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THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS OF WARTIME RAPE

A CASE STUDY OF KAMANYOLA COMMUNITY, BUKAVU/SOUTH-KIVU POVINCE (DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO)

A research report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Master

(Industrial Sociology)

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DECLARATION

I, Alice MushagalusaKarhikalembu, declare that:

1. This research project is my personal work and has never been submitted before for any other degree or publication purposes

2. I have explicitly acknowledged all sources

Signed:…….. Date:……

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ABSTRACT

To understand the persistence of wartime rape that the DRC has experienced during the sixteen years old civil war, this study undertakes a critical analysis of the concept of 'symbolic violence' as proposed by Bourdieu. I have suggested that this concept [symbolic violence] as developed by Bourdieu needs other dimensions of definition in order to be applied to other social crises outside the western world. Shaping a link between wartime rape and its symbolic dimensions enables us to clearly articulate that the symbolic order brought through the practice of wartime rape by perpetrators does not remain unchallenged by the dominated who are direct and indirect victims of wartime rape. For this purpose, data were collected from ordinary community members, community leaders; a doctor and nurse form Panzi Hospital, an army General, a lawyer and some NGOs members working in the area of study (Kamanyola)through in-depth interviews. Observation and document analysis have also been used in the process of data collection. As a result the study found that wartime rape, at first, is a threat that perpetrators use to impose their own symbolic power upon males from the enemy groups through the rape of females from the same enemy groups. Therefore, this physical attack [war rape] against females impacts the victims as individuals, the community and the whole nation. This helps to suggest that physical violence is also symbolic violence. This is rendered possible through social and cultural patriarchal norms shared by both victims and perpetrators. As a result, family and community ties as well as marriage – as constitutive elements of the community's symbolic order – are directly fractured by wartime rape. Forcing women to be economically unproductive was another strategy to undermine community ties which were built through community-based activities. Secondly, the strategic use of war rape comes to counter the idea of symbolic violence as being just soft or an invisible violence but under some circumstances a symbolic violence might produce physical harm.Thirdly, the study found that, patriarchy as the dominant social and cultural order is resisted by the dominated (women respondents in majority) now that it is associated to wartime rape. Because of this, I proposed that symbolic orders are not always taken for granted; they maybe resisted by the dominated. Based on the findings, this research report advocates for a more gender inclusive policy to encourage women to participate in the making of decisions which concern their lives as main victims of wartime rape in DRC generally and in Kamanyola in particular.

Key words: Wartime rape, Physical violence, Symbolic violence [order], Bourdieu, Power.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Action for Youth and Women Integral Development	ADIJF
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention	CDC
Christian Action for Abandoned Women and Children and for Development	ACAEFAD
Communautés des Pays de Grand Lacs/ Great Lake Countries' Committee	CPGL
Congolese Assembly for Democracy	RCD
Council of Women Acting in Synergy	COFAS
Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda	FDLR
Democratic Republic of Congo	DRC
FondationChirezi / Chirezi Foundation	FOCHI
Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Force	FARDC
Harvard Humanitarian Initiative	HHI
International Crisis Group	ICG
International Rescue Committee	IRC
International Trade Union Conference	ITUC
Medecins Sans Frontiere/ Doctors without borders	MSF
MouvementMondial de la Femme/Women's Worldwide Rally	MMF
People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy	PPRDRebuild
Hope for Africa	RHA
Rapid Response for Population Movement	RRMP
Non Governmental Organization	NGO
Sexual Violence Survivors	SVS
United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees	UNHCR
United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo	MONUSCO

GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE GREAT LAKE REGION WARS

Stearns (2011) proposes that the Great Lake region Wars were not civil but regional wars. Many authors, among whom Stearns (2011) and Bartels et al. (2010) are part, have pointed on the 1994 Rwandan genocide as the starting point of the Great Lake Region Wars. In 1994, the Eastern DRC was a refuge toan estimated two million Hutu refugees (Bartels et al., 2010:4). Among these refugees were the Interahamwe Hutu military who were accused of being the main authors of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The Interahamwe military were crossing the eastern border to massacre Rwandan Tutsi who lived not far from the Eastern Congolese borders with Rwanda (North and South Kivu provinces). This is explained by the fact that refugee camps that housed Rwandan refugees were established against the international law defining where and how refugee camps should be established – 150km far from the border of their home country – (UNHCR, October 2006).

In 1996, withthe aim of anticipating Interahamwe's attacks, the Tutsi dominated Rwandan government and Uganda joined forces with Laurent Desire Kabila. Kabila's declared agenda was to take political power from Mobutu who was seen as a dictator. The alliance between these three parties [Rwanda-Uganda-Kabila] resulted in the creation of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL). In May 1997, Kabila's army took control of the Congolese capital city, Kinshasa. This was known as the "First Congo War" (Bartels et al., 2010:4).

The "Second Congo War" also called "Africa's World War" (Bartels et al., 2010:4) was fought during six years (from 1998 to 2003) by six African countries. In July 1998Kabila decided to dissolve his alliance with Rwanda and Uganda in an attempt to establish a strong government that could be trusted by Congolese people (Stearns, 2010). This decision led to the Second Congo War which opposed 'Rwanda-Uganda-Burundi' to the 'DRC-Angola- Zimbabwe-Namibia' alliances. This conflict was mostly explained by the desire to illegally exploit the Congolese mineral wealth such as diamonds, gold and Colton (Bartels et al., 2010). The Second Congo War officially ended with the signingof the Luanda Peace Agreement in 2003 (Bartels et al., 2010:5). Nevertheless, Bartels et al. (2010) add, this agreementdid not translate into peacegiven that the Congolese civil population continuedto suffer from armed aggressions especially in the Eastern DRC.

From 1998 to 2007, an estimated 5.4 million people were killed (Bartels et al., 2010:4). According to the 2008 International Rescue Committee (IRC) report, 40 000 rape cases – in the South Kivu alone – were reported by Congolese wartime rape survivors.An MSF doctors without borders report cited in Bartels et al. (2010) acknowledges the brutality with which rape was done in the DRC. Some of the victims were "gang raped, kidnapped, shot in the vagina or mutilated with knives and razor blades" (Bartels et al., 2010:7). Because of this brutality, the MSF proposed that wartime rape in DRC is systematic and not a mere 'side effect of war'.

The Democratic Force for Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) was seen as the main perpetrators of wartime rape in the DRC. Therefore, in 2009, the Congolese government (with Joseph Kabila Kabange as the 2006 elected President) established a new alliance with Rwanda because of the shared interest of stopping the Interahamwe Hutu army. This alliance was conditioned by the removal of the Rwandan General Laurent Kunda from command (Bartels et al., 2010:5). The effort to dismantle the FDLR army was unsuccessful and the number of wartime rape victims still increasedin statistics. In October 2012 for example, the Sexual Violence Survivors program at Panzi Hospital had 14 774 [14 720 females and 54 males] declared cases of wartime rape in Bukavu alone.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.Introduction

During World War II, wartime rape was used as a military weapon against enemy groups. Because of that, rape was considered as a weapon of war. The extent to which wartime rape has been utilized in some countries such as the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Liberia or Uganda remains comparatively low to what has been happening in the DRC for sixteen years. According to Fisher (1996), Jones (1994) and Salzan (1998) mentioned in Dikken and Bagge (2005:112) "20 000 and 50 000 people have been victims of wartime rape during the 1992-1995 Bosnian War". However, the American Journal of Public Health asserts that in the year 2010, 1000 victims declared daily their rape in the DRC; a figure of 30 000 war rape victims per month (Kristen et al., 2010).

Because of the extent to which wartime rape was expanding, the eastern part of the country was christened "the rape capital of the world" (Brown, 2012:25).According to Brown (2012), the Humanitarian Rights Watch acknowledges that the last fifteen years have witnessed "tens of thousands of women and girls in Congo" being raped and subjected to sexual violence. Stearns (2011) suggests that perpetrators of wartime rape in the DRC are as many as the armed groups which are present in the country. Approximately four foreign and local rebel groups are operating in the Eastern DRC.

Starting from the observation that wartime rape modifies the social development of a community as a whole, the research raises questions on how people in Kamanyola – a rural community in Bukavu – perceive and internalize wartime rape. Hagen and Yohani (2010:15) acknowledge that wartime rape does not take place in secret spaces, it "often occurs in the presence of three audiences: other women …, other soldiers …, and other community members…" This raises some questions which are relevant to this study. What is [are] the social norm (s) which justifies the practice of wartime rape? What are the ongoing effects of wartime rape on marriage, family and community ties as different components of the community's 'symbolic order'?

Women have been identified as the main labor force when it comes to artisanal agriculture which serves as the community's main source of income. However as a consequence of wartime rape,

women flee the village for 'safer' places. Therefore a third dimension of this study aims to present the ways in which women's engagement in economic activities is affected by war rape. In an attempt to answer these questions, data have been mainly collected through in-depth interviews with 'ordinary' community members among whom women from community-based associations in Kamanyola are part, a doctor, a nurse and government agents working in the researched area. In addition, I used secondary data from Panzi hospital to draw insights on survivors' numbers. The research site, Kamanyola, is a rural community which has experienced wartime rape some years ago as a consequence of the DRC's sixteen year-old war.

This research report suggests that it would be useful to move from the mere consideration of wartime rape as a simple outcome of war. Such a perception places wartime rape under the denomination of instrumental rape that armed groups are using in the DRC to establish fear, harm the population and exploit mineral wealth in total impunity. Instead, I suggest that it is useful to understand the symbolic dimensions of this war rape in order to have a meaningful picture of Africa's Great Lake Region War which began in August 1998.

In light of the above, this study is built upon a critical approach to Bourdieu's framing of 'symbolic violence'. I suggest that this form of physical violence [wartime rape] has symbolic dimensions; meaning physical violence is also symbolic violence. Because of this, this study suggests that it would be a reductionist argument to present all symbolic violence as soft, and, therefore invisible to those under symbolic violence. This is because this study considers wartime rape; a form of physical violence, as an issue of power (both symbolic and physical) which does not remain eternally unchallenged by its victims.

Symbolic violence has been defined as "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (…) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are *experienced as legitimate*" (Bourdieu, 1992:104, emphasis added) whilst physical violence is "the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury, or harm" (CDC, 2007). Therefore, this research explores the extent to which symbolic and physical dimensions of this specific form of violence [wartime rape] function in similar ways; e.g. how physical force against women is applied to impose new oppressive symbolic order upon both males and females in a specific group. It will be argued that this specific form of sexual violence goes beyond the physical attack against women to target the male of the enemy groups. Wartime rape permeates the community to which

the victims belong and reaches a nationwide level. This is the symbolic levels of this physical violence [wartime rape]. I suggest that wartime rape in DRC has deeply affected the Congolese nation because it is firstly built upon prevailing patriarchal norms which characterize not only the Eastern DRC but the whole nation. In addition, because both perpetrators and victims share patriarchy as social norm, the former use war rape as symbolic message to their victims. This message is that of masculine power that characterizes military groups.

Furthermore, HIV was deliberately transmitted from the perpetrators to Congolese females; sexual slavery and purposive impregnation have been witnessed in the DRC. This explains why wartime rape cannot be considered as a mere strategy of establishing fear but as violence aiming to implement a specific symbolic order.

This means this study proposes a sociological analysis of wartime rape given that bringing awareness around this form of violence has already been undertaken by much other literature.

Among other things, Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic violence' posits that victims participate in their own suffering. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that symbolic violence integrates itself as part of prevalent social systems such that it goes unchallenged. As mentioned above, Bourdieu's conception of 'symbolic violence' is critically approached throughout this paper. The study questions the applicability of this concept, as proposed by Bourdieu, to other social aspects or crisis such as wartime rape and the attack against women as main targets. Do the symbolic dimensions of wartime rape remain unchallenged by the direct victims as well as the entire community/nation to which they belong? Can we argue that victims/survivors do participate in their own suffering? Answering these questions would require us to have a look on theories of power, gender and gender performativity which present gender as a social construction (Butler, 2009). A study by Brown (2012) has established that it is difficult to analyze wartime rape in the DRC context without including the economic dimensions which contribute partly in explaining that violence. It is said that "rape is not so much about sex as it is the power of men to get what they want in order to survive another day" (Brown,2012:29). Keeping that in mind, this study suggests that economic reasons alone do not clearly explain the scale that rape has taken in DRC.

1.2.Aims

The purpose of this study is to find out the symbolic dimensions attached to the practice of wartime rape and the community's responses towards wartime rape. Through investigations, this research explores the impact of wartime rape on different components of the community's symbolic order namely community and family ties, marriage and women's engagement in economic activities. In other words, the research aims to examine the ways in which wartime rape has affected the social order and economic life of Kamanyola community, and more importantly, the ways in which the studied community has responded to this form of violence.
In order to achieve the above mentioned aims, the main question to be answered is

Main question:

- Does the concept of "symbolic violence" help us understand the practice of wartime rape?

Answering the above question requires addressing the following sub-questions:

Secondary Questions

1. Does the patriarchal system, as the main social and cultural norm, encourage the prevalence of wartime rape in Kamanyola?
2. What are the ongoing effects of wartime rape on marriage, family and community ties as different components of the community's symbolic order?
3. How did wartime rape change the pattern of women's engagement in economic activities?

