government. Advocacy to mobilize local, national, and international organizations to obtain adequate responses from the government for the protection of the abovementioned legislative measures, necessary to concomitantly protect children and significantly reduce the maintenance of the culture of systemic violence, is necessary.
- Capacity building of local leaderships at the grassroots level to ensure the implementation of their intervention should also be conjointly done.

11.3.2 Areas for further study

As a longitudinal study, this inquiry has encountered two major limits, methodological and theoretical. The empirical study of social cohesion related to rape survivors as a sensitive study using participatory action research needed long-term study to cover the entire process from plan, action, observation, reflection on the first round to the second round which started with a revised plan, act, observe and reflect sequence. However, the limited time frame allocated to the study could not be revised. Methodological limits constrained the inquiry to be framed by careful circumscription of theory, approach orientations and type of social cohesion to be applied. The theory of social cohesion has been limited to sociological and psychological approaches in which the psychological approach was not developed enough, as it must apply post-traumatic growth during the reflection stage. Regarding the type of social cohesion, I have resorted to, community type has been used as circumscribed, but findings have shown a connection between the two remaining types, economic and political, to better restore social cohesion of the main components.

Theoretical, empirical, and methodological limits of this inquiry have opened a way for further study to complete the process and obtain more results from the restoration of rape survivors' social cohesion in the community. Hence, post-traumatic growth of rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape for their social reintegration resulting from the intervention to improve the quality of their cohesiveness is the first area of further study; the second is cultural norms and customary practices avoiding and rejecting children born from rape from foreign genitors and their cruel relationships with their stepfathers and men in the community, which solutions remain in suspense; and the third is the area of restoring social cohesion of those three main components which are the economic empowerment and political types of social cohesion.

Suggestions for a successful integration and re-establishment of their relationships may be explored later for further processing and research.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RESPONDENTS CODE

INTERVIEWS (I)					
N°	Pseudonym	Categories	date	Place	Code
		Rape survivors (RS)			
	Rape survivors having children born from rape				
1	Katundu	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID1) (RSIJ1) (RSIF1)
2	Larawe	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID2) (RSIJ2) (RSIF2)
3	Mani	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID3) (RSIJ3) (RSIF3)
4	Kosi	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID4) (RSIJ4) (RSIF4)
5	Zungu	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID5) (RSIJ5) (RSIF5)
6	Sifa	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID6) (RSIJ6) (RSIF6)
7	Poa	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID7) (RSIJ7) (RSIF7)
8	Zezu	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID8) (RSIJ8) (RSIF8)
9	Raha	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID9) (RSIJ9) (RSIF9)
10	Paola	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID10) (RSIJ10) (RSIF10)
11	Ngingi	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID11) (RSIJ11) (RSIF11)
12	Tabi	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID12) (RSIJ12) (RSIF12)
13	Tata	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID13) (RSIJ13) (RSIF13)
14	Mima	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID14) (RSIJ14) (RSIF14)
15	Sija	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID15) (RSIJ15) (RSIF15)
16	Lolo	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID16) (RSIJ16) (RSIF16)
17	Matu	RS	December 2018 (D)	Kalonge	(RSID17)

			January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)		(RSIJ17) (RSIF17)
18	Abuna	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID18) (RSIJ18) (RSIF18)
19	Komala	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID19) (RSIJ19) (RSIF19)
20	Amanda	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID20) (RSIJ20) (RSIF20)
21	Ana	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID21) (RSIJ21) (RSIF21)
Rape survivors without children born from rape					
22	Beya	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID22) (RSIJ22) (RSIF22)
23	Dikuta	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID23) (RSIJ23) (RSIF23)
24	Sita	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID24) (RSIJ24) (RSIF24)
25	Raha	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID25) (RSIJ25) (RSIF25)
26	Louise	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID26) (RSIJ26) (RSIF26)
27	Kato	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID27) (RSIJ27) (RSIF27)
28	Wena	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID28) (RSIJ28) (RSIF28)
29	Subira	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID29) (RSIJ29) (RSIF29)
30	Yoyo	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID30) (RSIJ30) (RSIF30)
31	Tina	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID31) (RSIJ31) (RSIF31)
32	Apo	RS	December 2018 (D) January 2019 (J) February 2019 (F)	Kalonge	(RSID32) (RSIJ32) (RSIF32)
		Perpetrators (P)			
1	Tanga	P	March 2019	Kalonge	(PIM1)
2	Mubalama	P	March 2019	Kalonge	(PIM2)
3	Koko	P	March 2019	Kalonge	(PIM3)
4	Mazuki	P	March 2019	Kalonge	(PIM4)
5	Kakayo	P	March 2019	Kalonge	(PIM5)
		Children born from rape (Ch)			
1	Alberta	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM1)
2	Ngumbi	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM2)
3	Kamango	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM3)
4	Sifa	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM4)
5	Mwanza	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM5)
6	Sakina	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM6)

7	Bebe	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM7)
8	Mina	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM8)
9	Wazo	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM9)
10	Napenda	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM10)
11	Ngangi	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM11)
12	Bisha	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM12)
13	Palala	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM13)
14	Mwema	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM14)
15	Nina	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM15)
16	Mapya	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM16)
17	Kaza	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM17)
18	Nionze	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM18)
19	Pepelepe	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM19)
20	Mazingo	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM20)
21	Bale	Ch	March 2019	Kalonge	(ChIM21)
FOCUS GROUPS (FG)					
	-	Rape survivors (RS)	June 2019 (Jn)	Kalonge	(RSFGJn)
		Rape survivors (RS)	June 2019 (Jl)	Kalonge	(RSFGJl)
		Rape survivors (RS)	September 2019 (S)	Kalonge	(RSFGS)
		Rape survivors (RS)	June 2019 (M)	Kalonge	(RSFGM)
	-	Perpetrators (P)	July 2019 (Jl)	Kalonge	(PFGJl)
		Perpetrators (P)	July 2019 (Jn)	Kalonge	(PFGJn)
		Children born from rape (Ch)	August 2019 (A)	Kalonge	(ChFGA)
		Community leaders (CL)	September 2019 (S) December 2019	Kalonge	(CLFGS) (CLFGD)
		Female community leaders	June 2019	Kalonge	(FCLJn)
INTERVENTION (IT)					
		Rape survivors (RS)	April-October 2019	Kalonge	
		Perpetrators (P)	June 2019	Kalonge	
		Children born from rape (Ch)	June	Kalonge	
		Community leaders (CL)		Kalonge	
		Social Worker (SW)	June (Jn) 2019	Kalonge	(SWJn)
		Social Worker (SW) & Perpetrator (P)	June (Jn) 2019	Kalonge	(SW & P, Jn)
		Social Worker (SW) & Victims' family (VF)	June (Jn) 2019	Kalonge	(SW & VF, Jn)

APPENDIX B: AWARENESS TRAINING MODULE ON RAPE SURVIVORS' SOCIAL COHESION AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION PRACTICES¹⁰⁴

The module on social cohesion and conflict transformation practices focuses on changing the attitudes of rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from rape by transforming individuals on personal and relational levels. The goal is of putting central actors in the midst of their own transformation. The strategy is proactive and focused on the individual. This is to encourage them (rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from rape) to work on their own social reintegration and healing trauma processes before seeking external support to speed up the process toward change. Hence, the change must be viewed in terms of individual posttraumatic growth and improved relational quality of social interactions.

The module was adapted from the seventeen training themes taken from the literacy centre inspired by CABTAL (2011) manual, which are family, man, woman, right, constitution, prison, rape, inheritance, religion, money, laziness, power, orphan, diet, coach, habit, and courtesy/kindness, summarizing issues that rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from face in their daily lives and inspired by manual. The module's material is divided into three sections: an introduction, an awareness component, and a daily lesson.

The awareness is a collaborative experience with directed questions and responses. The presentation of the awareness content, the interactive session, the lessons to memorize from the awareness, and the lessons to draw from the audience utilize participatory methods. This will assist trainees in being aware of fundamental information that will assist them in transforming conflict on an individual and relational level, as well as contributing to the reinforcement of social change solutions through solution-focused activities. Instead of focusing on problem solving (Grant 2011; Northern California Training Academy 2012), the facilitator will encourage learners to reflect¹⁰⁵ on their experiences and performance and to

¹⁰⁴ This module was made by the researcher of this thesis Josephine Kimanu Mauwa in 2018 as tool of the training for the intervention

¹⁰⁵ Example of reflecting on the experience: A transformational approach: learning from reflection and practical experience Edison is a trainee plumber, a refugee from Somalia, on a vocational course in a college in South London. He has been doing well on his course and in his work placement with a large construction firm. However, his attendance has recently fallen off as he has experienced bullying at work. Edison lives in a mainly white working-class area and some of the local young men at work have mocked him for his quiet, deferential way of speaking. Edison's coach, Mr Daniels, notices that his attendance is falling off and talks to him about this. Gradually, over a series of meetings, Edison explains he is deeply hurt by the bullying and thinking of giving up the course and work placement. Edison thinks it is his fault he is so shy and quiet. Mr Daniels works with Edison over some months to get him to reflect on why it is not his fault he is being bullied and help him improve his speaking skills and confidence in English. Mr Daniels also approaches the construction firm to report the bullying. The local bullies are confronted, instructed to apologise, help Edison and involve him in plumbing jobs. Edison's life is transformed in this process. He is happy to forgive the local trainees. Slowly he learns to be more confident and relaxed in speaking, both in the class and workplace. By the end of the coaching process, Edison is happily attending regularly again, joining in actively with debates and achieving good results in his work.

lead their own learning process. The facilitator coach has assisted coaches in exploring ambivalence and motivating for change (Beasley 2012).

THEME I: HABIT

1. Aim

The goal of this awareness lesson is to help rape survivors, perpetrators and children born from rape break old and bad habits and form new ones as a result of traumatic occurrences. It teaches the significance of habits, both good and harmful, as well as their effects on mental self-development, to become aware of one's identity and decide to make constructive changes.

2. Notion of habit

Habit is a broad concept that encompasses a wide range of topics. It's a pattern of behaviour that a person engages in on a regular basis, whether consciously or unconsciously. Habit is present in different activities, areas, cultures, and levels from individual to group in our daily lives. There are several factors that contribute to habit formation, including the need to follow certain life principles, which can lead to either good or bad behaviour; the environment and context in which the person lives; and the consequences of any crisis or event that has become a fact in the individual's mind. These are the factors that influence a person's behaviour, either negatively or positively, leading to addiction.

Habit is an action that adopts the shape of the items it contains, driven consciously or unconsciously by powerful instruments such as socialisation, culture, and belief. That is why, when I speak of habits, I will adjust them to cultural, psychological, and gender preferences. Good and new habits must be established out of people's long-term psychological crises in the setting of stressed, traumatized, and posttraumatic growth (adult or child). The goal of assisting them to practice good habits is to help them in the process of change and prevent them from experiencing continuous crises.

3. Interactive session

- What are your habits or routine of your daily life?
- What causes that bad habit?
- What could be an event that has affected your behaviour?
- What kinds of behaviour does it leave in your life?
- What makes you stick on bad habit? To be honest with yourself, are there any belief or reasons that are behind your bad habit?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator must direct the discussion and argument toward three sources of habit, culture, belief, and socialization. Trainers should pay attention to trainees' perceptions and guide them toward a positive outlook, perception. Then, as an example and model to follow, give a presentation on the

behaviours of efficient people. Finally, instruct the audience to do it every day until it becomes second nature.

5. Resume and presentation on the habits of efficient people

There are some habits of efficient people that produce positive feeling.

1. Be proactive

By using their minds to act, proactive people build behaviour that anticipates events and situations. Their activism stems from a need to realize and materialize their beliefs, not from a desire to do so. Remember that your current existence is the culmination of your behaviours. As a result, there are some guidelines to follow in order to be proactive: focus your efforts on what you can control, never stop at the first hurdle, and conquer challenges. Applying those criteria will assist you in overcoming any obstacles you may encounter during the process of obtaining your goals.

The more you contemplate and materialize your ideas, the more realistic you become, the more you establish mechanisms for overcoming challenges, and the more motivated you are to succeed. Thus, the wait-and-see policy, dependence, and reliance on others are the polar opposites of proactive people. That kind of behaviour isn't going to help you grow. Finally, the sum of your habits will reflect your personality, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours. Being proactive is the key to your personal transformation, which in turn helps to accelerate the collective transformation (Clear 2013).

- Role of facilitator: Interactive session

- a. Work together with the audience and ask each person to identify up to which extent s/he wants to reach.
- b. Transform that list of wishes to decisions to fulfil them
- c. Try together to find activities that will help them to create new habits

2. Know from the very beginning your direction, up to which extent you would like to get

Your life's long-term goal and personal mission should be defined. This method tries to transform people's lives for the better. Identification of the dream and objective is the first step. Your dream is the link between you and the long-term goal you want to achieve. Keep in mind that your habits are a reflection of who you are. Your actions mirror your personality. To make change easier and stick to your objective, employ the "identity-based habits" technique. You're attempting to establish a new identity with your new habit. To make it work, you must first convince yourself that you can achieve where you want to go, then reward yourself (congratulate yourself as much as possible to encourage your new habit to continue). Change will occur when you first decide on the type of person you want to be and begin to believe new things about yourself (Clear 2013).

- Role of facilitator: Interactive session

- a. Identify a type of person you want to be
- b. Set the small win or first step to achieve regularly

- c. Plan the way of applying that small and first step, decide to apply it day by day.

It's far better to prove your identity to yourself than to others, and it's a terrific point to start. Create a habit now to help you become the person you want to be later. Focus on your identity rather than the outcome since it is your identity that will propel you forward to the outcome. If you want to make a change, prove your new identity to yourself.

Set up strategies to help you plan your transition, strategies. Keep the following things in mind: "Build your individuality by starting small." No worries about the outcome," but make it so simple that you won't be able to refuse. Identity-based habits keep you focused on the correct things and starting small allows you to take modest steps toward establishing your identity.

A framework through which you view your aim is identity-based. You gain confidence by mastering the new habit and without worrying about the outcome. These are the rules that will assist you in making changes in your own life. A framework through which you view your aim is identity-based. You gain confidence by mastering the new habit and without worrying about the outcome. These are the rules that will assist you in making changes in your own life.

3. Prioritize important things

Develop your capacity to joining plan to act. Learn how to manage time and stress to equilibrate your personal life.

4. Think towards win-win approach

While dealing with conflict issue, try to negotiate advantageous solutions to solve conflict by creating a trustable environment.

5. Search to understand before being understood

Listen with the goal of comprehending rather than replying. Striving to comprehend necessitates kindness, whereas trying to be understood necessitates bravery. Both are necessary for resolving daily conflict in small groups or between individuals in the family.

- Interactive session:

- a. Identify kinds of conflict you are going through?
- b. Who do you think triggered that conflict?
- c. Do you identify yourself as source of that conflict?
- d. What do you think about the way of getting to the solution? Set your starting point of resolving it.

Remember that you should set your own role and start acting instead of asking other to do what they should do.

6. Practice synergy

Work in group to benefit from other energy. There are many advantages of working in group. In group you will learn from other experience; you will avoid mistakes that other have done before; you should accept ideas that are different to yours so that they may challenge your perception and contribute to your change.

7. Sharpen your faculties

Keep on your personal development and work to achieve your objectives. Take care of yourself in these five dimensions: physical, mental, spiritual, affective, and social (Centre Franco-Ontario de Resource en Alphabétisation 2013) and use current habit as a reminder for your new one.

Lessons from the audience (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME II: INHERITANCE

1. Aim

The aim of this session is to make the audience aware of inheritance's law. This awareness is to prevent conflict that would occur in families because of the lack of information on that issue. Especially for children born out of rape, they must be informed on their rights. For women, this will awake your conscious and for men, the awareness will help you to know what exactly you should do to your children and wife.

The purpose of this presentation is to educate the audience on inheritance laws. This knowledge is intended to reduce family conflict caused by a lack of information on the subject. Children born as a result of rape, in particular, must be educated about their rights. This will awaken your conscious. And for men, it will assist you realize what you should do with your children and wife.

PS: The notion of inheritance is here developed in relation to Congolese Legislation.

2. Notion of inheritance

Because of the patrimonial function it fulfils, family is a tremendous and ideal venue for inheritance. Within the family, children and wives have the right to be protected by the father and husband. That protection extends to many aspects of life, including human, social, economic, and cultural ones. As a result, inheritance becomes one of the sources of the legislatively enhanced protections. Children and women are protected from inheriting under Congolese law.

In Congolese legislation, father's inheritance benefits to everyone in the family from children to wife, up to the family members. However, the share of each category differs regarding relationship that links each and every one to the deceased. There are five categories of heirs and assigns. Before any kind of sharing, the withdrawal of the partner proportion is imperative regarding the matrimonial regime of couple. Then, the sharing can be processed. Apart from the partner proportion, the first category of

beneficiary is children (legal or not, legitimate, or no), following by widowers and widows, and other members of the family.