1.3. Rationale

a. Why researching on wartime rape in the DRC

A July 2013 study by UNHCR acknowledges that the number of rape victims in DRC has shifted from 4689 in 2011 to 7075 in 2012 in the North Kivu Province only. It has also been noted that other cases remain unreported. In the same light, the American Journal of Public Health acknowledges that, at the national level, 1.8 million women, in a population of 70 million people, have been recorded as rape victims in the DRC. According to the same source 90 percent of the victims are located in the Eastern part of the country. Because of these statistics, there is need to

take a specific approach to wartime rape, in the DRC, that does not limit this form of sexual violence to a mere consequence of the civil war.

b. Research Gap

Different literature on wartime rape expose the extent to which the phenomenon is widely expanded at such rapid rates that it has been termed a 'weapon of war' in countries around the world during World War II and presently in considerable African countries among which the DRC (IRC, 2008) forms a major part. This literature addresses the socio-psychological outcomes of wartime rape. Its physical and symbolic aspects tend to be analyzed separately.

Feminist literature, on the one side, has expanded the analysis of differential identities to what has been termed "gender identity" by McCall (1992) to challenge Bourdieu's conception of "symbolic violence". On the other side, some literature on the DRC cyclical wartime violence promotes a victimhood discourse which limits the victims (women in majority) to that simplistic state of victim. Such an approach reinforces the passive role that the patriarchal society gives to women. Their subjectivity is undermined by the fact that they are reduced to the mere category of victim. Subjectivity refers here to "the condition of being subject: the quality of subject's perspective, experiences, feelings and desires" (Solomon, 2005:900). This research, however, aims to transcend this victimhood discourse to recognize victims as custodians of a specific form of power which enables them to resist against wartime rape and establish what Von Holdt (2011) termed "symbolic order from below". Therefore, this research will bring under the same roof theories analyzing individual's multiple identities and those of subjectivity. The aim of doing so is to counter the imprisonment of human beings within reductionist sphere of duality, namely female/male or subdominant/dominant. To reach such target this study will build upon the argument that "(…) putting contrasting events side-by-side may prove more productive than pursuing a linear narrative or argument" (Von Holdt, 2012:114). In this case, symbolic violence and physical violence are juxtaposed because I propose that wartime rape's physical aspects can hardly be understood when its symbolic dimensions are overlooked.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reflects on previous scholarly works which have been done around the concepts of symbolic violence on the one side and wartime rape at the other. The aim is to locate the study within a broader literature framework. The review of literature will inform the issue of wartime rape and symbolic dimensions of this physical violence. Firstly, a definition of symbolic violence as developed by Bourdieu will be presented. At this point, issues brought out by this concept will be considered. The aim is to find out whether Bourdieu's approach to the concept of symbolic violence helps in explaining the practice of wartime rape or whether it is to be extended to include other aspects such as 'gender identities', 'gender symbolism' (McCall, 1992) as well as 'hidden transcript' and 'public transcript' (Scott, 1990). Secondly, literature addressing wartime rape in different parts of the world will be presented before focusing on the specific Congolese (DRC) case. Doing so, in my view, challenges the idea of *all* symbolic violence being 'soft' (without physical harm and invisible to those under symbolic violence) and helps illuminate some other dimensions surrounding the practice of wartime rape as well as the construction of a corresponding resistance from those considered subdominant.

2.2. Symbolic Violence

a. Defining Symbolic violence

The concept of "Symbolic Violence" has constituted one of the central themes of Pierre Bourdieu's work. As presented by the author, "Symbolic violence" refers to "the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning … upon groups or classes in such a way that they are *experienced as legitimate*" (Bourdieu, 1992:104, emphasis mine). It is presupposed that the social structure, because it is deeply embodied in the individual's unconsciousness, can thus not be challenged by those under the clutches of *symbolic violence*. This is because this kind of violence is "soft"; that is to say physically harmless. In his development of the concept, Bourdieu asserts that only the dominant can assert symbolic violence upon the dominated. Therefore, in this view, the dominated are denied the capacity to establish a specific order that represents best their interests.

Some critique point out that Bourdieu's definition of "symbolic order" is "undertheorized" (Moi, 1991) when it comes to gender analysis and that it sustains the idea of a static (unchangeable) social order. Therefore, the reductionist – and to some extent 'unhistorical' – way the concept was constructed presents hegemonic domination as unchallengeable. Some of these critiques propose, instead, that norms (culture and its different deployments) are socially constructed and thus vary from one society to another through the historical evolution. In fact, Laszlo clearly states that "the evolution of nature and society takes place in such a way that complex systems again and again enter phases of instability and crisis …, and these instability and crisis establish a new order" (Fuchs, 2003:388). This means that any theory that seeks to explain complex social phenomena needs to take into account differences that exist between regions, local contexts, communities and time.

b. Feminist conceptualization of 'gender identity' as a critique to Bourdieu's Symbolic Violence

As proposed by Moore (1988: 13), gender is not to be reduced to simplistic symbolic aspects but has to be understood in terms of "social relations". This means that gender does not have to be equated to biological formation but has to be understood in the ways an individual exercises his/her life; the way s/he interacts with peers. Based on this conception of gender, the core critiques of Bourdieu found within feminist lines, present Bourdieu as purposely overlooking women and simply focusing on what McCall (1992) called 'gender symbolism'. This, according to this specific feminist analysis, reflects a narrative of "masculine domination" in respect to the established social order to which all individuals –male and female –obey without questioning it because such an order is seen as 'natural'. Defining "gender symbolism" McCall says that it "refers most essentially to durable cultural expressions of gender difference" (McCall, 1992:837) in respect to the dominant world view which is male. Therefore, the concept of 'gender symbolism' becomes useful in highlighting the ways in which women and men are reduced to two contrasting roles of oppressed dominated [women] and dominant oppressor [men].

There is no doubt that McCall (1992) recognizes the long lasting effects the socialization process has on the individual body. This is visible in the fact that her development of 'gender symbolism' relies on social institutions to be made real. Such institutions include for example the home, the school or church. It is within these institutions that boys and girls are taught to perform their gender identity in respect to their biological formation. Similarly, Bourdieu's

definition of symbolic violence heavily relies on socialization. Bourdieu (1992) asserts that symbolic violence has long lasting effects given that it is embedded within social institutions such as schools, families and workplaces. It is reproduced through power relations between the dominant and the dominated and finds its legitimacy in the way people have been socialized.

That being said, the dividing lines between Bourdieu and the proponents of feminist ideology appear with the introduction of the concept of "gender identity". The recognition of multiple manifestations of gender comes to question Bourdieu's reduction of the social sphere to simple opposition between male and female. "Gender identity" is thus "the multiple and other contradictory experiences of femininities and masculinities which rarely conform to the hegemonic images of gender symbolism…" (McCall, 1992:838). Considering that in this postmodern society it is not rare to find male or female individuals performing their genders in the way that the dominant patriarchal system would term 'contradictory to their gender', the way Bourdieu presents symbolic order is thus reduced to that world where human beings are merely male and female conformists. As stated by McCall (1992:845) "symbolic violence is not so clear cut when removed from contexts in which all men and women operate under the respective codes of gender symbolism." In Moi's (1991:1033) words "in contemporary society, the position of women and of men – in relation to social power – is far more complex and contradictory than Bourdieu would seem fully to acknowledge." In other words, when it comes to explaining the multiplicity of gendered manifestations, Bourdieu's symbolic violence faces limitations. This is not to say that it loses its logic but the logic does not always imply the relevance and applicability. Echoing Charles Kittering mentioned in McCloskey (1994:50), I can posit that in some instances, "logic is an organized way of going wrong with confidence – and especially of misleading others." This line does not have to be interpreted as saying that Bourdieu is wrong in all angles. However, it is a simple way of suggesting that there is need to reconsider the way he develops the concept of 'symbolic violence' given that it constitutes a leading point in his framing of social structures. To better understand this point, I propose to look at some cases where symbolic violence is somehow inseparable from the physical violence.

2.3. *The relationship between Symbolic and Physical Violence*

As a reminder, physical violence refers to "the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury, or harm" (CDC, 2007). It is therefore clear that symbolic and physical violence cannot be conflated into one and same thing. But is it to say that they cannot

have similar outcomes; that of causing harm (physical or psychological)? This question, thus, introduces another striking point which has led feminist theorists and many other authors to criticize Bourdieu for framing symbolic violence as 'gentle, soft' and thus unperceived by its victims. These victims are presented as participants to their own domination. Bourdieu asserts that "symbolic violence is the coercion which is set up only through the *consent that the dominated cannot fail to give to the dominant* …" (Bourdieu, 1997:170, emphasis mine). He continues by saying that this is because the subdominant has "incorporated" the ways in which the dominant structures the social system. Therefore, this "gentle violence" (Bourdieu, 2001:1) benefits from the unawareness of its victims to remain unchallenged and is reproduced in the everyday life through Habitus – "the system of dispositions which individuals have." The dominated, a conscious living body, participates in his/her own subordination by adhering to hegemonic discourses. This adherence then establishes what Bourdieu termed the 'symbolic order' which regulates social relations and maintains the dominant's hegemony. Then, taken for granted, this symbolic order is seen by the subdominant as the way things have to be. More importantly, the dominated consciousness is shaped and redefined over and over again by the cultural norms within their social sphere and this renders any form of 'counter-hegemony' impossible. In clear terms, Bourdieu acknowledges that:

> If it is illusory to believe that symbolic violence can be overcome with the weapons of consciousness and will alone, this is because the effect and conditions of its efficacy are durably and deeply embedded in the body in the form of dispositions (Bourdieu, 2001:39).

What this research takes from Bourdieu's development of the concept of 'symbolic violence' is that this specific form of violence has long-lasting effects which are embodied in the living human body. What is left out in Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic violence, but constitutes a central point of this paper is that in many instances symbolic violence needs the physical violence to be effective. This is to say that symbolic violence, in several cases, has been 'empowered' or rendered more effective because of the threat of physical violence that accompanies it. To mean that it is not always true that the subdominant does incorporate the dominant's norm. However, fearing the physical harms that can be imposed on him/her in case of disobedience, the dominated reproduces what he/she is expected to. Therefore, the internalization of the gestures produced through physical violence; the self-appropriation of the message send through that action – this is to say, its symbolism – affect the victims'

consciousness in the same way the physical body was affected. This explains why this study has a level of skepticism on the fact that symbolic violence is always gentle or soft violence. Therefore, a newly framed definition of symbolic violence, different from Bourdieu's, is needed.

An eye on colonial societies through the specific South African example can contribute in understanding why "symbolic violence" is not one-dimensional ('gentle') but multidimensional. Colonialism has always been associated with the violence that comes not to contradict but reinforce the colonialist reason (Behdad, 1997). Violence here has been understood as "the intrusion of an external other upon whatever group, institution, or category one chooses to identify with" (De Vries and Weber, 1997:1).

In his study of the South African society, Von Holdt (2012) argued that both symbolic and physical violence can take a *collective* form; what he termed 'collective violence'. This refers to a form of violence performed by a group of individuals pursuing specific shared interests. Contrary to Bourdieu's approach to symbolic violence, Von Holdt (2012) recognizes that symbolic violence can be countered and thus is not unperceived or taken for granted by the dominated. This way of approaching violence is explained by the fact that Von Holdt (2012) did not limit his analysis of violence on what Scott (1990) called the "public transcript." The "public transcript" is "a short way of describing the open interaction between subdominants and those who dominate" (Scott, 1990:2). The public transcript therefore helps to understand the attitude of those under domination toward a given social order [shaped and sustained by the rules] while in public places.

Scott (1990) suggests that many social researchers draw their analysis of social facts upon the limit of what is publicly declared and overlook what is said in secret places. The limitation of one's analysis on this 'appearance' thus leads many social analysts to conclusions which are far from reality. It is therefore difficult to explain an eventual resistance from those people who seem to be reproducing on a daily basis the hegemonic social order.

As proposed by Von Holdt, "physical violence provides the agency through which workers can counter the symbolic violence which defines groups of unskilled workers as inferior" (Von Holdt, 2011:124). In the same light with Von Holdt, Scott (1990:3) argues that "subordinates offer a performance of deference and consent while attempting to discern, to read, the real intensions and mood of the potentially threatening power holder." From both authors it can be

seen that violence produces its own countering force which aims not to sustain but to militate against the force of the oppressor. Similarly to the concept of 'gender symbolism' presented above, the racial-based violence defined by the apartheid era was a form of symbolic violence since it relied on the circulation of racially hegemonic discourse. It is clear that gender and race do constitute elements upon which a group of individuals might articulate its logic for marginalizing others.

Thus, colonialism was a mixture of both symbolic and physical violence since it relied on both brute force and the creation of common sense. Considering that in South Africa the dominated rebelled and toppled apartheid, it would therefore be absurd to propose that the dominated are not aware of their subordination, or that they take it as 'normal'. On the contrary, "this symbolism is well understood, by both the community and authorities, since it was central to the struggle against apartheid authority" (Von Holdt, 2011: 120). In addition, the South African example shows that symbolic violence, in order to be effective and fully established, needs physical violence to reinforce its impact upon the dominated. Because the dominated are conscious of their oppression, they are able to organize into a counter-hegemonic force which aims to reverse the dominant order. This is what Fanon (2004) meant by saying that "the colonised … is dominated but not domesticated. He is made to feel inferior, but by no means convinced of his inferiority" (Von Holdt, 2011:115). The dominated is obliged to have a submissive attitude "as the sacrificed" (Behdad, 1997: 203) but this submissive attitude should not be mistaken for complete surrender.

Nevertheless one should not read the above arguments as asserting that Bourdieu does not recognize the existence of physical violence. In fact he argues that symbolic violence does not obscure or excuse physical violence, the first does not "seek to exculpate men from rape and women's subordination" (Bourdieu, 2001: 34). However, what Bourdieu does not present is the fact that physical violence can have symbolic dimensions and both the physical and symbolism might produce physically harmful impacts because a physical violence is also symbolic. Instead, Bourdieu argues that:

> Symbolic force is a form of power that is exerted on bodies, directly and *as by magic, without any physical constraint*, but this magic works only on the basis of the dispositions deposited, *like springs*, at the deepest level of the body (Bourdieu, 2001:38, emphasis mine).