- a. First category of heirs and assigns: children get three quarter ($\frac{3}{4}$) of the inheritance. The sharing between children must be done in equal proportion whether they are legitimate or not, and adopted children, but all those categories of children must be acknowledged as such at the time that the deceased was alive.
- b. Second category of heirs and assigns: this category is compounded by widow and widower, father and mother, brothers, and sisters of the deceased. The proportion is not equal to all these categories.
 1. There is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the inheritance if the deceased had children which will be shared. Hence, widow and widower will get $\frac{1}{12}$ of the inheritance; father and mother will get $\frac{1}{12}$ as well as sisters and brothers. If there are two groups only, they will each get $\frac{1}{8}$. If there is one group only, he will get $\frac{1}{8}$ and other proportion will go back to children inheritance.
 2. If he did not have children, other categories will get all his inheritance.
- c. Third category of heirs and heiress: aunty and uncles of the deceased. Those categories will get inheritance only when the second and the first categories of heiress and assigns do not exist. Therefore, they will get it in equal proportion.
- d. Fourth category of heirs and heiress: any closer parents of the decease can benefit from his inheritance if all the above categories do not exist.
- e. Fifth category: if even those closer parents do not exist, the inheritance will be cessed to State temporary for one year (Joseph- Robert *et al.* 2017).

The Congolese Legislation, the statutory law on inheritance has done its duty of establishing the law to prevent conflict, discrimination against women and protect widows and orphan children from being discriminated against the rights of property of their husbands and fathers. In concrete, experience and local practice has shown that children and wives who are the first categories of heiress still the first victims of their rights. Other categories use to prevent them from getting their property inheritance. Unfortunately, there is no guaranty from the legislation to safeguard their property despite the involvement of government and non-government organisations. This causes the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Cooper 2010), conflict in the family which may produce other effects like lack of solidarity, lack of feeling of belonging to the family, hatred, street children, etc.

3. Interactive session
 - a. What is the reality of inheritance in this community?
 - b. What are the challenges that you have been facing?
 - c. How do you think to prevent those challenges?
 - d. What is the only thing that you should start by to prepare yourself to the inheritance issue?
4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator must lead this moment for the audience to understand the lesson in the context of local community. Let them aware on the risks they might fail, so that they may start thinking on their future to prevent the worse. Living under that position may help to prevent further conflict and trauma. Because of the consideration that families and community have portrayed children born from rape, women having children born from rape should guess a particular way of preparing their children on the

inheritance challenge that they may face and the way of diverting it. The decision taken here must be concrete with a starting point of change. They must leave the class with an idea of starting to do something concrete right now.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Every person has right to inherit from the deceased richness
- Women and children are protected by the Congolese Legislation, rights to inherit
- Children born from rape for example has right to inherit if the deceased has acknowledged her/him like his child while was alive

b. Lessons from the audience (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME III: CONSTITUTION

1. Aim

The aim of this lesson is to inform rape survivors, children born from rape, and perpetrators on their rights and duty regarding human rights and fundamental liberties.

2. Notion on the constitution

Constitution refers to the Law of a State. Is it a written document which forms the set of political principles by which a state or organization is governed, especially in relation to the rights of the people it governs. The Congolese Constitution sets Laws that advocate rights of its population. It is founded on the noble ideas of liberty, fraternity, solidarity, justice, peace, and work. It is reaffirming the adherence and attachment to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*, the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child and the Rights of Women, particularly to the goal of equal representation of men and women in the institutions of the country, as well as to the international instruments relating to the protection and promotion of human rights. Means, the Congolese Constitution care globally about people in Congo and in a particular care about women and children.

In general, Article 16 of Congolese Constitution considers the individual as sacred. The State has the obligation to respect and protect him/her. All persons have the right to life, physical integrity and to the free development of their personality, while respecting the Law, public order, the rights of others and public morality. No one may be held in slavery or in a similar condition. No one may be subject to cruel, inhumane, or degrading treatment. No one may be submitted to forced or compulsory labour.

There are some articles which express the rights of specific categories like women and children.

a. Women

Article 14: the public authorities see to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and ensure the protection and promotion of their rights. This is in civil, economic, social, cultural, and political areas.

Women are entitled to equitable representation in national, provincial, and local institutions.

The State guarantees the achievement of parity between men and women in said institutions.

The law determines the conditions for the application of these rights.

Article 15

The public authorities are responsible for the elimination of sexual violence used as an instrument in the destabilization and displacement of families.

The Congolese constitution does not insist only on sexual violence against women but any person which includes women, men, children, adult, etc.

Despite the Congolese constitution law and articles that advocate women promotion and protection, women still not benefit from the law as it might be, especially in rural area where women condition still weak because of the cultural perception against women.

b. Children

Article 40

For the parents, the care, and the education to be given to children constitute a natural right and duty which they exercise under the control and with the assistance of the public authorities. The children have the duty to assist their parents.

Article 41

The abandonment and maltreatment of children, in particular paedophilia, sexual abuse, and the charge of engaging in witchcraft, are prohibited and punishable by law.

The parents have the duty to take care of their children and to ensure their protection against any act of violence inside as well as outside their parental home.

The public authorities have the obligation to ensure the protection of children in a difficult situation and to bring the authors of acts of violence against children and their accomplices to justice.

All others form of exploitation of minors are severely punished in accordance with the law.

Article 42

The public authorities are obliged to protect the youth against any attack on their health, education, or integral development.

Article 45

All persons have access to establishments of national education without discrimination on grounds of place of origin, race, religion, sex, political or philosophical opinions, physical, mental, or sensorial condition in accordance with their capacities.

3. Interactive session

- a) As the respect of women and children rights still far from the reality and are not guaranteed in concrete? What are cultural rights that can be compared to the principles of Congolese Constitution?
- b) What do you think could be the way of diverting that challenge?
- c) What do you decide to do at your individual level to promote your rights and protection?
- d) What do you think is the community, custom mechanisms of protecting and promoting women and children life?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator should help the audience to find solution of diverting those institutional challenges and adapt the protection and promotion of women and children through convenient cultural ways. Then encourage them to stick on the positive cultural way of women promotion and protection.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Congolese Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights and liberties to every citizen
- There are specific rights regarding women and children that protect them
- The guarantee of those rights still weak in concrete

b. Lessons from the audience (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME IV: RIGHTS

1. Aim

The objective of this part is to inform rape survivors, perpetrators, and children born from rape, parents, men and women, and all participants about the right they have as human being in order to either advocate or prevent themselves against any kind of indignity. Among the rights, we will use those from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

2. Notion on Rights

The UDHR has as foundation freedom, justice and peace and recognise the inherence of dignity, equality, and the inalienability of rights of all members of human family(United Nations 1949).

There are three generation of Human Rights including the political and civil rights (first generation), economic, social, and cultural rights (second generation) and the collective rights (third generation) (Birdal 2014a). In detail, the first generation is founded on the principle of liberties of individuals and freedom. It includes rules related to civil and physical security, civil liberties, and reinforcements

(Birdal 2014a)¹⁰⁶. The second generation focuses on the equality principle that should be respected and guaranteed (Birdal 2014a)¹⁰⁷. The third and last generation is based on the fraternity principle including solidarity and collectivity of human kinship. This goes beyond the two first generations (Birdal 2014a)¹⁰⁸. Apart from those three generations of Human Rights that include human kinship in general, there are rights that are specific to women because of the treatment that they have been subjected since, such as women's experience, torture, murder, humiliation, beating, mutilation, rape, etc. those rights to advocate women are called Women Human Rights.

According to Sevcan Birdal (Birdal 2014b) from those standard three generations of Human Rights, come the three generations of Women Human Rights. The three generation of women's Human Rights reflects a real differentiation in terms of content, matter, priority, superiority and predominancy of the first generation to other generations (Birdal 2014b). The great difference is that the same offences have been considered as human violations to all human kinship. However, when it comes to women only, those rights are most of the time ignored, disregarded and invisible. For instance, government and NGO have shown their position by the following statements:

1. Sex discrimination is too trivial, or not as important, or will come after larger issues of survival that require more serious attention.
2. Abuse of women, while regrettable, is a cultural, private, or individual issue and not a political matter requiring state action.
3. While appropriate for other action, women's rights are not human rights per se; or
4. When the abuse of women is recognized, it is considered inevitable or so pervasive that any consideration of it is futile or will overwhelm other human rights questions.”(Bunch 1990)

¹⁰⁶Right to life, liberty and the security, freedom from slavery or involuntary servitude; freedom from torture and cruel inhuman degrading treatment or punishment; freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; right to a fair and public trial; freedom from interference in privacy and correspondence; freedom of movement and residence; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and of expression; freedom of peaceful assembly and association; right to participate in government directly or through elections; right to own property and not be arbitrarily deprived of one's property.

¹⁰⁷ Right to social security; right to work and protection against unemployment; right to rest and leisure including periodic holidays with pay; right to standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of self and family; right to education; right to protection of one's scientific, literary and artistic production; right to free choice of employment; right to form and join trade unions; right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community; right to food.

¹⁰⁸ Right to political, economic, social and cultural self-determination; right to economic and social development; right to participate in and benefit from the common heritage of mankind; right to peace; right to healthy and balanced environment; right to humanitarian disaster relief – suggest the inefficiency or importance of nation – state in certain critical respects.

Against that failure, Sevcan Birdal (2014b) sets the three generations of Women's Human Rights to reinforce and promote women rights. Hence, the first generation of women's Human Rights is founded on the notions of right to political participation which includes the right to vote and to be voted for; gender discrimination; right to marry; right to found a family, protection of motherhood; slavery, human trafficking and prostitution and finally the freedom of the media and access to information (Birdal 2014b)¹⁰⁹. The second generation focuses on women's basic economic, social, and cultural rights as follows: right to access food; labour rights and right to work; social rights; right to health and finally right to education (Birdal 2014b). The late and third generation of women's Human Rights refers to the development and the environment issue (Birdal 2014b). The development occurs because of political, economic, social, and cultural improvement of all individuals. The main concern of any sustainable development policy should be human beings since they are supposed to have a healthy life in a healthy environment. Therefore, there is a need of increasing the awareness of the society on environmental problems by allowing them to access to all information on environment (Birdal 2014b).

The respect of those rights aims to make life enjoyable, cohere and provides basis of social cohesion. The rights-based approach to social cohesion provides social policy. As rights of people, social cohesion is comprised here as the capacity of the society to ensure welfare of population, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation through the respect of human rights law which include dignity, freedom of each person, equality between women and men, and equality of rights for all mankind (European Committee for Social Cohesion 1994).

3. Interactive session

- a. What are the cultural rights of women that your community grants to them?
- b. Are there any challenges that prevent people to promote those rights?
- c. What are women efforts made in the community and from their families to promote themselves?
- d. What do you think can be done in concrete by you to promote women rights?

4. Role of facilitator

The facilitator is in charge of orienting the audience so that they may find a set of resolution and the way of applying the resolution to establish and apply. The audience should go back home after setting clearly what they should apply. Any starting idea should be welcome. The ones that did not suggest anything should be encouraged to apply others' ideas.

5. Resume of the lessons

- a. Lessons from the module

¹⁰⁹ Sevcan Birdal, three generations of human rights of women in the 20th century: an analysis of international legal documents, master's thesis, the department of international relations ihsan doğramaci bilkent university ankara, 2014, p.36.

- The UDHR lays on freedom, justice and peace and recognise the inherence of dignity, equality
- There are three generation of human rights and three others of women's human rights adapted from the first ones
- Women's human rights still up to present neglected. For that reason, community search for mechanism to protect and promote them

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME V: MONEY

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to provide the advantages, disadvantages of money into rape survivors and perpetrators' lives, the way of gaining and using it.

2. Notion of money

Money has a full story and its evolution. Money story starts with the notion of bartering an object with an intermediate value used to exchange goods and services. That system appeared for the first time around 2000 BC. Later, people invented way of making transaction through salt. However, as salt could spoil, this was replaced by notes bank and coins as recent means of transaction that extinguishes immediately a financial obligation (Mogilner, Whillans and Norton 2018).

When money is well managed, it has advantages that benefit human being, all society, the environment and sometimes raises well-being. Income that you gain helps you to cover fundamental needs, invest and transfer richness from generations to generations. It therefore has a protective function. It has impact on your social stand in the society but that is not the only factor of having position in the society. However, getting a big amount of money is not the only source of happiness and welfare. You can feel happy; get good position within your community and live well without getting enough money. This is to say that money is important and basis to make transaction and get what you need but does not still the only factor of welfare. There is more than money for people well-being like good relationship.

The honourable way of gaining, getting money is to work for it. Labour becomes therefore a source of eliminating, overcoming poverty and breaking the intergenerational transfer of poverty. In contrary, trying to gain money otherwise than working will lead to negative behaviour like stealing; prostitution, relying on other people; dependency; addiction to drug, etc. living in such conditions becomes source of frustration which can at certain levels motivate to commit the worse like crime.

Money is at the midst of reinforcing social cohesion within the community. The fact that the great source of having money is through pecuniary activity, this keeps you in touch, create new friends and contact, extent relationship and extend social network.

3. Interactive session

c. Provide a list of your source of money or income

- d. How do you manage your income (investment or daily life)?
- e. What could help you to create money?
- f. How will you do to make it happened?

4. Role of facilitator

The facilitator must encourage the audience find better ways of creating money like job. Participants should leave the class with the idea of gaining money honestly, of being creative to get money, the possibility of creating new social network as a result of looking or creating money, job or any pecuniary activity.

5. Resume of the lessons

a Lessons from the module

- Money has many advantages but it's not still the unique source of happiness
- Money comes from job and any pecuniary activity but the selection of honest way of gaining money is the ideal to better life
- Job and pecuniary activities are great source of creating new social network

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME VI: FAMILY

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to show the audience the functions of family in individual life, family as a safe place for children to live, where personality is formed.

2. Notion on family

Family is a great classical framework, source of social cohesion and a network of social relations. It's a place where the level of cooperation is higher in several domains. It is characterized by its members who live together to undertake various activities. The importance of family is proved through its functions. There are many functions of family but can be grouped into two types. The essential functions or primary functions which are fundamental, basic in nature and non-essential functions or secondary functions which are provided by institutions and society.

The primary functions are stable. They include satisfaction of sex needs; production, reproduction, race perpetuation and rearing of children and provision of home, regulation of sexual behaviour of members. The secondary functions on the other side include educational, socialisation and social control, economic security, religious, health, care and training of children, co-operation and division of labour, protective, recreational, affectional, cultural functions, and maintenance. For those functions to work

properly, it demands a family capital (Belsey 2005)¹¹⁰ and family resilience(Walsh 2003b) through the construction of /building a caring support.

Family is the basis of all society. If you break the family structure, all society will be collapsed and civilisation will fall. Therefore, the perpetuation of the family which it is done through children to connect generations to generations should have a specific care without any sort of discrimination, mistreatment. The best place for children to live is the family where their personality is formed, where they get their first knowledge in several domains and get capability to face any challenges in the society in term of resilience.

3. Interactive session

- a. What does the family mean to you regarding your culture?
- b. What are roles that your family play to children live and to you?
- c. Are those roles enough?
- d. How could you make them benefit to children and to you?

4. Role of the facilitator

The role of the facilitator is to aware the audience on the role of the family and make them responsible of children care. As caregivers, adults have roles to children safety, protection, and richness transfer. In other words, adults are responsible of driving primary and secondary functions for the good of children and other weak members of the family. Audience should end up with the idea of taking care of each other in the family to contribute to make concrete the function of the family.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- family is a fundamental place of safety, socialisation, richness transfer, and happiness
- Children are the first mankind of being taken care for the future stability of the family and the structure and civilisation of the societies
- Family should create environment of its members to strengthen social bonds through feeling of belonging, happiness, solidarity, etc.

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME VII: FATHER

1. Aim

¹¹⁰ The notion of family capital comes from social capital which represent those social relationships that allow individuals access to resources possessed by their associates, and to the amount and quality of those resources upon which people depend for social, economic and emotional support” (Belsey, 2005:17) Belsey, M.A. (2005). *AIDS and the family: policy options for a crisis in family capital*. New York: United Nations.

This lesson aims to provide meaning of a father, the importance of the link between a father and children in their development.

2. Notion of a father

Father goes from biological to social consideration. In many cultures a person who is calling father may be a biological father or not. He can be for instance, the mother's brother, the grand-father, or another man closer to the children in the community. In this context, father becomes the 'men of the family' who takes care of wife's children either biologic or not. Children are therefore recognised as children of family, same recognition to the father, the one of the family (Murdock 1949).

Men have responsibility to play to all member of the family like wife, children, his parents, siblings, and relatives. Among those family members, the lack of care affects children more than other member of the family. Hence, men take economic responsibility for children, building a caring relationship for children, assuring gender equality in the family, etc.

Despite that care, children don't show attachment to their father in early childhood, but that comes progressively at the end of first year(Cox, Owen and Henderson 1992). The long absence of father at home can explain that reason. Generally, mothers spend enough time with children which create a strong link of attachment between them more than between father and children. Even though, at childhood the link between father and children is weak because of the lack of spending longue time together, the effects of father on children keep an important place in children life. The great effect of building a caring relationship for children is the intellectual, social and emotional development of children as the studies as proved (Easterbrooks and Goldberg 1995), they asset that, the quality of interaction between father and children is higher valued than the amount of time spending together. Father's sensitivity to the toddler's needs predicts children cognitive performance. Hence, the advantages of father care still enormous in children life.

To women, and the rest of the family, father still the protector, financial provider, etc. But those role vis-à-vis other member of the family become weak at the moment that the wife can for example gain income and is able to take care of herself, same for the other member of the family.