The above quote suggests that symbolic violence only operates on people's psyche, *leaving the physical body intact*. The softness or gentleness of violence constitutes the realm of Bourdieu's analysis of violence. The view was largely based on the French society and can be applied to the other advanced industrial societies where physical violence is presented as not explicit. However, can Bourdieu's symbolic violence still explain the reality of the contemporary French society? Societies do evolve and so do norms and practices; what was true yesterday might not be true today. The way Bourdieu presented symbolic violence is similar to what Scott (1990) terms the 'thick version' of social order which means nothing different from the presented public transcript. It has been said that "the thick version claims that a dominant ideology works its magic by persuading subordinate groups to believe actively in the values that explain and justify their subordination" (Scott, 1990:72).

From Fanon (2004) and Von Holdt (2012), we understand that physical and symbolic violence can be intertwined and one form can reinforce or constitute the countering force of the other. Therefore, this specific approach to both symbolic and physical violence appears to be more applicable to this study.

Drawing from Fanon (2004) and Von Holdt (2012), we see how symbolic violence can then have the same power carried by physical harm. The coordination between these two forms of violence can shape and redefine the internal person. Analyzing wartime rape can help demonstrate other ways in which physical and symbolic violence is intertwined and somehow difficult to be understood separately. The analysis also presents the ways in which counter-hegemonic orders are framed.

2.4.Wartime rape as an interplay of both physical and symbolic dimensions of violence

This section will explore further the idea of gender as a social construct as well as the conceptualization of symbolic and physical violence as proposed by Fanon, Von Holdt and Scott (among others) in contrast to Bourdieu's. A discussion of what is meant by 'power' is also of huge importance here if we want to argue for a possible counter-hegemonic action which is referred to as the subdominant's 'infrapolitics' (Scott, 1990). This is because, wartime rape is considered to be a sphere of different levels of power playing where the most powerful establishes his symbolic order upon the oppressed through the use of physical violence.

a. Defining wartime rape

According to Hagen and Yohani (2010:15) war rape is defined as "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 opposing group." It is important to add on this definition that wartime rape does not simply aim to intimidate or destroy physically the enemies. The fact of destroying goes beyond the physical to affect the victim's consciousness. As proposed by Kylie (2010), rape is rendered a powerful weapon because of the ways the community constructs women's bodies. She says that "cultural norms about women's bodies and women's sexuality underlie the use of rape as a viable or effective weapon" (Kylie, 2010: 19). This view helps to understand how physical violence [war rape] is used by oppressors to establish or destroy a specific social order constructed upon existent norms which sustain a community's symbolic order. The same symbolic [social] order which defines women as male's property and pride.

b. How Wartime rape destabilizes the community's symbolic order

As mentioned in the rationale of this paper, women in the eastern DRC are exposed to risks of being raped every day since 1998. The American Journal of Public Health acknowledges that, at a nationwide, a number of 1.8 million women, in a population of 70 million people, have been recorded as rape victims in the DRC. According to the same source 90 percent of the victims are located in the Eastern part of the country.

The practice of wartime rape can be explained by the fact that this physical violence goes beyond its physical harms to reach the psyche of not only the direct victim whose body is raped, but also the community to which the victim belongs, and, therefore destroying the existent symbolic order. As revealed by Kylie (2010:19) it is "the public ownership of women's sexuality that makes it possible to translate an attack against one woman into an attack against an entire community."Consequently, one of the obvious solutions against war rape is the challenge of those norms which posit women as some communal belongings.

Rape in general "is not simply an attack on an individual, but an attack which utilizes social and gender stigmas for the advancement of social break-down" (Clifford, 2008:4).The symbolism in the physical harms against the body is found in the way the use of rape destroys people's conceptions of self and the social 'symbolic order'. The perpetrators are conscious that if a body

has to be disintegrated they have to target the 'soul' of that body. In other words, bombs and guns can kill the physical body; however, as long as the social bond is not profoundly affected life can be reproduced. This helps to understand *why women are being targeted*.

More precisely:

> Just as there is a persistent patriarchal view of women as 'beautiful souls', sexualized aggression can be related not so much to the particular material rewards of the act as to the imaginary role of certain women as representatives of a nation to be destroyed or a community to be punished, and of rape as a violation that only counts as a violation in some collective sense because of patriarchal norms of family and customs (Kirby, 2012: 15).

We can therefore safely deduce that, in many respects, the targeting of women through wartime rape in DRC can be seen as strategic maneuver to subdue whole communities, disintegrate families; a symbolic act of 'raping a nation'.

That being said, it is important to emphasize that this form of violence does not simply exist but also persist, and 'migrate' from one part of the world to another. Therefore,

> It is through our ability to see the linkages between interpersonal, cultural, collective, political, state, interstate and structural violence that we can gain a better understanding of its persistence in human interactions (Pierce, 2009:1).

The persistence of wartime rape, as presented above, is favored by gender-stratified societies in which patriarchy is the prevailing norm. Patriarchy, it is said, presents female human beings not as autonomous subjects but in relation to a specific male entity. In Kylie's logic, there is an "appropriation of women's bodies as symbols for the larger tribal/ethnic/religious or political collectivity" (Kylie, 2010: 20). From this view rape can be seen as an issue of what Bourdieu (2001:51) termed "manliness" – a social bonding code between males of a given social structure which reinforces the patriarchal system. In this sense, wartime rape "works to create a strong symbolic bond, a brotherhood in abjection or in guilt …" (Diken and Bagge, 2005:124). Ballard et al. (2006:6) noted that collective actions "construct new realities, express new identities; the collective identity." The shared meaning of guilt gives to perpetrators a new identity (legitimized by the bonding together) which would be difficult to deploy at an individual level when the 'group' is dislocated.

In addition, it is underlined that the inequalities in gender, as framed by patriarchal societies, facilitate armed conflicts to result into sexual violence. Nevertheless, seeing wartime rape as a mere issue of masculinity can obscure the fact that women can also rape. Denying this would be arguing that "rape is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in state of fear" (Brownmiller,1975:15). This explanation would fall under the 'essentialist' conception which sees men as perpetrators and women as victims. It then leaves no window for the other way around. As stated in Kirby (2012:4) "the essentialist view is a feminist account of rape which sees all women as victims through a focus on the militarized expression of underlying masculinity." Of course all men can rape but not all men are rapist. This is important to mention because *not* all men in the DRC or even all soldiers are rapists. This paper does not seek to give that impression at all.

Moreover, the imposition of the perpetrators' culture and ethnicity results in the 'ethnic cleansing' of the enemy group through forced impregnations. As defined in Diken and Bagge (2005), the

> Ethnic cleansing is an act intended to render an area ethnically homogeneous by removing members of a given group through the use of concentration camps, torture, sexual violence, mass killings, …, destruction of private and cultural property,...(Diken and Bagge, 2005:1).

We can then deduce that communities which have experienced wartime rape do not remain the same after the passage of the perpetrators because "in some cultures,(…) women who have been raped can no longer be married, families disown their daughters, and husbands reject their wives" (Hagen and Yohani, 2010:15). It is commonly said that the sight of the baby makes the mother forget the childbirth pains; however, children issued from rape are the reminder of the mother's rape. This exemplifies how harmful symbolic violence can be because the child is a living message from the perpetrator to the entire community.

c. Wartime rape as a display of different levels of power which create "muted" voices

As stated above, the discussion on war rape must not to be limited to the simple fact of masculinity; other dimensions need to be included. The gendered hierarchy of sex where women occupy the lowest position is one of the poignant explanations. Another view posits rape as not only an issue of masculinity but also of 'power'. This approach to the practice of wartime rape is a reference to what Lukes (2005) terms 'power as domination'. He defines this as "the ability to

constrain the choices of others, coercing them or securing their compliance, by impeding them from living as their own nature and judgment dictate" (Lukes, 2005: 85). Being able to change the path of someone's life is then understood as having power over that individual. The power per se is found in this "*ability* of an agent (s) which they may or may not exercise" (Lukes, 2005:63). However, Lukes (2005) also acknowledges that a 'powerless' individual does not exist; nonetheless, unequal access to the means of power increases/decreases people's chances to deploy their power. This can be contextualized by the example of military actions vis-à-vis a group of civilians. The possession of guns increases the soldier's capacity of domination upon the unarmed group; it enables them to 'mute' the dominated voices.

The "theory of 'muted groups'" as proposed by Edwin Arden in Moore (1988:3) emphasizes that "the dominant groups in society generate and control the prevailing modes of expressions." This recalls Scott's (1990) analysis of hidden and public transcripts where the 'muted groups' perform in the ways domination expects them to. Meanwhile, the dominated is falsely regarded as powerless. This conceptualization of power constitutes the common point between, Fanon (2004), Lukes (2005) and Von Holdt (2012). In fact, Fanon (2004) presents the dominated as owners of their own form of power, "they are dominated but not domesticated." It is simply that their "choices are constrained" by those possessing the means of power (Lukes, 2005:85). However, the dominant "does not have a monopoly of either physical or symbolic violence" (Von Holdt, 2012: 121). This is because "all agents in the field to some extent share the same habitus" which enables them to "play the same game but not always in the same way" (Moi, 1991:1022). This means that both the dominant and the dominated seek to establish a social order that best suits their respective interests. However the game of domination is played in different ways because one group [dominant] aims to sustain the existing order when the other one [dominated] works to reverse that order.

To these authors can be added Connell (1987:107) who, using the same logic, states that "power may be a balance of advantage or an inequality of resources in … a household or larger institution." The power of those presented as powerless can be latent, but not inexistent. This helps us understand that it is a misleading assumption to consider the dominated as powerless. Confusing domination and powerlessness is in fact reproducing a master narrative which is based on hegemonic accounts of domination. As said by Scott,

> The problem with hegemonic thesis, at least in its strong forms as proposed by some of Gramsci's successors, is that it is difficult to explain how social change could ever originate from below (Scott, 1990:78).

From these authors, we can see an argument asserting that being dominated is not the same thing as being powerless.

Referring back Bourdieu, it is stressed that "Bourdieu is clearly attempting to generalize the rationalization of economic self-interest to cultural domains" (McCall, 1992:844). In other words, Bourdieu adopt Gramsci's conception of hegemony and the construction of the common sense – which refers to "symbolic order" in Bourdieu's narrative. However, unlike Gramsci, Bourdieu does not leave a window for the construction of anti-hegemonic force, or in Von Holdt's word, the "symbolic order from below." Repeating the previous question from Scott (1990), I therefore ask: how can we then theorize numerous social changes that history has recorded especially from those who were once considered powerless? In the case of war rape in the DRC, can we say that the rape victims are powerless?

In summary, it can be argued that both dominant and dominated are powerful. The difference is that in many circumstances the voice of those in lack of means of power is reduced to silence but this does not by any means imply that their voice is inexistent. Because they are conscious of an eventual power from below, the elite work continuously to maintain their hegemony through the use of symbolism (discourses) or brute force. However, "the obstacles to resistance, which are many, are not attributable to the inability of subordinate groups to imagine a counterfactual social order" (Scott, 1990:81).

d. The power of the 'powerless' in response to wartime rape

The development of this point requires a clear understanding of Scott's public and hidden transcripts. This is because the two transcripts represent two different forms of power held by both the elite and the dominated. As stated previously, "public transcript" refers to "a short way of describing the open interaction between subdominants and those who dominate" (Scott, 1990:2). The "hidden transcript on the other hand characterizes the discourse that takes place 'offstage', beyond direct observation by power holders" (Scott, 1990:4). Scott continues by asserting that the hidden transcript is made of "those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript" (Scott, 1990: 4). This

might include for example body languages or popular song those under oppression use to disguise their protest or resistance against the oppressor. What is interesting in this account is the acknowledgment that both dominated and dominant have their 'public transcript' as well as their 'hidden transcript'. The difference is that the dominant performs his public transcript in the way that sustains his hegemony in the eyes of those who observe him in that place of the social sphere which is referred to as 'public'. This is why, in colonial societies for example, the colonialist always appeared strong and unshakable.

In an interview appearing in through *TheGuardian* Journal April 2013 by Pete Jones and Fiona Lloyd-Davies, a 24 year old soldier confesses "they did whatever they wanted" to women in Minova (North-Kivu Province/ RDC). However, all along the interview the same soldier could not retain tears from falling from his eyes when he revealed that "I've raped 53 women and children of five or six years old." He dissociated himself from that action by pointing to the fact that this was an order from his superior commander after they lost a battle. All of a sudden, this soldier who projected the image of a fearless man when in public is reduced to a 'crying' boy in his private moment offered by the interview's guarantee of anonymity and secrecy. We can deduce that the same strong man in public carries the burden of stress and remorse that he can only let out when alone or within a group of individuals who share the same experience with him. He has to keep this hidden transcript away from the reach of his victims and the greater public in order to avoid any revenge which might result as soon as the victims read his weakness. This example clearly explains Scott's concept of hidden and public transcripts. It is also worthy to turn to the extent where the dominated's hidden transcript reaches the public transcript and thereby becomes the voice of those presented as voiceless. This is the 'infrapolitics' of the subordinate. This concept is useful for this paper in the sense that it clearly presents where the power of those considered as powerless rests. It will help to understand latter on how women attempt to resist and challenge their domination by men in a highly patriarchal society as it is the case of most traditional communities in the DRC.

The symbolic dimension of wartime rape is the imposition of the perpetrators' culture and ethnicity as the hegemonic order upon the dominated. At this point perpetrators impose a symbolic power over the community as a whole. However, this symbolic power differs from Bourdieu's conception.

Bourdieu (2001: 40) argues that "symbolic power cannot be exercised without the contribution of those who undergo it and who only undergo it because they construct it as such." It can then be argued that the expression of shame after being raped is an adoption of the hegemonic order which falls back into Bourdieu's definition of symbolic violence. This is because guilt and shame are feelings which implicate the victim in wrong-doing because when one knows that he is innocent one does not feel guilty or ashamed. Therefore shame is a signifier of wrongdoing which locates the victim/abused within the traps of the oppressor. In addition, these feelings are a sign that survivors of wartime rape for example do corroborate the existing social norm. Nevertheless such an assumption can be countered by Fanon (2004) as well as Lukes (2005). Indeed, while presenting the different dimensions of power, Lukes (2005) quotes Spinoza (1977[1958]) who said that:

> The man who has another in his power in the first or second way, holds his body only, not his mind, whereas he who controls another in the third or fourth way has made the mind as well as the body of the other subject to his right; *but only while the fear or hope remains, once the one or the other has been removed, the second man is left in possession of his own rights* (Lukes, 2005: 86).

The last part of the quote clearly shows that those feelings which are shaped and dictated by the hegemonic social order do not remain unchallenged by the oppressed. On the contrary, the dominated have the power to counter such feelings which succumb to the hegemonic order. This was clearly explained by Von Holdt (2012: 116) saying that "there is an echo, here, of Bourdieu's symbolic violence in the feeling of inferiority, and the feeling of fear …, but these feelings are mixed and the colonial subject cannot be 'domesticated'." This helps in understanding other dimensions of Symbolic Violence, which were not presented by Bourdieu, saying that even that form of violence produces its own countering force.

From this observation we can even go further and suggest that after being raped for example, the victim is under confusion as a result of mixed feelings. Therefore, in a state of confusion, the victim 'clings' on something s/he is used to; the social norms. However this does not mean that the confusion will be eternal, unchallenged. The reality that some women are capable of exacting revenge against their oppressors is evidence of the very contested and dialectical nature of power. Indeed, some women who were raped have become recognizable, vocal activists against

gender violence, demonstrating that women can refuse the label of 'victim'. A living example is that of a Congolese woman who has been raped at the age of 24. Nonetheless,

> Eleven years later, Mme Solange Nzigire, a victim of sexual violence, had the courage to speak out. Eleven years after her ordeal she also created Christian Action for Abandoned Women and Children and for Development (ACAEFAD), of which she is president… (ITUC, November 2011).

The above quote is of huge importance because it exposes two aspects around which this paper is framed. Firstly it proves Bourdieu right to assert that the social and cultural norms are deeply embedded and thus *diminish* the chance for a counter-hegemonic force to emerge because it took eleven years for Mrs. Solange to trespass social and cultural norms which reduced her to silence as a victim of war rape. Secondly, the quote clearly shows that the dominated have their own power, thus highlighting Bourdieu's oversight. From the above quotation, Mrs. Solange Nzigire challenges patriarchy at first and the perpetrators' emprise on her by acting exactly in the opposite way she was expected to. Therefore, this refusal is in fact a demand for the opposite of what patriarchal ideology establishes as norm in this specific society.

If women are most of the time presented as powerless it is simply because their "political life…takes place at a level we rarely recognize as political" (Scott, 1990: 198). This means that women's actions are merely considered as political or powerful [especially in traditional societies such as many villages in the eastern DRC] because these actions are limited on household matters in opposition to public affairs. However, what is overlooked in many instances is that it is in those 'private' spaces that those who are denied public expression frame their resistance against an unequal social system. Therefore, when Bourdieu articulates that the dominated "can succeed only to the extent that…they manage to reactivate disposition which previous process of inculcation have deposited in their bodies" (Bourdieu, 1997:235), Scott at his side proposes instead that

> So long as we confine our conception of the political to activity that is openly declared we are driven to conclude that subordinate groups essentially lack a political life or that what they do have is restricted to those *exceptional moments of popular explosion* (Scott 1990:199, emphasis mine).

From the above quotes, the difference between the two authors is clearly seen. At the one wing, Bourdieu (1997) suggests that the dominated can thrive just when he manages to reproduce norms which were embedded in his body through the socializing process; to mean social and cultural hegemonic rules (even when they might be oppressive to the oppressed subject). At the second wing, Scott (1990) suggests that if the analysis of social facts is limited on what is dictated by the public, thus hegemonic discourses, there is risk to falsely regard dominated groups as merely reproducing the hegemonic order because they lack their power from below. Therefore their [dominated] revolt might be seen as accidental collective actions missing well-conceived and purposeful ends. Scott (1990)does therefore, exposes where the power of those considered as powerless can be observed and in which ways their political life can be analysed in order to understand what is regarded as 'exceptional moments of popular explosion'. This is useful to capture because in many traditional societies we found in the DRC, women are constrained by patriarchal norms to limit their actions and views within their households. However, this does not obstruct them to collectively assert their resistance. This is why, following Scott's (1990) argument, I suggest that there is need to look beyond the visible and understand that what is publicly seen [appearance] might be a mask to hide what is real. Appearance might then be the mirror of the contrary of the real.

The above lines present different levels where power can be analysed: the public level and the hidden one. Because the hidden dimension of power is most of the time overlooked, those under domination are termed powerless. Nevertheless, what is important to keep is that power is multidimensional and multifaceted. Under other skies, what is commonly termed abnormal can appear to be the reinforcement of an already existing order; the masculine order. This is why, talking of rape, Connell (1987:107) states that "rape… is a form of person-to-person violence deeply embedded in power inequalities and ideologies of male supremacy…"; a point that posits rape in general as an issue of unequal power where the dominant imposes his masculine order upon the oppressed group.

2.5.Wartime rape as a barrier to women's economic life

Another symbolic dimension which has been highlighted through literature on the DRC war is the attack against women not only as community members but also as an important source of the household income. In addition, the literature exposes on the reconstructive surgery as part of the ways wartime rape costs women and economically inconveniences them. Brown (2012)

proposed that wartime rape cannot be delinked with poverty and lack of material resources from military. This part aims to present the ways in which wartime rape has affected women's engagement in economic activities. However, the focus is on the fact that the specific case of war rape cannot be reduced to the mere search for material goods through intimidation.

The Eastern DRC war has forced the population to abandon agricultural activity – which was mostly done by women – to look for other survival mechanisms as means of fighting against poverty. Women, particularly, resorted to trans-border informal trading. This refers to small scale trade movements which, informally, take place between the Rwandan border and the Eastern RDC, especially the Northern and Southern Kivu. The fact that women constitute the large number of victims affects negatively the economic lives of communities because "women have started to play an important role in providing for the household" when the war reduces men into voluntary or forcibly enrolled soldiers (Fanning and Hastie, 2012:5).The informal trade resulted in most women abandoning their farming activities which constituted their source of livelihood prior to the war. The farming activities then became an ambush for women because they were several times raped on their way to farms (Fanning and Hastie, 2012). As revealed by Brown (2012):

> …women who are the providers for their families must continue 'going to the fields to cultivate, to the forest to make charcoal, or to markets to trade their goods even though doing so puts them at risk of sexual violence (Brown, 2012:28).

Women constitute the majority of those paying the cost of the sixteen years old war because of the use of rape as a military weapon. Also, they are still the ones who have to carry the economic burden given that in the villages it is almost impossible to have other economic alternatives rather than farming. It explains why much still needs to be done not only for the present Congolese society but also for its future.

2.6.Conclusion

From the above literature review what can be said is that wartime rape – as physical violence – has symbolic dimensions which need to be taken into consideration if one is to understand this social crisis. However, the concept of symbolic violence as proposed by Bourdieu needs to be extended so that it addresses other issues such as 'gender identity'. This highlights the plurality of gendered identities and so criticizes the limitation of gender at the mere opposition between

male and female. This was a proposal from feminist critics to Bourdieu who, in their views, is purposely neglecting gender as "symbolic capital" (McCall, 1992). It is proposed that by linking wartime rape to the social construction of gender through cultural norms, more understanding can be gained. By doing so the 'softness' of "symbolic violence" is questioned. This was clearly demonstrated by Fanon and Von Holdt who purposely presented under the same discussion "symbolic violence" and physical violence. Through their treatise it has been shown that symbolic violence in most cases needed to be accompanied by the use of brute force to be successful. Therefore it has harmful impacts, if not at the physical body but on the individual's consciousness. Through an exploration of wartime rape through various authors and other primary literature this was clearly demonstrated. An important point was the proposal of symbolic violence as not unchallengeable in contrast to Bourdieu's framing of the concept. Given that both the elite and the dominated are holders of power, the idea of a 'symbolic order from below' was also mentioned. Even though the distribution of the means of power is unequal this does not mean that the subdominant is unable to counter the order which is imposed upon them. To better explain this point, a detailed analysis of differential identities – gender identity – has been done. This helped to bring together both people's multiple identities and the construction of their subjectivities beyond the mere category of victims. Because they do participate in the construction of their lives, they therefore are able to challenge oppressive and marginalizing forces from the dominant. That being said, the next part of the paper deals with the research methodology that has been used in the process of data collection.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of different methods which have been used in the data collection process in order to answer the research question: Does the concept of 'symbolic violence' help us understand the practice of wartime rape? The chapter will present the research approach, the description of the research site and the research methods used. In addition, I present the data collection procedure and the sampling methodology as well as the method used for data analysis. Moreover, methodological considerations are highlighted considering how the used research methods and data collection process might have affected the outcome of this study. The chapter continues by presenting the ethical considerations which are of huge importance for this study. At last but not the least, is the limitations faced of this study.

3.2.Research approach

Weiss (1994) states that the nature of the research question informs the approach that will be adopted in the process of data collection. Answering the research questions of this study required that we consider the meanings that individuals attach to their daily lives. This is because it is important to capture the way people define their own experiences to avoid some bias from the researcher. Blumer (1986) proposes that the meaning that human beings give to things that surround them arises from the permanent interactions between people. It means in other words that meanings are socially constructed through "the defining activities of people as they interact" (Blumer, 1986:5). Therefore, in the aim of gaining a deep understanding of the meanings that people assign to their daily life, I adopted a qualitative approach to this study. A qualitative approach provides "deeper significance that participants in the research ascribe to the topic being researched" (Noyes et al., 2008:202). Because the qualitative approach covers a range of methods, this study has selected three research methods namely in-depth interviews, observations and document analysis. In that respect, twenty in-depth interviews have been conducted; observations have been carried during community based meetings in Kamanyola. For document analysis I had resorted to documents providing statistics on wartime rape victims that have been treated at Panzi Hospital from 2008 to 2012. In addition, I resorted to the April 2011 Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (HHI) report which was given to me by a doctor from Panzi

Hospital. The details to these research methods will be largely presented in the next sub-sections of this chapter.

3.3.Description of the research site

Without overlooking other areas in the eastern DRC which have witnessed wartime rape, this study has been carried in Bukavu; the capital of the South Kivu Province. This place is located at the eastern part of the country and shares borders with Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania at its Eastern part. Bukavu's estimated demography has shifted from 707,053 people in 2010 to 806,940 in 2012 (HCHR, 2011) as a consequence of the war. This is explained by the fact that people flee rural areas – which are home to approximately 62% of Congolese citizens (World Bank Report, 2011) – in quest of safer places. Among other communities in Bukavu, Kamanyola village has been the main research site.

Kamanyola is a small village located in the southern part of Bukavu. It is part of Walungu territory within the Ngweshe collectivity. It is bordered by Rwanda in the Northern part and Bafulero chiefdom in the South. Ruzizi River separates Kamanyola from Burundi in the East and Mitumba Mountain borders the research site in the West. On its own, this village houses 57 970 people among whom the 'Bashi' Tribe constitutes the majority. Because of the equatorial climate agriculture, farming and fishing constitute the main community-based activities.
At the customary level, Kamanyola is under the leadership of a traditional chief who reports to other state local authorities such as the Chief of police and Bukavu's mayor (when necessary) when it comes to the political administration of the village. Because the area is under traditional leadership, patriarchy is the prevailing social norm. However, the openness of the village to semi- and urban zone has considerable impact on the prevailing cultural norm.

In June 2004, the village has been invaded by the army Colonel Jules Mutebusi and his soldiers from Rwanda. As a consequence, the population has suffered from gang rapes and Kamanyola Hospital has been destroyed. This left victims and some of their family members with no other alternative but to travelling kilometers to reach Panzi Hospital (De Nicolai, 2013). This is one of the main hospitals in Bukavu, the other one being the Bukavu's General Hospital.

Since the aim of this study is the exploration of symbolic dimensions of wartime rape, Kamanyola has proven to be an ideal research site for the numerous war rapes its population has

experienced. The ways in which this community is undertaking its reconstruction informs firstly the symbolism of the violence experienced through the practice of war rape, and, secondly the ways in which the community reconstructs its symbolic order. These two points constitute the key areas of this research.

- ***Entrance in the field***

My first encounter with the research site has been established through a national NGO, Rebuild Hope for Africa (RHA), in November 2012 when I applied to work as a volunteer in Bukavu. I applied as a volunteer because since my Honours degree I had a pronounced interest in understanding different sorts of violence and the ways in which people who undergo those forms violence respond to them. Therefore, because of the nature of my study and the political situation of the country (DRC) I decided that it would be helpful to have an insight of the research site as well as the feasibility of the study.

By the end of my volunteering period (January 2013) I had gained more knowledge of the area and more importantly the local community's positive attitude towards researchers on wartime rape. Because there were no particular reasons discouraging me to undertake the research, I returned in Bukavu in July 2013 to collect data for this report.

In July, RHA established a contact between a local NGO, COFAS[1] and me. At the time of my research, COFAS was initiating particular community-based activities in Kamanyola and agreed to facilitate my access to participants for this study. However, because community members had interacted with me during my volunteering period, it was somehow less difficult to access them as voluntary participants to this study. In addition, because my parents originate from the same village, community members considered me as more of an insider than a stranger/ outsider.