3. Interactive session

- a. What are the cultural role of a father in your family and community?
- b. What kind of functions does your father fills/filled into your life?
- c. How do you consider them?
- c. What would you like a father to do for you or for your children?
- d. (To fathers and men only) as a father what do you feel you should improve to better take care of children whether biologic or not?
- e. (To fathers and men only) How are you going to do to make it happened?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator should help father and men to understand the meaning, function, and roles of a father in children's life. Facilitator should focus on the cultural role of a father; helping them to take decision of well treating children and finally, set together a particular resolution on the way of fulfilling that resolution.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- The consideration of father is large; it takes from the biologic to social one
- The lack of father care affects more children than other family members to build in children's life the intellectual, emotional, social development
- Men take economic responsibility for children, building a caring relationship for children, assuring gender equality in the family, but is not limited to them only.
- Women can fulfil these responsibilities as well depending on the composition of the family and means to do so.

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME VIII: MOTHER

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to let the audience being aware of the meaning of a mother, the basis on the link between mother and children, the consequences of the relationship of a mother to her child.

2. Notion on a mother

If children development is the result of father sensitivity to toddler needs and interaction than time spend together, the attachment of mother developed through the considerable length of time spending together is the key to children development (Barry and Paxson 1971). Furthermore, infant good health and well-being depends on the level of attachment to her/his mother, or caregiver as a great way of child development and growth (Scharfe 2017). There is a positive correlation between the kind of relationship developed between mother and children that determined children's psychological position and aspect such as trust and love. Children have an instinctual need for maternal love (only for a biological mother), s/he shows generally preference for mother over father. So, the lack of mother's love has disastrous consequences for children's emotional development. Mother has been considered as a psychic organiser (Vicedo 2015) whose attachment and care drive children mental health and development. Not only children are bound to their mother, but there is also reciprocity of feeling between them. Both draws from their relationship a satisfaction and enjoyment.

“In the nature of the child's tie to its mother Bowlby assets that five instinctual responses serve to bind the child to the mother and contribute to the reciprocal dynamic of binding mother to child. The baby

is the active partner in three of them, sucking, clinging, and following. The other two, crying and smiling, serve to 'activate maternal behaviour' (Bowlby 1958)

That instinct is keeping in between child-mother. The mother becomes so central to the child life before s/he transfers the closeness and feeling progressively to other figure of care or any caregiver as s/he is growing up.

3. Interactive session

- a. What the meaning of a mother in your culture?
- b. How does the attachment of your mother has helped you or helps your child?
- c. How do you think to transfer that feeling to the next generation of your children?
- d. From where are you going to start acting to live and transfer that attachment to your child born of rape or not?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitation is in charge of showing mother attachment as a psychological basis of human development. The facilitator must help the audience to internalise the importance of mother attachment by raising vivid examples. Finally, the facilitator should help audience to take decision that put each participant to a position of a child caregiver.

5. Resume of the lessons

- a. Lessons from the module
 - Mother attachment reduces stress, heal a child from depression, provide trust, love, etc.
 - The instinctive responses bonds mother to her child and make them closer
 - Mother should feel more concerned to the suffering of her child then other caregiver and provide the first intervention
- b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME IX: PRISON

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to make audience aware of the role of prison in an offender, perpetrator life; to make audience aware of the social mechanism of reintegrating socially perpetrator after prison within their community to avoid recidivism of the offense committed, rape or other.

2. Notion on prison

Prison has been established because of crime control despite its limits. Those limits can be explained in terms of lack of sufficient reduction and drop of violent crime. Furthermore, many of prisoners used to commit offence that they have been convinced after being freed from prison. The rate of reoffending goes up to 70 percent as assets the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (2018). However, there are alternatives that could contribute to reduce crime and make prison a better place to address crime

issue, redress and re-educate offenders such as education, prevention, and social intervention to produce more effective results (Penal Reform International 2016). In this way, prison becomes a correctional place rather than a penal institution (MacCormick 1950a) where punishment and rehabilitation are two sides of the same piece.

Applying those two strategies (incarceration and social intervention) to a prisoner has many advantages to reduce violent crime not only to prisoner, but also within the community. The fact that offenders spend enough or a couple of time in the prison under torture(White 2008), a traumatic environment that affects their life, treatment and care of a prisoner becomes strategies of helping them individually and in their community. This is to avoid committing crime and adjust to community live. Thus, the rehabilitation process of a prisoner within his community through education, training and other work will help him to engage in constructive activities to reintegrate his community(United Nations offices on drugs and crimes 2017) and avoid recidivism.

Especially for sex offender for instance, even if there is discussion on the effect of treated offender of rape and the untreated offender of rape on the recidivism of the offence, it has been acknowledged that the offender of rape who has been treated reduces the trend to the recidivism of rape (MINESOTA department of corrections 2010). The aims of treatment programme are three: First, they aim to help offenders take responsibility for their actions. Second, they aim to prevent relapse. Third, they aim to rehabilitate people who have been convicted of a sex offense (Reagan 2008). In the community, the programme of treatment must reduce offender recidivism through some organisation like community corrections agencies which take care of offenders who have been diverted from prison.

To prevent that recidivism, two things must be considered, the willpower of the offender to resist himself to commit once more the offence. From his position follows a successful reintegration in his community. Besides the offender willpower, success depends on the combination of human capital (capacity of individual to make change) and social capital (supportive family relationship) (United Nations Offices on Drugs and Crimes 2018).

3. Interactive session

- a) Give list of offences that lead to the incarceration
- b) How have been or have prisoners been treated in the prison of your area?
- c) Is there any programme of prisoner reintegration in your community?
- d) What might you do to reintegrate prisoners, especially rape offenders within your community?

4. Role of the facilitator

The role of the facilitator is to let audience understand the two strategies of reducing violent crime in the community and the importance of having a community organisation of offenders' social reintegration to prevent recidivism of offences, especially the one of rape.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Prison is one of the ways of reducing violence and crime but still limited
- The mix of legal (justice) mechanism and social intervention are strongly ways of helping reduce recidivism in the community
- Rape offenders have right to be helped, help themselves to stop recidivism, and to reintegrate their communities

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME X: ORPHAN

1. Aim

This session aims to show who is an orphan; the framework that is convenient to orphan life and her/his need.

2. Notion on orphan

Orphan, a child whose parent(s) dead is a child who faces lots of problem in the family and community. The loss of parents during childhood has consequences on the development and wellbeing of the child (Hong *et al.* 2019). The child wellbeing depends on a complex range of caregivers in the society. It should involve the family members care, security, protection, the neighbourhood care, relationship, community support and other caregiver's structures like schools, religion environment in the society. However, among all those structures, family still the foundation of orphans' children wellbeing. Family environments form the personality of children and impact their live with love, affection, solidarity, sense of belonging and sharing, lifelong connection to the community, socialisation; they learn and participate in cultural tradition, etc.

Despite the number of advantages that can be offered to an orphan, s/he will still fragile if the quality of interaction between caregiver and them is not well developed and established. A positive care and good care lays on the quality of relationship rather than the quality of goods, materials as research shows (The faith-based initiative 2014).

In the context of so remote area or village that don't use social workers' interventions, they even don't have notion of social workers, fosters to take care of orphans, those children have their better place to life, to be taken care which is the family and community as an extended family. They need more than physical good; they need attention, attachment (Williamson and Greenberg 2010), especially in African local community where there is no intermediate institutions which work with family and community.

3. Interactive session

- Provide list of treatment (positive and negative) that an orphan has been going through in your family and community
- How has an orphan been treated in your family and community?

- c. What do you think could be a perfect way of taking care of orphan?
 - d. Choose at list one thing that you should be doing to an orphan in your family and community.
4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator must help the audience to discover what an orphan needs indeed. Then encouraging the audience to act positively for orphan welfare.

5. Resume of the lessons
- a. Lessons from the module
 - Orphan is a person who needs particular attention and care for her/his welfare
 - There are some things that are more valuable than other to orphan. They need more affection, attachment rather than material support
 - Family is the great social framework to safeguard orphan and place to fulfil their welfare and goals for life
 - b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XI: COURTESY

1. Aim

The aim is to encourage audience to use courtesy as a tool of their own integration, reintegration and acceptance within their family, and community. Also, showing the audience how courtesy could facilitate communication as tool of dialogue and good relationship.

2. Notion of courtesy

Courtesy is a polite behaviour or polite action and remark. This is key fact that moderate communication, relationship, builds bridge between people, family, and communities. It is the fundamental to create close and trusting relationship between people of same generation (between children or between adults) or different generations (children and adults). It motivates participation and feeling of belonging, and develops emotion, and social aspects.