[1] Council of Women Acting in Synergy (Conseil des Femme agissant en Synergie)

Figure 1 **Figure 2**




Figure 1 and 2 represent the landscape and type of housing in Kamanyola.

3.4.Sampling Method

Marshall (1996) suggests that the choice of a study sample is one of the most important steps in data collection process given that it is from that sample that the researcher gathers the needed information to answer the research questions. Therefore, different sampling techniques have been used in respect to the information I wanted to collect. This is because I was expecting different information from different categories of interviewees. To access participants for the in-depth interviews, I resorted to three different sampling methods namely the purposive sampling also referred to as judgment sampling (Marshall, 1996:2), the conventional sampling and finally snowball sampling. It has to be specified that I also resorted to the deviant case sampling which is in fact a subcategory of purposeful sampling.

a. The use of Purposeful sampling in the data collection process

Key informants for face-to-face interviews have been selected through purposeful sampling method. By definition, purposeful sampling method refers to "the selection of most productive respondents to answer the research question" (Marshall, 1996:2). Their productivity is measured through the expertise they have gained through their profession or leadership position in the studied area. Based on this definition, the purposive sample of this study included a subset of six respondents namely the Congolese army General based in Bukavu, one judge, a doctor and a nurse from Panzi Hospital, a survivor of the 2004 war rape to whom I refer to as Nsimire

(pseudonym) and the local director of COFAS. The selection of this sample was based on the fact that they are in permanent contact with survivors of wartime rape as part of their work. The doctor and nurse for example work in the Survivor of Sexual Violence (SSV) Program at Panzi Hospital and therefore, have first-hand experience of the trauma that women go through. The woman survivor of the 2004war rape [Nsimire] was pursuing her training to become a peer educator for other wartime rape survivors. From in-depth interviews with the Congolese army General, and because the access to armed groups was restrained, I was expecting to have some insights on the reason why some of the national army soldiers were also practicing wartime rape against the population they were supposed to protect.

Accessing these key informants was somehow less challenging given that I met all of them during my volunteering period in Bukavu. At that time, I was working as a researcher under RHA. My main duty was to administer some survey questionnaires on the relationship between wartime rape and economic under-development in Bukavu. Therefore, RHA established contact with some respondents it valued to be useful for me to gain the researched information. Those respondents included the doctor, nurses, the judge and the local leader of COFAS. The Congolese army General is a family relative. Because of that I informally got his consent to participate in the interview. I met Nsimire at the community-based dialogue organized in Kamanyola by COFAS.

b. How I chose Convenient and Deviant case sampling

Other eight participants for in-depth interviews were ordinary informants from the Kamanyola community. In order to access these participants, I combined the convenience and deviant case sampling methods. Convenient sampling also referred to as 'opportunity sample' is "non-probabilistic method where the researcher uses any subjects that are available to participate in the research" (Marshall, 1996: 523).The resort to convenience sample was dictated by the small amount of time (nine hours per day: from 9 am to 5pm) I had in the research field. Despite the fact that convenience sampling allows the researcher to easily access respondents within a small amount of time and with less monetary costs, this method is weak in the sense that the researcher cannot guarantee that the easily available respondents possess rich data to answer the research questions (Marshall, 1996:523). Because of this weakness I decided to combine this method with the 'deviant case sampling' also called 'outliers sampling' (Teddlie and Fen Yu, 2007). The deviant case sampling consists of "selecting those cases that are the most outstanding successes

or failures related to some topic of interest" (Teddlie and Fen Yu, 2007:81). In the same logic, Patton (1990:169) suggests that deviant case sampling involves focusing on those cases which are 'unusual or special in some way'.

Therefore, the sample which was selected through deviant case sampling method was made of those people whose intervention in the community-based dialogue was particular and distinguished from others. This sample was made of women in majority (five women of the eight ordinary participants). These women arrived late at the community-based dialogue to which local leaders, including the son of the chief of the village, were invited. Arriving late was the first step which made them remarkable because it is commonly considered to be inappropriate for community members to arrive after the chief in this traditional community. What made these women exceptional was the fact that, in contrast to most women in the village, they took first seats facing the ones occupied by the community leaders. In addition to this, when they were making their points, they stood up, spoke passionately and accompanied their words with hand gestures. This fact might sound normal but not in a highly stratified traditional community where women are still reduced to mere household workers because of patriarchal norms. At this level, gender appears to be an important criterion to consider because I observed that views were divided between male and female when it comes to the role of patriarchy toward wartime rape. For example, men tended to disagree that wartime rape in Kamanyola had a link with the prevailing patriarchal rules. In addition they [men] were attempting to avoid the discussion around traditional marriage between teenage girls (from15 years old) and older men. I have used this sample to get some answers regarding the impact of wartime rape on family and community ties as well as the ways in which wartime rape has impacted the marriage institution. Furthermore, this sample enabled me to get some views regarding young women's (18-30 years old) attitude toward patriarchal norms as the prevailing community's symbolic order.

c. The use of snowball sampling method

Six other ordinary respondents were selected through snowball sampling method. These were members of community-based associations which aim to economically empower survivors of wartime rape in particular and households headed by poor women in general. It is traditionally known that snowball sampling method is predominantly used for survey studies. However, it is also appropriate to access respondents who are introduced to the researcher by a previous respondent. Johnston and Sabin (2010:38) define snowball sampling as "a chain referral

sampling method that relies on referrals from initial subjects to generate additional subjects."Whilst a random sampling would have been appropriate for the selection of ordinary respondents, the reality was that I was not living within the studied area during the time of my research. I therefore had to rely on snowballing. While conducting research in the area, I used to join the COFAS team every morning around 8 am for our visit to Kamanyola where we spent the whole day before leaving for the urban areas again in Bukavu around 5pm. Around this time, I was introduced by one of the key informant (COFAS's local director) to members of community-based associations who helped in providing data regarding the impact of wartime rape on women's engagement in economic activities. In addition, through snowball sampling I gained data which helped in understanding the role played by these associations in the reconstruction of the community's symbolic order. Through the interviews with members of these associations as well as other respondents, it was highlighted that many of the survivors of wartime rape were rejected by their families because they were considered to be not only the family's shame but also an economic burden. Therefore, economic empowerment of wartime rape survivors constituted a way of reinforcing their social reintegration because "women's associations and solidarity groups enable women to develop more self-confidence" in the eastern DRC (Fanning and Hastie, 2012:5).

Nevertheless, the weakness of snowball sampling method is that the sample is largely made of those people with rich social networks (Johnston and Sabin, 2010:39). As a consequence, individuals with poor social connections have fewer chances to be part of the sample. This issue has been addressed by trying to interview some community-based association members who were willing to participate even when they were not identified by a previous respondent but by me.

That being said, it is important to clarify that all respondents for in-depth interviews in this study were above eighteen and willing to participate. In sum, this study has been based on twenty interviews encompassing both key and ordinary respondents. I do recognize that this sample is quite small for result to be generalized. However, I have gathered data which has been strongly helpful to accurately answer the research questions.

3.5.Research methods

a. Observation method

Qualitative research recognizes the use of observation as a valuable data collection tool. Baker (2006) suggests that a fixed definition of 'observational method' can be hard to establish. However, she proposes that a common point in all types of observations is that observation "permits researchers to study people in their native environment in order to understand 'things' form their perspective" (Baker, 2006:173). In the same logic, I used observational research method to observe participants' attitude during the community-based meeting in Kamanyola. The community-based dialogue organized by COFAS created an environment where I first encountered ordinary participants for this study. The meeting in Kamanyola took place in the 'Save The Children' hall built in that area.

The weakness of this method is that a researcher cannot assert exactly what she/he observes was the participants' natural behavior because the simple fact of being in a community-based meeting affected in some ways the participants' behaviors.



<u>Figure 3</u>: Save the Children Hall which housed the community-based dialogue between community members and their leaders (organised by COFAS).

b. The use of In-depth interviews

Among other qualitative data collection techniques, this research used in-depth interviews as its primary method of data collection. The choice for in-depth interviews was directed by the nature and the aim of the study. By definition, in-depth interviews are seen as a form of "purposive conversation which guarantees the confidentiality between the interviewee and the interviewer" (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). To understand the meaning that people give to their daily

experience(s), it is necessary to access the ways in which they conceptualize their world. Therefore, in-depth interviews have constituted the gate to participants' memories because "the celebrations and sorrows of the people not in the news, their triumphs and failures ordinarily leave no record except in their memories" (Weiss, 1994:2). In the same light, understanding the meaning respondents assign and the attitude they have developed toward war rape requires the use of in-depth interviews as a mechanism of gaining detailed information. It was interesting to see how one and the same person can seem different when making a point in public in opposition to when they were alone explaining their views. As said above most of my respondents were participating in a community-based dialogue organized by COFAS. What I considered to be a form of disorder from participants when they were stating their views during the community-based dialogue was revealed to be, on the contrary, a sort of protest through the body languages they used. It was throughout the face-to-face interviews that participants cleared the misconception I had toward the gestures and 'noises' they were making. It was in fact their way of protesting against specific views sustained by community leaders.

The easiness with which ordinary community members participated in the in-depth interviews was somehow astonishing in the sense that I was preparing myself to be in front of people who do not want to share their experiences given the nature of my research. The period I spent as a volunteer in the area allowed me to understand that the community, also indirect victim of war rape, wants to talk about wartime rape. However I did not expect to interview a survivor of wartime rape because of the possible trauma that such an interview could possibly evoke. Nevertheless, I had the privilege to interview Nsimire; a 35 years old woman and survivor of wartime rape. She willingly came to me after the community-based meeting organized by COFAS in Kamanyola and said she would like to share with me some of her experiences because "it happened to me but I did not die and now I have to help those who are where I have been 9 years ago", she said. I found her extraordinary because I knew her as a peer educator and that she was undertaking some training to become a peer educator to help survivors of wartime rape.

I have highlighted this specific point to show how in-depth interviews help to access information I could not gain in case I limited myself to community-based dialogues as means of collecting data or surveys. In order to adjust to circumstances, interviews schedules have been modified more than once.

c. Documents analysis

In order to complete the information received through the interviews, this study undertook the use of documents providing information related to the studied topic. By definition, document analysis refers to "the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study" (Barley, 1994 in Mogalakwe, 2006:221). Analyzing existing literature on war rape brought into this study other dimensions which could not been accessed through the studied community given that this community reflects a singular case. It also helped to locate the study in a broader literature framework. The main document that I used to test the accuracy of gathered data was statistics document written and provided by Panzi Hospital's statistics services through the person of Mr. Saleh Bagabo who is the statistician at the Victims of Sexual Violence Program (VSVP) at Panzi Hospital. This document was representative of the number, age range, gender of and the years during which wartime rape victims were received at Panzi Hospital. In addition, I resorted to the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative report (72 pages) from April 2010 by Susan Bartels et al. As acknowledged by the report, the main author (Susan Bartels) and co-authors (Michael VanRooyen, Jennifer Leaning, Jennifer Scott and Jocelyn Kelly) are researchers and specialists in the issue of gender violence. Their study further develops some cases of human rights violation and the fate of wartime rape survivors in South Kivu.

3.6.Data analysis

It is somehow impossible to undertake a qualitative research method without using the data analysis method. That been said, it has to be clear that there is not a 'one size fit all' approach for data analysis. Quoting Kawulich (2004:112), analyzing data consists of "interpreting and hence, convert data into a story that describes the phenomenon or the participants' view…" In other words, the researcher has to familiarize himself with the collected data and give them a meaning that enables the arrangement of the data into a coherent, logical and meaningful story telling the respondents' life experience.

This study has specifically used the thematic analysis method as way of analyzing data. Braun and Clarke (2006:79) define thematic analysis as "a qualitative analysis method for: identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data." The two authors propose that the identified themes reflect an important aspect of the collected data which are guided by research questions. Merriam (1998) acknowledges that different levels of analysis are used to present data. She states that themes might frequently come across data or they can take shape of theories

that explain data. In the same light, I had to rearrange the field notes each time at the end of the day. This was necessary because I did not record respondents. Therefore I had to work on the collected data as soon as I could to stay faithful to the respondents' story. Thus, the themes I have developed were informed by concepts and words which were repeatedly found in respondents' account. All the emerging themes are not represented in this work given that I had to only maintain those talking to my research questions.

3.7.Ethical considerations

Before undertaking this research I had to submit a research and ethics proposal to the Wits University Ethics committee (non-medical) which approved this study and provided a certificate in that respect. The phenomenon of wartime rape has been ongoing in DRC for more than a decade now as a consequence of the Great Lake Region wars. Therefore, researching on wartime rape can expose the community to memories they wish to forget or eventually to intimidation by the perpetrators themselves. Nevertheless, I had less concern of bringing back painful memories the community wishes to forget since the issue of wartime rape is publicly discussed in DRC in general and Kamanyola in particular. In addition, some policies have been taken by the international Community to fight wartime rape. These policies have been implemented as part of the country's peace, reconciliation and development policies. One example among others is the FOCHI (Foundation Chirezi) which is "a small local peace building organization" (Poole, 2013) which is functional in different areas in South Kivu. Its first objective is to promote the idea of "fairness and non-punitive justice" through its community-led justice courts that provide "successful resolution to conflicts through participatory process of dialogue and reconciliation" (Poole, 2013). This allows the population, as the direct witness of war rape, to propose solutions which best suit their realities for a better tomorrow. To some extents this form of organizing constituted a big relief for me because it was clear that my research project was not exceptional in Kamanyola in particular and in South Kivu generally.

As mentioned above, my period as a volunteer in Bukavu was of huge importance for me because it helped me to learn more about the community's attitude toward war rape. The fear of bringing back some bad memories was dissipated by the fact that there was a level of collaboration between the local community and researchers on war rape. I was, therefore, not the first person to research on the issue nor was I asking the population to participate in a study they were not ready to undertake. In addition, cases of war rape in Kamanyola have considerably

decreased since the war has shifted to the North Kivu Province. This explains why the Kamanyola community is now undertaking a process of self-reconstruction.

When I was designing the sample of eventual respondents, direct victims of wartime rape were not targeted as respondents for this study. However, as mentioned above, I interviewed Nsimire who is a survivor of the 2004 war rape. When I first met her, I did not know she was a direct victim of wartime rape. It was only after she approached me that I learned through her own account that she had experienced wartime rape. She is taking her training to become a peer educator. Despite the fact that I was not targeting direct victims of war rape as respondent, I decided to do the interview with Nsimire. This is because I judged that it would have been unethical for me to refuse to do this interview given that Nsimire made the first step as a willing participant.

Furthermore, my concern was also turned to community members who would have been indirectly affected by the war rape. However, as mentioned above, the already existent structures and national NGOs such as RHA and COFAS facilitated my entrance in the field and dissolved these concerns. My work as a volunteer (November 2012- January 2013) with RHA helped me to notify the existing collaboration between the community members and this particular NGO.

Another means of addressing the above mentioned concern was the use of voluntary participation as defining my approach to participants. It was verbally clarified to participants that they are free to decline any question and that they are free to not recount any experience which might be painful for them. During my stay as a volunteer I noticed that community members were willing to share their experiences and more importantly that particular forms of counseling were provided to any community member who needed assistance. Therefore, at the time of my research, I returned to the area with a peaceful mind knowing that community members have access to counseling from international and national NGOs. One form of counseling for example is “La Cite de Joie” (The city of joy) which works with women in general and survivors of war rape in particular to help them rebuilding their lives. It operates by bringing women together so that they share their experiences at the same time they are working either at community farms – which is provided by NGOs and local Civil Society organizations – or other artisanal works which require less physical energy.

At the beginning of each interview, respondents were informed of the availability of the above mentioned services. As mentioned earlier, these information to respondents were verbally done firstly because of the promise of anonymity, and, secondly the majority of respondents could not read or write. It would therefore be alarming for them to be asked to formally certify their participation by filling in the participant information sheet. In addition, because respondents were promised anonymity all along the interview and through the publication of the report, I used pseudonyms each time I had to directly quote respondents.

Interviews were not recorded. Instead, notes were taken during the interviews which lasted between fifty minutes to an hour. The interview duration was dictated by respondents' availability. It is also of huge importance to note that interviews were held in the respondents' place of choice. This was in general within the hall that housed the community-based meeting (after the community-based meeting organised by COFAS).

3.8.Limitations of the study

This study has been done with the purpose of highlighting the symbolic dimensions war rape has on human lives. To reach such a purpose, I had to analyze the role played by the prevailing social norm in promoting or discouraging the practice of wartime rape. This is because I believe that social norms influence people's differential identities and the construction of their subjectivity. In addition, this study aimed to stress the ways in which the studied community is reconstructing its symbolic order in response to war rape. Therefore, Kamanyola has proven to be an adequate site for this study because it has both experienced war rape and it is undertaking the reconstruction of its symbolic order. However, this study has faced some limitations. The first limitation faced by this study was the fact that direct victims of wartime rape, with the exception of one of them, did not participate in this study. Therefore, their account of the symbolic dimensions of wartime rape and the ways in which their life in general has been shaped is missing. Secondly, the time for data collection was considerably limited. Therefore I had to work with participants I could easily access. Also, it cannot be certified that the sample of those who were present in the community-based dialogue is representative of the whole Kamanyola population.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Chapter 4

WARTIME RAPE AND PATRIARCHAL NORMS IN KAMANOLA

4.1. Introduction

From the analysis of World War II and other widespread wars, it has been said that armed conflicts signal eventual sexual violence against women. For this reason wartime sexual violence is far from being mere war-facts but a weapon in some cases. As proposed by Wood (2006) sexual violence shifts in forms and therefore in meaning. Wood (2006) points out that in armed conflicts women can be subjected to sexual slavery, forced prostitution, mutilations, forced impregnation and many other violations against their bodies. She proposes that we understand sexual violence as "a broader category that includes rape, coerced undressing, and non-penetrating sexual assault such as sexual mutilation" (Wood, 2006:308). One important contribution of her study was to highlight that in some cases, "regulation of sexual violence may be replaced by the promotion of sexual violence as a strategy of war" (Wood, 2006:321). This is true not only for World War II but also for the actual Congolese conflict where war rape has been termed a 'weapon of war'.

The next section aims to study the different sorts of wartime rape which have occurred in Kamanyola. Without overlooking other variations in war rape, this chapter will focus on the strategic rape used by foreign armed groups, the rape by the Congolese national army and that by Congolese militias. This study suggests that the rape by the national army [FARDC], in contrast to what many scholars such as Carly Brown have suggested, moves far from the mere 'opportunistic' rape. I suggest that it is more about constructing social ties among militaries at first, and secondly, it serves as a claim of masculinity which is undermined through the rape by foreign armed groups.

The analysis of these three subcategories will be done in relation to societal regulatory norms (patriarchy). The part played by the legal system will also be presented. Analyzing these categories will help in establishing the consequences of wartime rape in relation to the community's symbolic order. More importantly, strategic rape is a clear demonstration of the symbolic role played by wartime rape. Data provided by willing respondents to this study

constitute the departure point of the following analysis. Before turning to the abovementioned points, it is useful to have an overview of the social and cultural norms which have characterized the studied area before and after war rape.

4.2. Overview of Kamanyola's social and cultural symbolic order

The DRC is subdivided into eleven provinces which are in turn divided in territories. As presented by the ICG – International Crisis Group – territories in the DRC are portioned in different decentralized territorial entities commonly called chiefdoms (ICG, 2013:3). Therefore, Kamanyola is a small territorial entity of the Ngweshe Chiefdom in the Walungu Territory which belongs to the South Kivu Province. It is, therefore, built upon patriarchal norms according to which the territory is under the supervision of a customary chief assisted by a council. The customary power is hereditary; from father to son. However, the central government has authority upon these chiefdoms and therefore some customary chiefs are nominated by the Ministry of Inner and customary Affairs (ICG, 2013). This explains why in many instances traditional leaders follow and perpetrate the ideology of the leading political party. This was clearly visible during the 2006 and 2011 national elections where traditional leaders were campaigning for the ruling political party PPRD – *Partie du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Democratie (People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy)*.

Patriarchy is then locally and nationally recognized as the prevailing social and cultural norm which defines the social symbolic order. Maintaining this form of social organization has therefore direct impact on the country's stability. Well before 1996, the year which characterizes the Congo Wars, patriarchal norms were taken for granted by the local and national population. However, after the 2004 Laurent Nkunda and Colonel Mutebusi's invasion and many other following armed conflicts, local NGOs started a sensitizing path toward the marginalization of women in general. The fact that women and girls constituted the vast majority of sexual violence victims led international and national NGOs as well as considerable local civil society organizations to denounce the role played by patriarchal norms in the expansion of wartime rape. Beside the role played by NGOs, local communities by their own started to question the issue of children born from rape as belonging either to their mothers' community or that of perpetrators especially when perpetrators were identified as not Congolese. However, an open challenge against patriarchy has never been framed. Nevertheless, what I realized at the time of this

research is that the local population, mainly young female (18-30) have developed an attitude of resistance toward patriarchy for the reason that it has been associated firstly with wartime rape and secondly with forced marriage to older men. This point was presented by the majority of female respondents in this study.

It can be mentioned that this attitude of resistance toward patriarchy is undermined by males in general within the studied area. I have come across this observation through my interviews where males denied a direct link between patriarchy and wartime rape. I have also noticed that traditional leadership is reinforced through the state legislation which, in many circumstances, has empowered traditional leaders to take care of rape issues which occurred within their territories. The customary court is then empowered to deal with rape cases. Because of this an open challenge against patriarchy is undermined because potential opponents know that they still have to pass by traditional leaders (courts) to place any claim. This is why many anti-patriarchy people have adopted what Scott (1990) termed the 'infrapolitics of the subordinate'; a point which is largely expanded in chapter 5.

This chapter 4 starts by analyzing the rape by foreign armed groups in Kamanyola.

4.3. Rape by Foreign armed groups

> "This country has witnessed numerous wars that there are some children who have never seen what we, their parents, called peace. In the 1998 war for example, in Mwenga village, women were massacred and some of them were buried alive in a mass grave! And, in the same village, Christians were killed while celebrating their Sunday worship. Militaries started by asking to those who were not real Christian to leave the church. Given that no one left, they killed the priest in front of church members. These were Rwandan soldiers; the so called FDLR[2]… When you see such actions you just ask to yourself if those creatures were real persons" (Respondent 1, 2013).

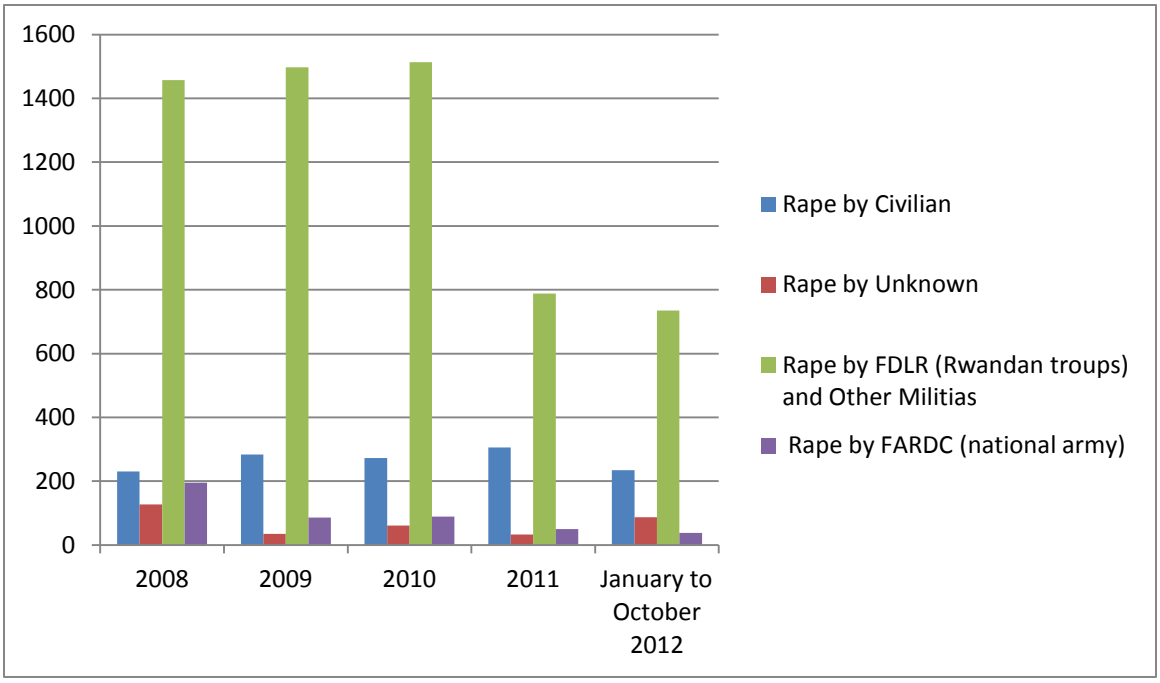
As mentioned in the above quote, the Rwandan militia operating in Congo, commonly referred to as Interahamwe[3], is seen by the local population as the main perpetrator of war rape. Without denying this fact, it is important to clarify that the FDLR is not the only perpetrator. Collected

[2] Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)

[3] Interahamwe : literally « those who work together, later translated as 'those who kill together'" (Marion Pratt and Leah Werchick, 2004). Interahamwe are Rwandans Hutu who fled the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Some of them are presented as former genocider in Rwanda.

data indicates that perpetrators of wartime rape in DRC vary from civilian to the national army and some others who remain unidentified. In addition, Elbert et al. (2013) suggest that the identity of wartime rape perpetrators largely depends on the area where the study is carried because of the multiplicity of armed groups in DRC (Elbert et al., 2013:18).

***Figure 4**: Number of wartime rape victims registered at Panzi Hospital from 2008 to October 2012 and different perpetrators.*



These data were provided by the Panzi Hospital statistics services. They are representative of reported rape cases whilst many other victims remain under the cover of silence. The explanation provided by a doctor working for the Survivors of Sexual Violence (SSV) Program at Panzi Hospital is that some victims do not have the chance to reach the hospital firstly because of the distance (between their community and the Hospital) they have to travel. Secondly, many fearing stigmatization (especially male rape victims) prefer to remain silent.

Most of the time wartime rape victims are so physically damaged that they need reparative surgery. Panzi Hospital is the main hospital in South Kivu which specializes in reconstructive surgery.

From the above chart, it is evident that the majority of reported rape cases have been done by the FDLR and other militia. The year 2010 represents the climax of this violence which has considerably decreased in 2011. In regard to this, the doctor explained that the decline in rape rate is due to "some international pressure on the national government to address the rape issue in DRC" (Respondent 2, 2013). Despite the fact that the number of rape cases has been decreasing from 2008 to 2012 as a result of international pressure on the Congolese national government on one part and on the Rwandan government on the other, rape is still rampant in the eastern DRC in general and perpetrators operate within a climate of total impunity. For this reason, there is need to understand the prevailing social norm which encourages such practices.

a. How existent patriarchal norms underpin the war rape by Foreign armed groups in Kamanyola

> "I constantly face elder women, girls, and mothers and even babies who are dishonored. Today, again, several are submitted to sexual slavery. Others are used as weapon of war. Their organs are exposed to the most ignoble cruelties. And this has last 16 years. Sixteen years of destruction of the *whole society*" (Dr. Denis Mukwege, 2012. emphasis added).