For instance, children develop and learn in the context of relationships. A trusting and caring teacher because of her/his kindness, contribute to the children's emotion and social development. This attitude makes children or people willing and motivated to solve problems(Raikes and Edwards 2009). Besides, courtesy goes together with respect. Respect is a keyway to connect people and strengthen relationships and makes a person feel more confident (Dombro, Jablon and Stetson 2011). Kindness and respect are powerful behaviour that transform situation for better.

There are ways and rules of encouraging desirable behaviour, good manner and kindness in society. The following play role from Elisabeth Crary (1995) is adapted to help participants to discover and try to practice ways of kindness for their cohesiveness attitudes.

- a. Ways to encourage desirable behaviour:

- Parents to children: Smile at your child, offer your child a hug; praise the behaviour “thank you for doing dishes”; acknowledge her/his effort; pay attention to what she/he is doing; participate to the activities that she/he is doing or attending; speak kindly in a good manner to people while your child is with you, etc.
- Between adults: Greet people (even the ones that criticise you); be humble; generous; helpful; ready to help others; pay attention to what other are doing; praise people action to you, using words like “nice, well-done, that’s great, you made it, that was kind, I’m glad...; acknowledge the good that people do to you, etc.

To make a good and effective praise, there are rules that you should follow: Be specific, immediate, and sincere.

b. Magic words to achieve kindness: “Thank you”, “I beg your pardon” “excuse me” and “please”

3. Interactive session

- a. How do you behave when a child does good things to you or to other?
- b. How do you feel when someone acknowledge your effort?
- c. What can be the benefits you may gain from kindness?
- d. How are you going to behave from now to make kindness profitable to you?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator should emphasize on the practice of kindness as tools of acceptance, social interaction, and re/integration, gaining other compassion, etc. all benefits of kindness should be raised.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Kindness facilitate communication and contribute to develop good relationship
- Respect and courtesy connect people and help to re/integration a person in a group
- There are words that make courtesy and respect to be effective.

b. **Lessons from the audience experiences** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XII: POWER

1. Aim

The objective is to let the audience know different kinds of power and bring out their good and best experiences of the past that they did because of the power they had to use it as connector to their present and future change.

2. Notion of power

There are four principal sources of power which are economic, ideological, military, and political resources as says Michael (Mann 2005). In terms of influence, power, it’s been acknowledged as a psychological force that defines the change including behaviour, attitudes, goals, opinions, needs, values and all the aspects of psychological fields (Bertram 2014). Especially for a positive social change, this requires powers (Green 2016) that come from three sources expert, referent, and prestige. To make change, an individual need to have specific knowledge and skills in terms of expertise. That expertise is based on trust and acceptance and capability of influencing other. Referent power involves having a personality and behavioural profile that

includes similar beliefs, a personal relationship, and a desire to be more like a person. Prestige power in its side is created by the experience that an individual got to the past success as an indication for future (DuBrin 2001). Because individual has inner power, the invisible power, experience that s/he got from the past, and desire of the success, the only thing that the individual need to change and to get is her/his willpower. Even though there are facts that can divert a person from change process like fear, lack of trust and self-confidence, etc. liberty and self-conviction still powerful tools which banishes obstacles to obtain whatever is desired aspired.

3. Interactive session

- a) What are your past success and happiest moment/ event that you still remember?
- b) What made that event/moment successful?
- c) What can you draw from those successful event/moment to make your present life successful?
- d) How will you start improving the way you got to that success for your future success?

4. Role of facilitator

The facilitator is in charge of reminding the audience their past successes, the power they used to achieve that success, living the success up to present and encouraging them to take decision of using that power they had in the past to achieve those successes in order to use it to achieve change in their life.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Every person has born with a portion of power (inner power)
- There are powers that come from expertise, referent and prestige to fulfil social change
- Past successful experience should be used to connect and plan to achieve future successful goals for individual and social change

b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XIII: RELIGION

1. Aim

The objective is to make people aware of the meaning, the benefit of religion as a framework of socialisation and social cohesion; to encourage them stick on the religious activities for their cohesion.

2. Notion of religion

Religion is a framework that plays many roles in human life. Given that religion has many functions, I will focus on the most important ones related to social aspects. Apart from the spiritual and individual roles that religion fulfils like mental comfort, meaning of life, spiritual enjoyments, and hope of the life after death, reducing anxiety, improve physical health, and strengthens self-confidence of people, there are social roles that are important and complete the individual functions of religion. Religion is a collective representation that maintains and promotes unity and maintenance of people, creates an environment where people gather to socially interact, and communicate. It reinforces the sense of solidarity (the mechanical one), morals and social norms hold by all within the society (Bellah 1973),

comfort life, encourages freedom and social justice, reduces crimes rate and deviation, is an instrument that converts animal qualities to human quality; make culture and civilisation growing (Habibitabar 2012). As such, it provides social control (of behaviour and individual) and social cohesion. Furthermore, it consoles people in their junctures; inculcates social virtues in people like truth, honesty, love, discipline etc.; promotes social welfare (Nath 2015). All those values are meaningful to the individual level and collective one.

Religion provides many advantages for people who are facing certain kinds of crises such as stress, trauma, and depression. Attending any religious group will help rape survivors, children born from rape and any victims of any crises to benefit from the advantages that provide religion as listed above. Especially for offenders, religion will help them develop the willpower to avoid recidivism. religious assembly will help them through social control to reintegrate perpetrators within their community as long as they still attending the religious assembly.

3. Interactive session

- a. What does religion mean to you?
- b. Is there any other structure that could be compared to religion and has same benefit?
- c. What could be the benefits that personally you will gain from religion by attending it?
- d. How do you plan to start attending a church near you living area?

4. Role of the facilitator

The role of facilitator is to convince the audience to take decision of attending churches or religious assembly. By showing the importance of the religion, facilitators should strongly encourage the audience to be active in at least one of the groups of the church or religious activities.

5. Resume of the lessons

- a. Lessons from the module
 - Religion has individual and collective advantages: it provides space to communicate, get self-esteem and self-confidence to develop good relationship
 - Religion is a psychological fact of healing.
 - From religion, you will create a new social network that will help you to overcome your problem, trauma.
- b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XIV: LAZINESS

1. Aim

The objective is to make the audience aware of the utility of time management. To discourage them from procrastinate habit to create new habit of deciding and applying the decision as soon as possible. Also, help them understand that they are capable of being active even when life becomes tough (depleted energy).

2. Notion of laziness and procrastination

Procrastination is the trend to postpone or delay to performing a task or making decision (Savithri 2014), people who delays a start or an accomplishment of something for irrational reasons. Procrastinator, especially chronic procrastinator views time differently to non-procrastinators people (Ferrari 2015). Chronic procrastination (who has irrational delay) is related to a low state of self-confidence and self-esteem, higher state of depression, neurosis, self-awareness, social anxiety, forgetfulness, disorganisation, non-competitiveness, dysfunctional impulsivity, behavioural rigidity, and lack of energy (Beswick, Rothblum and Mann 1977; Ferrari 2015); low consciousness related to low self-efficacy (Van Eerder 2003). Procrastinators' people focus on the past and do not consider the present and focus less in the future (hopeless attitude towards the future) as they are focusing on bad souvenir, ruminate about their past failure, and regret. For them to succeed, they must work on now, on the present to improve their ability to success. The priority should be made on the immediate situation, benefits with less attention to the long-term result or consequences (Chen and Chang 2016). This attitude reduces stress as the person focuses on the immediate problems (Chu and Choi 2005). They must structure their time, make sense of the purpose; improve their self-efficacy belief to affect persistence.

Nevertheless, there are two kinds of procrastinators, the passive procrastinator (traditional procrastinator, they fail because of the indecision to act, to complete action on time) and the active procrastinator (prefer to work under pressure, make deliberative decision to procrastinate. These are behaving as non-procrastinators). Regarding types of individuals, men and adolescents are more procrastinated than women and children as assets Mohammad (Abdullah 2017).

3. Interactive session

- a. Make list of things that make you lazy and procrastinator
- b. What are the disadvantages of that laziness and procrastination to your life?
- c. How do you think to change that situation in your life?
- d. What are decisions that you take to never postpone what you plan and start applying your decision as soon as you plan?

4. Role of the facilitator

The facilitator is in charge of exposing them to negative's effects of laziness and procrastination. Facilitator must encourage the audience to have habit of taking decision and plan a way of applying that decision as soon as possible. The facilitator should help them to focus more on the benefits to gain while working immediately in present in other to connect to the future. In other words, encouraging them to have and plan a long-term project but starting in present.

5. Resume of the lessons

- a. Lessons from the module
- There are factors that lead to laziness and procrastination which are lack of self-confidence, self-esteem, and energy, anxiety, etc.

- Procrastinators focus much more in the past, their past events (good or bad) rather than in the present and less in the future
 - Do small thing that you plan immediately after deciding by convincing yourself that if you don't do/achieve it you have failed in advance in the process of connecting to the future
- b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XV: RAPE

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to inform the audience about rape issue, factors that lead to sexual assault and rape and how to participate to reduce the scale of rape.