The prevalence of rape in the DRC has been imputed to the sixteen year old war which has been termed a human catastrophe. A General officer of the Congolese army based in Bukavu, also key participant in this study, acknowledged that "since 1998 the DRC and especially its eastern region, has witnessed ten thousands of rape victims" (Respondent 3, 2013).

When these rapes result from the actions of foreign armed groups against women of the enemy nation (or ethnic groups) it can somehow be easier to find explanation to such action by calling it discrimination, shaming and humiliation of the enemy. As presented by Wood (2006), this was the case of the Soviet soldiers against German women during the World War II.

Wood (2006:325) proposes that to understand the patterns of sexual violence during wartime, it is important to capture the "peacetime gender relations as patriarchal, in which women's inferior social status is maintained by the state and other institutions." In the same way and as presented in the literature review section of this study, there is need to understand the dual role that patriarchy gives to women. At the first wing, it is by playing on the subordinate status attributed to women in patriarchal system that perpetrators justify their actions against women from the

enemy group. On the other part, the honorific role of mother and the image of 'purity' which is given to women allow perpetrators to deeply affect the community to which victims belong. As explained by the local director of COFAS,

> "…because all these rapes were not simple, *raping a woman is raping and completely destroying the whole nation*. Also, the *perpetrators were not only defeating Congolese men by raping women* but they also were deliberately transmitting HIV to the rape victims. And you know that in this community when you have HIV you can no longer get married. Forty percent of the rape victims in this community were found HIV positive" (Respondent 4, 2013 emphasis added).

This quote clearly demonstrates the link between rape and the symbolic domination upon men through the rape of their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. The first plausible explanation to this symbolic violence perpetrators succeed to display to Congolese men is found in their shared understanding of patriarchal system**.** Recalling Kylie (2010) who explained how women are always reduced to male's properties in patriarchal societies, I can personally affirm that a female in Kamanyola is always someone's daughter, wife, sister or mother. She has never been referred to as an independent and complete human being by her own. Therefore, such 'public ownership' of female bodies informs the "masculinist notion of honor", Wood (2006:388) proposes.

At this level, playing on patriarchal norms allows the FDLR armed groups to send a specific and clear message to their opposing Congolese male counterparts. The outcome can be analyzed at two different levels. Firstly this strategic rape constitutes a bonding instrument for the rapist with his male colleagues and secondly it works to dissociate the bond within the dominated group.
All male respondents in this study acknowledged to be somehow disempowered by the action of perpetrators. Among them is Muhindo (pseudonym) who, when asked about the consequences that wartime rape might have on community ties, asserted that:

> "…how can you look in the eyes of your wife and explain to her that you couldn't defend her, how can you explain to your daughter that when she was publicly and gang-raped you couldn't do anything than watching? You can repeatedly tell her that it was not her fault but does it mean it is not my responsibility to defend the family's honor? You know, here, virginity still matters" (Respondents 5, 2013).

There are many aspects to be analyzed in this quote. It informs the feeling of powerlessness, the consequences war rape has on families, and marriage. Therefore, aware of the position given to women, the FDLR army which also shares the same patriarchal beliefs does not hesitate to manipulate those common understandings to disturb and redefine the community's former patriarchal symbolic order. In this context rape, as physical violence, is instrumentally used to assert some symbolic meanings which work to strengthen the dominant (FDLR) power not just upon women but also upon the 'feminized' Congolese male. The term 'feminized' refers here "to be made extremely vulnerable, able to be exploited" (Haraway, 1991:304).

Kylie proposes that female bodies are subjected to sexual violence "as combatants attempt to wreak havoc on the existing social fabric and inscribe a new social and political ideology" (Kylie, 2010:20). In the same light, Wood (2006) proposes that gang-rape has symbolic dimensions and takes place over a long period of time and is sustained by the commonality between the perpetrators and the dominated.

The reason why the victims (direct and indirect) of war rape feel disempowered, as it was seen in the previous quote is because they accept to some extent, as Bourdieu would propose, their domination. They reinforce, therefore, the power patriarchy has upon them. As a reminder, the patriarchal system constitutes what Bourdieu characterizes as clearly deployed symbolic violence framed through culture. Taken as inheritance and thus for granted this cultural norm is impossible to be countered, Bourdieu (2004) suggests. This view is sustained through the previous quote given that the community clearly understands and subscribe to the cultural meaning inferred and exploited by the perpetrators. This explains why more than the average of participants among whom Muhindo (Respondent 5) referred to virginity for example. Losing it before marriage is associated to lack of 'purity'. In addition, the fact that it is lost to military gangs aggravates the situation. This introduces the question about the ways in which wartime rape reshapes the community's symbolic order by attacking its constant units such as families.

b. Rape by foreign armed groups as an attack to community ties

Kamanyola, as all villages in the South Kivu, is a patriarchal society where women are considered to be men's pride. At a certain age, all women are supposed to either have a fiancé or to be married. At the time of the interview with Bahati; a male community member, a question was asked to me. The absence of a wedding ring on my finger led the respondent to ask me:

"what if someone asks your hand to your dad? What would say?" (Respondent 6, 2013).Ina friendly tone I simply replied that "I would tell to both of them that I still need both hands to write or do any other work. So I don't know if I can give one of my hands." With a smile, Bahati told me that "in this society no matter how educated you are, if you do not have a husband you can hardly be respected as a woman" (Respondent 6, 2013). From that moment, it was clear that patriarchy was the prevailing norm and many women (elder in majority) accept it as such whilst the young generation attempts to challenge this view.

Many families in Kamanyola have been dismantled in 2003 when Mutebusi's army invaded the village. When asked if the studied community has experienced war rape, participants agreed on a common ground that the village has been profoundly affected. From these respondents, Fatuma – a female activist from a local civil society – explained that:

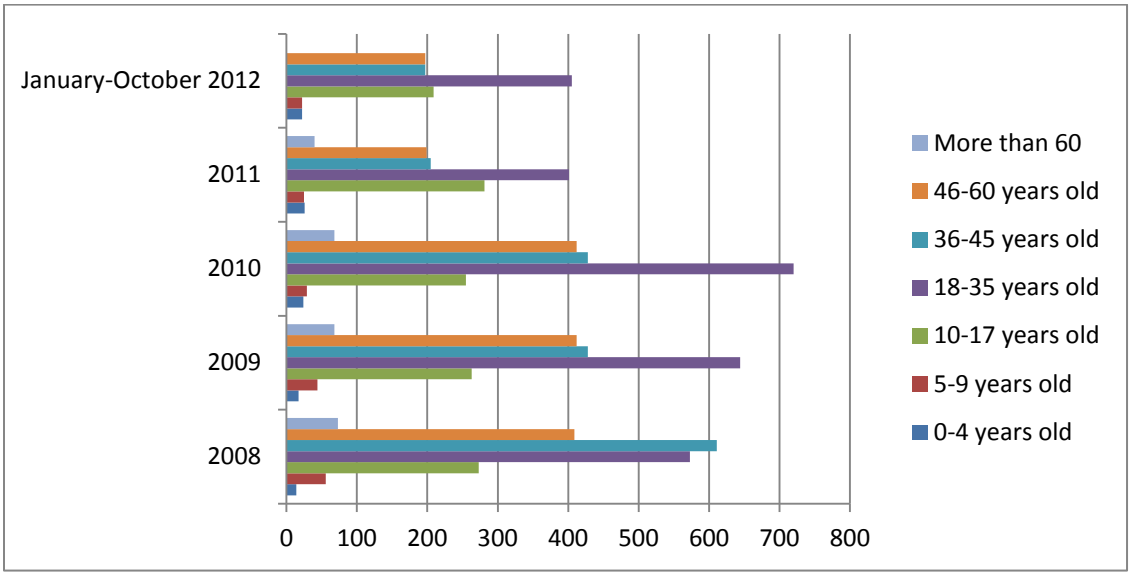
> "… This village has also experienced massive rape and all sorts of dehumanizing actions you can imagine. In 2003 for example, when Laurent Nkunda and Mutebusi attacked Bukavu, people were fleeing urban areas for villages. But Mutebusi's army arrived up to this village. Women and children, old and young were raped. No one was safe. Can you imagine that even babies aged between 3 and 12 month were raped? This General from the Rwandan army came with the agenda of destroying any breath in this country. One hilarious case known by the entire village was that of a husband who chased his wife as soon as the rapists left the house under the motive that she was enjoying being raped. How can someone even think in that way?" (Respondent 7, 2013).

It is not uncommon for armed group rape victims to be chased away from or voluntary leave their community. One reason provided by most respondents is the fear of HIV that perpetrators might have transmitted to their victims. However, some other respondents among whom Bahati earlier mentioned asserted that "how can you marry a soldier's wife?" (Respondent 6, 2013).When asked how can the same person who was for example your 'lovely' wife some seconds ago become "the soldier's wife" the next second, Bahati could say nothing else than "this is the tradition here."

There is also an economic angle which was proposed and will be discussed later on. There is no doubt that the entire community has been affected by the war rape. The information given by

Fatuma affirms the statistics provided by Panzi Hospital in relation to different age range of rape victims as shown in the following graph.

<u>Figure 5</u>: Age range of war rape victims from 2008 to October 2012 as presented by the SVS Statistics from Panzi Hospital.



From this graph, it can be noted that the majority of rape survivors are between eighteen and thirty-five years old. It is important to highlight that according to Congolese legislation an eighteen year old girl is considered to be mature and can thereby vote and get married. Therefore, targeting that age range is a direct attack against marriage given that in Congo in general and in the studied community in particular it is difficult for rape survivors to get married when this rape is known by the spouse's family. The "'mwanamuke' (Swahili for female), a female community member explained, is considered to be pure when she has only one man or still virgin if not married".

Following this logic, Wood proposes that:

> Sexual violence may be an effective form of ethnical cleansing or genocidal violence, destroying the social fabric of a society, when used against groups that understand sexual violence…as a violation of the family's honor as well as hers, and as humiliation of her male relatives (Wood, 2006:327-8).

The fragmentation of family ties has also been caused by the introduction of what I can refer to as the 'taboo'. The totality of respondents narrated how in some cases family members were asked to rape each other during the 2003 war. As an example, Faradja (a pseudonym) accounted that:

> "…For those who have not lived in this country it can sound like one of those movies; but men here were asked to either rape their mothers or sisters or even their daughters. The Interahamwe are not people but only God will plead our case one day. Even some Congolese militias have been corrupted and they use to attack us and sometime rape people because they needed food or our cattle" (Respondent 8, 2013).

The introduction of taboo in the practice of rape informs the strategic level of the war rape. As proposed above, rape by foreign armed groups is strategic and has therefore a symbolic dimension which is clearly known by those who used rape and the victims too. As accounted by a nurse, who is also a local activist, "It is because of some aspects of our patriarchal culture that survivors face difficulties to reintegrate their community. That is why I said they used to consider themselves as taboo" (Respondent 9, 2013).

Without the resort to rape it would have been difficult for them [foreign perpetrators] to infer the symbolic message they aimed to transmit to Congolese populations. This reminds us of what was previously said in the literature review. I suggested that symbolic violence needs physical violence to be effective. Therefore, the physical act of raping is channel for the symbolic order that perpetrators aim to establish.

Another level of taboo sustained by patriarchy is the ideology that men do not have to be raped whilst raping a woman is 'normal' and somehow accepted. Because of such beliefs, male victims of rape prefer to suffer in silence because they are afraid to be taxed of homosexuality in a strongly patriarchal society that values heterosexual relationships. The participant doctor acknowledged that male survivors of wartime rape that Panzi Hospital assisted were predominantly under15 of age. He stressed that men in general are ashamed to declare their rape. The doctor's narrative was confirmed by almost all participants who asserted that it was only little boys who have been raped in the studied community. However, there are strong doubts not only from the local hospital but also from some community members. This is because, according

to the local narrative, 'the men who have been raped are not different from a female'. Because of this way of thinking, many rape cases remain unreported.

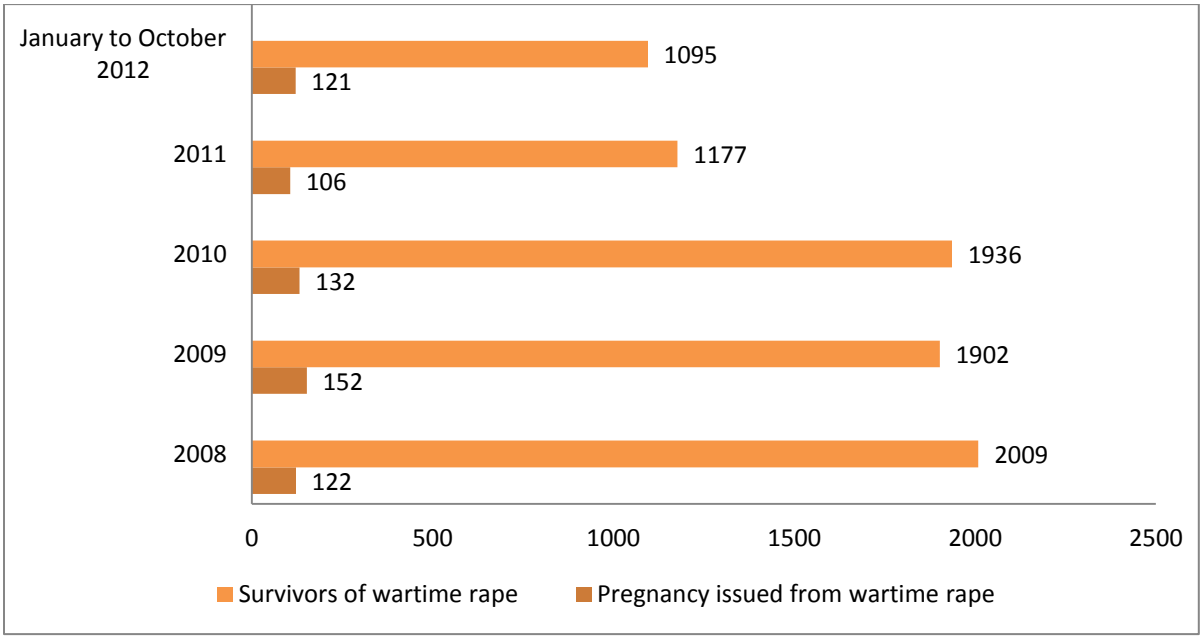
The impact that wartime rape had on families and marriage engagement in Kamanyola is clearly presented in the lines above. Nevertheless, there still are other dimensions which I found in respondents' narrative vis-à-vis war rape. That is to say the purposive impregnation and sexual slavery to which some victims have been subjected. These practices had two main consequences namely the children issued from rape whom are unfortunately called "the snake's child" by some community members.