2. Notion on rape

Rape is a phenomenon that concerns all society throughout the world but defined differently from one State to another. Nevertheless, to make it easy, the common meaning is a non-consensual vaginal, anal, or oral penetration of the victim against her will by force.

The perpetrator is usually a pro-active abuser. He may be known or not by the victim. However, most of the time the perpetrator of rape is well known by the victim. He can be a husband, boy-friend, brother, uncle, school mate, and all the variations of an "ex": ex-husband, ex-boyfriend, etc. In peace time, there are factors that provoke rape to happen such as proximity, intimacy, etc., kind of actors like strange and acquaintance, the environment, time, and place (isolated, safe, and secured, like at home where women are vulnerable because of the shame and fear).

While in wartime, warfare is the fundamental factor of rape. Rape is here used as strategy of war. It becomes therefore a deliberate and strategic decision on the part of combatants to intimidate and destroy the enemy as a whole by raping and enslaving women who are identified as members of the opposition group (Murdoch *et al.* 2004). Wartime rape shows that the target is the enemy but the tool and means to achieve the aim is women. Women automatically become victims in both sides of antagonists.

Since women are not safe whether in peace or wartime, you should learn or be encouraged to break the silence to reduce the scale of rape and prevent further occurrence of rape to be happened. Hence, you should be motivated to break the silence from sexual harassment stage up to rape. Unfortunately, the issue of breaking silence is still being emblematic of powerlessness in our society. The powerlessness of society is manifested by the lack of men to support women to denounce actors and acts of harassment, sexual assault, and rape in one hand. Women still victims of the lack of disclosure the issue of rape which encourage on the other hand the act and actors of harassment and sexual assault to spread that behaviour. In all this powerlessness, culture is the factor that drives the silent behaviour. Women who endeavour disclosure are badly perceived and doubly victims of not only sexual assault but also victims of negative reaction from the society. Negative social reactions such blame and doubt break women

power of disclosure. This negative reaction of the society has been encouraged implicitly by the community system, legal and medical personnel.

The great preoccupation which remains is how to break that silence. There are two levels of prevention: Institutional and individual levels. At the institutional level, government has to establish mechanisms that will safeguard women such as primary prevention (light, water supply, security, etc. link to government programme to protect women), early intervention (intervention should be planned and done in the sense of changing behaviour like respect from other sex, etc. from individual to the all community passing by small groups and categories of people within the community) and the intervention (reaction against sexual harassment, assault and rape). At the individual level, family, social groups, women, and girls themselves should be careful and more informed regarding factors that could lead to such issue and socialised in the way of protecting and securing them.

3. Interactive session

- a. What are factors in your family and community that could lead to sexual harassment, assault, and rape?
- b. What are traditional ways of avoiding that issue happened?
- c. How do you do to denounce that issue?
- d. What do you think as an efficient mechanism of breaking the silent and prevent women and girls against rape?

4. Role of the facilitator

The role of the facilitator is to make those who have been raped either in peace time or wartime to discover the factors that have led to their rape and what could still lead to rape. Encourage women, girls, men and boys to denounce the issue of rape.

5. Resume of the lessons

- a. Lessons from the module
 - Women in either peacetime or wartime are not safe from rape
 - There are factors that lead to rape or sexual assault
 - The entire community should work together to encourage and break rape silence
- b. **Lessons from the audience** (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

THEME XVI: COACH

1. Aim

The objective of this session is to help audience (women, children, and perpetrators) get notion of social coaching to transcend their situation. Encourage them to practice social responsibility skills through coaching (how to transform life of vulnerable person through coaching. It's all about wanting to live a life of success and significance (Carr *et al.* 2017). Hence, women should be coach of their children; children will help their mother to practice coaching lessons to strengthen trauma healing process and

post traumatic growth. This will contribute to develop strong interactive, relationship between mothers' rape survivors and their children born from rape.

2. Notion of coach

There is no single standard meaning of the word coach or coaching. That's the reason I choose the definition that goes with the context and objective of this session. A coach is someone who helps people see the difference between their intentions and their thinking or actions. S/he is in the position of inviting participants to step back from the situation so that they have enough distance from it to get some perspective. In sum, a coach is a person who helps other to improve, achieve their goals, enable, and empower people to realise their potential (Brown *et al.* 2012). As facilitator of the literacy centre will be helping survivors, perpetrators, children born from rape with social skills to overcome their problem, heal their trauma and search for a cohesive environment, those learners in turn will practice lessons learnt from the centre at their living place and daily life. In their children daily life, they will help them to improve their relationship and achieve their goals. There will be a kind of reciprocity of teaching-learning between learners to improve their healing process by themselves.

There are strategies that audience should use to achieve effective change through lessons learnt from the centre: the one-to-one parent-child social coaching. This has many advantages as parent becomes the model and source of promoting child social skills (help children to play with other, be ready to help other, etc.), strengthen special parent-child bonds and intimacy in their relationship. In this way, parent must develop behaviour that expose him to work together with her/his child. By doing so, children are learning from their parents. Knowing the child temperament (impulsive, conflictual, kind, etc.), parent will help child to improve her/his social skills. In turn, the fact that the children are applying what they have been leaning from their mother, this will affect psychologically (happiness, confidence, self-esteem, etc.) their mother and strengthen mother-child resilience.

While coaching, parents should help children realize what they are doing, understand how their actions affect others, and choose positive alternatives (Riley *et al.* 2008). Helping children develop social and emotional skills, competences, is the heart and soul of any good program for young children (Gordon and Browne 2014; Kostelnik *et al.* 2015) to build their resilience capability. The connection between the coach and learner is not only a moment of learning but a moment to internalise fact, awake intelligent and encouraging learner to act for their integration in the family and community.

3. Interactive session

- a. What have you learnt from the literacy centre to improve your social skills, relationship, and reintegration?
- b. What strategy do you use to help your child get social skills?
- c. Through social skills, what are you going to do from now for your reintegration and the integration of your children (if having child born from rape)

4. Role of facilitator

The coach must clarify focus, identify steps, ask questions (use questions that help them reflect 'on practice'), facilitating learning, and monitor progress towards goals.

5. Resume of the lessons

a. Lessons from the module

- Coaching help to improve social skills, relationship and achieve the goals
- Coaching is a tool which help to see difference between your intentions and thinking or actions.
- Parent still being the play model of children social, emotional skills and competences for their reintegration/integration

b. Lessons from the audience (to be filled or memorised in the class with the audience)

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDES

I. Rape survivors having children born from rape

A. Generality on rape survivors' life

1. Can you please tell the history of your rape
2. What you have been experiencing since that occurred?
3. How have you been sexually socialized?
4. What is the meaning of rape to you?
5. How does your community consider rape?
6. How did men behave at the moment rape occurred?
7. Back home, what was the attitude of your family (for single)/husband (for married) (for those who were taken and kept to jungle for rape)?
8. What kind of treatment and care did you get after being raped?
9. How did men started considering you within the community?

B. Feeling of belonging

10. How can you tell yourself who you are?
11. How do you feel yourself being involved in such situation of rape?
12. How do you feel yourself living in this place, environment (family, marriage, community)?
13. Is there any worry you feel living in this environment, place, situation?
14. According to your current situation what do people tell you are?
15. Is there someone, people with who you feel safe, secured, or protected? or not And Why?
16. What kind of actions, behaviour that shows you that you (don't) belong to this people, family, community welcomed you?
17. What kind of activities (main or not) are you engaged in within your family, community?
18. Do you feel engaged in those activities? Why and why not?
19. From which mechanism do you fit in your community?
20. How do you feel regarding the role you play through these activities into your family, community?

C. Relationship between rape survivors and their children born from rape

21. How do you feel getting that child?
22. How did your life become after getting that child?
23. Where does s/he live? Why?
24. What do you feel when your child is either bad or good treated?
25. Do you have the same feeling while your children are maltreated (born from rape or not) Why/why not?
26. How does your child react against that maltreatment (either with her/his friends, step-father, mother's family, or community)?
27. How do you react against your child's maltreatment?

28. What are other treatments against your child that disturbs you mentally?
29. How do you transcend that situation?
30. What is your child behaviour that is different to other of your children?
31. How does your child gender positively or negatively affects her/his acceptance within the family and community?

D. Solution for social re/integration

32. What do you think could be the solution for you and your child to feel accepted in your family and community?
33. What can be changed or taken into consideration to contribute to her/his integration in your household and your reintegration in your family and your community?
34. What are cultural ways of your reintegration and the integration of your child within your family, your household, and your community?

II. Rape survivors living in the same area with their rape perpetrators

A. General inquiry on rape survivors

1. Can you please tell the history of your rape and
2. What you have been experiencing since that occurred?
3. What is the meaning of rape to you?
4. How does your community consider rape?
5. How did men behave at the moment rape occurred?
6. Back home, what was the attitude of your family (for single)/husband (for married) (for those who were taken and kept to jungle for rape)?
7. What kind of treatment and care did you get after being raped?
8. How did men started considering you within the community?

B. Feeling of belonging

9. How can you tell yourself who you are?
10. How do you feel yourself being involved in such situation of rape?
11. How do you feel yourself living in this place, environment (family, marriage, community)?
12. Is there any worry you feel living in this environment, place, situation?
13. According to your current situation what do people tell you are?
14. Is there someone, people with who you feel safe, secured, or protected? or not And Why?
15. What kind of actions, behaviour that shows you that you (don't) belong to this people, family, community welcomed you?
16. What kind of activities (main or not) are you engaged in within your family, community?
17. Do you feel engaged in those activities? Why and why not?
18. From which mechanism do you fit in your community?
19. How do you feel regarding the role you play through these activities into your family, community?

C. TRUST

20. Do you feel depending on your perpetrator's support for you to live?
21. What kind of support would you like to get from the perpetrator (emotion, economics, material or immaterial like forgiveness, restoration, etc.)?
22. Can that support makes you feel returning at your normal life? Your previous state either material or immaterial?
23. What do you expect from him?

24. Is there any risk that you feel to engage in such as process of being closer to him for the re-establishing your relationship?
25. How vulnerable do you feel being engaged in such process of either relying (depending) on him for you to feel being reintegrating within your family, community or to feel reevaluating or revalorizing?
26. What do you think benefitting from the re-establishing of your relationship with him?
27. What kind of thoughts do you get when you see him?
28. How do you behave when you are in front of him?
29. From your experience of rape, what does it remain that you still experiencing?
30. Does it bring you hope, fear, or you still neutral (indifferent)?
31. What do you believe is possible in the process of change (your expectation)
- D. Solution to re-establish your relationship with him
32. What do you think could be the solution for you to feel accepted in your family and community?
33. What do you think could contribute to re-establish your relationship with your perpetrator?
34. What can be changed or taken into consideration to rebuild your relationship with him without any risk of being exposed to be raped once more?
35. What are cultural ways of punishing a sex offender to contribute to reduce the recurrence of rape within the community?

III. Children born from rape

A. General inquiry on children born from rape

1. Can you please tell me about yourself and your life?
2. How your life seems to be as child born from rape?
3. How have you been threatened?
4. What do you feel the way that you are treated by others?
5. How do you react against that maltreatment?
6. How does your mother react against those who are maltreating you?
7. Is there any difference between your life and other children not born from rape?

B. Feeling of belonging

8. How do you feel yourself being involved in such situation of children born from rape?
9. How do you feel yourself living in this place, environment (mother's family, school, stepfather, household, community)?
10. Is there any worry you feel living in this environment, place, situation?
11. According to your current situation what do people (friends, other members of the family, schoolmates, etc.) tell you are?
12. Is there someone, people with who you feel safe, secured, or protected? Why/why not?
13. What kind of actions, behaviour that shows you that you (don't) belong to this people, family, community welcomed you?
14. What kind of activities (main or not) do you do within your family, community?
15. Do you feel engaged in those activities? Why and why not?

16. From which mechanism do you fit in your family, community?
17. How do you feel regarding the role you play through these activities into your family, community?

C. Trust

18. On which structure or individual do you feel depending on their support for you to exist or continue living?
19. What kind of support would you like to get from them (your mother or other persons? Support: emotion, economics, material or immaterial like forgiveness, restoration, etc.)
20. Can that support makes you feel living a normal life?
21. How vulnerable do you feel being relying on them for you to feel integrated your family (mother's family), stepfather household, and community?
22. Is there any risk that you feel to engage in such as process of being closer to them? Establishing your relationship?
23. What do you think benefitting from (re)establishing relationship with them?
24. What kind of thoughts do you have by seeing both good and wicked persons around you?
25. How do you behave when you are in front of them?
26. Do they bring you hope, fear, or you still neutral (indifferent)?
27. What do you believe is possible in the process of change (your expectation)

D. Solution on the integration

28. What do you think could be the solution for you to feel accepted in your family and community?
29. What can be changed or taken into consideration to contribute to your integration in your family and your community?

IV. Perpetrators

A. General inquiry on perpetrators

1. Can you please tell the history of your rape
2. What you have been experiencing since that occurred?
How have you been sexually socialized?
3. What is the meaning of rape for you?
4. How does your community consider rape?
5. What was the motivation?
6. How do community and your family behave since that occurred?
7. How was that situation sorted out?

B. Feeling of belonging

8. How can you tell yourself who you are? (offender)
9. How do you feel yourself being involved in such situation of rape?
10. How do you feel yourself living in this place, environment (family, community)?
11. Is there any worry you feel living in this environment, place, situation?
12. According to your current situation what do people tell you are?
13. Is there someone, people with who you feel safe, secured, or protected? And Why?

14. What kind of actions, behaviour that shows you that you (don't) belong to this people, family, community welcomed you?
15. What kind of activities (main or not) are you engaged in within your family, community?
16. Do you feel engaged in those activities? Why and why not?
17. From which mechanism do you fit in your community?
18. How do you feel regarding the role you play through these activities into your family, community?

C. Trust

19. Is there anything that makes you feel depending on the victim for you to keep living?
20. What kind of support would you like to get from the victim (emotion, economics, material or immaterial like forgiveness, restoration, etc.)
21. Can that support makes you feel returning at your normal life? Your previous state either material or immaterial?
22. What do you expect from her?
23. Is there any risk that you feel to engage in such as process of being closer to her? Re-establishing your relationship?
24. How vulnerable do you feel being engaged in such process of either relying (depending) on her for you to feel being reintegrating within your family, community or to feel revaluating, revalorizing?
25. What do you think benefitting from re-establishing relationship with her?
26. What kind of thoughts do you have when you see her?
27. How do you behave when you are in front of her?
28. From your experience (rape), what does it remain that you still experiencing?
29. Does it bring you hope, fear, or you are still neutral (indifferent)?
30. What do you believe is possible in the process of change (your expectation)

D. Solution for a safe cohesive community

31. What do you think could be the solution for you to feel accepted in your family and community?
32. What do you think could contribute to re-establish your relationship with your victim?
33. What can be changed or taken into consideration to rebuild your relationship with her without any risk of being exposed to be raped once more?
34. What are cultural ways of punishing sex offender to contribute to reduce the recurrence of rape within the community?

V. Community leaders/peace community

A. General inquiry on rape issue

1. How do community and men within this community perceive rape?
2. Is the past cultural perception different from the present?
3. How have man and woman been sexually socialized within the family and community?
4. How do men behave against other men while their female relatives are raped in their presence (defending or escaping)? Why?
5. Since sexual abuse has been acknowledged as rape, how is it managed in your community?
6. Is the victim involved to the management process?

B. Inquiry on the management of children born from rape

7. What is the statistics of children born from rape in your community?
8. How are children born from rape culturally considered within your community?
9. When their mothers are about to get married, how the issue of children born from rape has been managing within the family and community?
10. Can you tell according to your experience, the reason that community has decided to keep those children within their mothers' family instead of taking them into their mothers' household?
11. Is that decision culturally, judiciary, consensually or by experience taken? Why?
12. Wherever they are living, how is the quality of their life and their relationship to others?
13. How are children born from rape (of Hutu or foreign people) modifying the culture perception (values, motherhood, inheritance, etc)?
14. What are risks, worries, fears, that those kinds of children are accused of being responsible of within the family and community?
15. What could be the gain of the community from children born from rape?
- C. Inquiry on rape survivors and perpetrators
16. How do you know that a victim or perpetrator is excluded from her/his community?
17. How would actually the community deal with the issue of rape?
18. What could be the solution to consolidate relationships between victim and her perpetrator in this community without any risk of rape relapse?
19. What cultural act could help victims and perpetrators to rebuild their relationships?
20. How could the solutions be implemented?
- D. Solution to re-establish relationships
21. What do you think could be the solution for them to feel accepted in their family and community?
22. What can be changed or taken into consideration to rebuild their relationship without any risk of being exposed to be raped once more?
23. What are cultural ways of punishing sex offender to contribute to reduce the recurrence of rape within the community?
24. How can we make those solutions happen?
- E. Solution for social re/integration
25. What do you think could be the solution for the child and her/his mother to feel accepted in their family and community?
26. What can be changed or taken into consideration to contribute to children's integration within their mothers' household and mothers' reintegration in their family and community?
27. What are cultural ways of them to re/integrate within their family, household, and community?
28. How can we make those solutions happen?

APPENDIX D: FIELDWORK PICTURES

1. Literacy Centre: Coaches' workshop



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