4.4. Pregnancy issued from wartime rape

Purposive impregnation has been highlighted as one consequence of wartime rape. According to the 2008 to October 2012 statistics, 14,774 patients were admitted at Panzi Hospital. From the 14,774 patients 14,720 were female (99.6 percent) and 54 (0.37 percent) males.

Fifty-five percent (8119) of the 14720 female patients were wartime rape victims and 7.8 percent of the 55 percent were found pregnant. This is presented through the following graph

Figure 6: ***Number of survivors and Pregnancy issued from wartime rape***



Females constitute the majority of the registered patients. Despite the fact that the number of pregnancy of rape victims is lower comparatively to survivors' numbers, this does not help their situation in a highly patriarchal society. According to local activists who have been interviewed for the purpose of this study, women are inferred a double suffering first by being raped and secondly by being marginalized by the community to which they belonged.

The fate of children issued from rape in DRC is not that bright. As presented by the above statistics, 7.8 percent of the rape victims have been impregnated. Whereas the years 2009 and 2010 have recorded the highest rate, in 2011 there was considerable decline in rape pregnancy. The director of RHA explained this decline as the effort of the Congolese state to frame some policies encouraging the denouncement of any sexual violence people may be subjected to.
Through different interviews, I found out that children issued from rape were most of the time nicknamed the "snakes' child" by their mother's community members. This appellation clearly informs the community's attitude toward these innocent children and their mothers. When asked if the community did understand that it was not the child's will to be a 'result' of rape, the nurse explained that

> "… It is difficult to say with exactitude the community's position. But I think you can have the full picture from the name they were given. And as a woman I don't know how I can look at a child who will always remind me of my trauma. But I know it is not the child's fault. Actually, many of them still young and their mothers were kidnapped by the fathers. So it is a real problem that not only this community but all Congolese will have to address in the future. It is a sort of self-timing bomb" (Respondent 9, 2013).

There are obviously two contradicting feelings through the nurse's account. Firstly, the child is considered to be a reminder of the past suffering; a permanent message from the perpetrator which is sustained by the cultural and social norms as developed above. In addition, in the patriarchal logic, those children belong to their father's ethnic group. Therefore children issued from rape are not recognized as part of their mother's community. Secondly, there is recognition of the innocence of those children. "They did not ask to be born from rape", many respondents acknowledged. This sort of contradiction can be seen as a result of the internal fight between the traditional norm and the reality on the ground. It is clear that the prevalent cultural norm does not succeed in explaining the current reality. This contradiction was the source of emergent voices

from below which attempted to protest against the dark side of patriarchy. This point will be further developed in the next section.

The director of COFAS noted that the first years following the birth of children born from rape, many rural communities did not recognize them as normal children. Therefore, they were hardly welcomed by community members. Alfaro et al. (2012) – in collaboration with RHA and other national and local NGOs – discover that in the eastern provinces of DRC in general, there are high violations of human rights especially that of children. In their article, it was demonstrated that children in general do suffer from non-recognition of their rights. We then leave to imagination what would be the fate of those 'undesired' children when even those who are considered to belong to the Congolese nation experience unfair treatments such as enrolment in rebellion armies. The risk lying beyond the issue of children issued from rape is that of 'unfitted' human beings. As suggested by David Harvey, "if no one knows their place in this shifting collage world, then how can a secure social order be fashioned or sustained?" (Harvey, 1989:302). I have a feeling that the Congolese nation as a whole might have to answer to this question in the years to come.

4.5. The relationship between the militarization process, patriarchy and Rape by the National Army (FRDC)

Mann (2004) suggests that we need sociology of power to well capture perpetrators' actions and to delink them from some psychologically ill individual – even when some might be "disturbed or psychotic people" (Mann, 2004: 11).In the same logic, in order to build an analysis of the war rape committed by the government army, this paper will shape a link between war rape, the national army's recruitment process and patriarchy.

It has been mentioned earlier in the second chapter of this work that it was not by coincidence that "the means of organized violence – weapons and knowledge of military techniques are almost entirely in the hands of men" (Connell, 1987:107). In other words, in general instances armies are built upon masculine conception; they are all about creating and asserting masculinity. The army groups are therefore based on patriarchal norms that they aim to defend as their own identity or to impose upon the dominated as a symbolic message of power and victory. It is important to keep in mind that our analysis of different favoring factors to and consequences of wartime rape are not separated from the notion of 'power as domination' and result of unequal

access to means of power as it was suggested by Lukes (2005:85) who says that "power as domination is the ability to constrain the choices of others…by impeding them from living as their own nature and judgment dictate." In this light, wartime rape can be viewed as that force that limits survivors' choice of a given life style.

Whilst Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic domination/ violence suggests that this power remains unchallenged (patriarchy for example), the line of analysis followed by this study is the one suggested by Lukes' (2005) narration of power and many other scholars such as Scott (1990), Von Holdt (2012), Fanon (2004), and feminist theorists who have been mentioned in the literature review. Whilst this last point has been developed in the previous section, this next part will turn to the point where rape is used as means of socializing the forcibly enrolled soldiers at first. Secondly it will be analyzed as a means of 'recalling back' the masculinity which has been undermined through rape of locals by foreign armed groups.

a. Military recruitment process as an explanation of wartime rape by the DRC government army (FARDC)

A recent study by Cohen (2013) suggests that it is important to understand the ways in which recruitment of soldiers is done. She proposes that war rape is likely to occur when soldiers have been forcibly recruited to serve the army. Therefore, rape constitutes a socializing process for those soldiers who did not have proper military formation which would help in creating some trust bonds. The reality in DRC is not far from the scenario presented by Cohen (2013).

It was somehow difficult for participants to provide an answer about the actual war rape without referring to the first Congo war of 1996. Among them [respondent] Baraka (pseudonym), a worker at RHA, who narrated what has been happening in the DRC since the 1996 war where men as young as 15 years old were kidnapped and obliged to join the national army. He said that:

> "When Mzee Kabila arrived in 1996, he didn't have a strong army. The majority of his men were from other countries such as Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. Those were men he did not trust. For many other reasons, he needed a national army not that of belligerents. 'Kadogo' constituted the majority of the national army militaries. Many of them were from villages and without any educational background. They were then trained to kill with no mercy…"(Respondent 10, 2013).

In contrast to the Mai-Mai who were willingly enrolled as Congolese militia, the 'Kadogo' (Swahili word for 'small') were generally young soldiers who had been kidnapped and turned into killing machines. Despite the fact that the 'Kadogo' movement stopped in the research site, it has been surprisingly found that forcible enrolment still occur.

Furaha (a pseudonym) explained how in 2007, national army officers invaded Kamanyola and were asking for men to join the army. She said:

> "They were entering the village earlier in the morning before anyone leaves for the farm. We knew they were looking for men to join the army. We then use to hide our young boys and husbands. When they realize that no men wanted to join, they started to rape so that male would come out from their stash…"(Respondents 11, 2013).

Furaha is one of the community members who denounced the national army for rape. Only NGOs members were clearly exposing the fact that the national army was also committing wartime rape. From their narrative and the one presented by Furaha we can see that the procedure of recruitment works against human rights. Therefore, the question that needs to be addressed is whether an individual who has been forced to serve the army can respect other people's human rights when his own were undermined.

Such an army is made up of angry individuals who are obliged to serve together for a cause they did not choose. War rape is used as a strategy for creating symbolic bond between the forcibly enrolled soldiers; a way of establishing "brotherhood in abjection or in guilt" (Diken and Bagge, 2005:124). Cohen (2013: 463) suggests that "gang rape can create bonds between people in social groups and may provide psychological benefits to the perpetrators by improving group morale through inducing feelings of power and victory." This means that group wartime rape provides the feeling of collaboration and trust [between perpetrators] which comes from the fact that soldiers share the same 'sin' and watch each other's back when 'gang-raping'.

Whilst a situation where the national army has raped Congolese civilians after a defeat has not been acknowledged in Kamanyola, there still is a case where the commandant officer of the government army authorized his soldiers to rape after they lost a battle to the M23. This happened in April 2013 in Minova village in the Nord-Kivu province (TheGuardian, April 2013). When they sought to create social bonds through the practice of war rape, the national

army still remained with other issues such as the failure to defend their country's honor, therefore their own honor as males in a patriarchal society.

b. Claiming back their manhood in the patriarchal field.

The exploration of war rape by foreign armed groups demonstrated how wartime rape has resulted in the birth of unwanted children because the children are identified as belonging to the perpetrators' ethnic groups. More importantly the symbolic message sent by foreign rape perpetrators is that Congolese men are less masculine because they are unable to protect their women from being raped. Rape in the DRC has happened despite the existence of the national army which has proven to be unable to prevent wartime rape against Congolese women. As asserted by Muhindo (Respondent 5) earlier mentioned, 'rape brings the shame not only on the victim but on her/his family too'. This point can be extended to understand and dissect rape by the national army.

I have suggested in the above lines that through the rape of women, foreign armed groups acting in DRC aim to pass a symbolic message to Congolese males in general and to the national army in particular. It is about undermining the manhood of the other group; this is why rape by foreign armed groups has been termed strategic.

As presented by some feminist scholars such as Brownmiller (1975), one of the symbolic roles of rape is to sustain the patriarchal norms within a society based on such norms.

Raping women from their own nation is presented in the case of Minova as a 'stress release'; a psychological cure which gives to the military the feeling of victory after losing a battle. Inferring this form of violence plays a symbolic role in that it helps those who have proven to be 'less' masculine, when confronting other males, to rebuild an insurgent collective identity which aims to confirm that they are still male. Raping is then an act of masculinity between two groups of which the strongest will establish its hegemony.

It was not uncommon to hear from public opinion that 'we really don't have an army'. This is because the local population feels like the protector has turned into the predator. As argued above, this has resulted in the insurgent of different armed groups from villages (the Mai Mai as an example).

Therefore, I can suggest that the rape by the government army can be understood as a claim for the lost sense of masculinity. They use the same symbolic message which has undermined the local population's trust towards them to bring back a sense of self recognition.

Recalling back Scott's (1990) thesis of domination and resistance, it has been suggested that when the dominated manage to read between the lines of the dominant's hidden transcript, the subdominants can develop a counter-dominant tactic to reverse the hegemonic power. The latter at its side will work to protect its hegemonic position. In with this, I can suggest that because their masculinity has been publicly undermined, soldiers from the national army are trying to publicly reestablish their position.

The identification of all wartime rape perpetrators as 'Interahamwe' or Banyamulenge (Rwandan Hutu ethnic groups) by the Kamanyola population did not help in providing concrete reasons on why the national army has committed rape against the local population. Because wartime rape is said to be done by foreign armed groups, many scholars – Carly Brown as example – have limited their analysis of war rape by the Congolese government army to the concept of 'opportunistic rape'.

Wood (2004:331) proposes to see "opportunistic sexual violence as dependent on the absence of sanctions and norms (on the part of armed groups) that effectively prohibit it and on proximity to potential victims." In other words, opportunistic sexual violence is rendered possible firstly by the absence of efficient command to discourage those actions and secondly by the fact that civilians or victims are easily reached by perpetrators.

The lawyer participant in this study certified that the absence of adequate measures from the part of the state and the law work in leaving the rape by national army unpunished. He [lawyer] explained that:

> "The Congolese penal code is not appropriate to deal with the current situation… The1996 Great Lake Region War brought new forms of crime and violence that are not addressed by the current penal code which dates back from the colonial era namely 1940. You can then understand that it is difficult to apply such a law" (Respondent 12, 2013).

There is a place to consider the absence of adequate measures in the pervasiveness of war rape by the national army. However, I suggest that limiting the analysis on the 'opportunistic' view does not portray the full picture because the absence of the law does not explain the use of rape by the national army. Instead, patriarchal norms which underlie the army policies are more likely to provide an explanation to such action.

According to the logic of patriarchy, the man is the provider and protector. When he fails to fulfill these functions as a result of an internal or external cause, when his authority is publicly challenged by other men who attempt and succeed to reverse the first symbolic order, the conquered men will search for other alternatives to regain respect in the face of those he was previously supposed to protect.

4.6. Rape by Congolese militias as means to gain recognition from the national government

Furthermore, the resort to rape has been seen as a means of gaining voice vis-à-vis the central government. According to respondents, rape has also been used by Congolese militia as means to claim and gain recognition from the national government. For the militia, war rape is then what Von Holdt (2011) termed "the smoke that calls". From his study of the South African struggle, Von Holdt (2011) asserted that civilians used to burn down some objects at the time of collective protests to attract the authority's attention. It is certainly clear that the Congolese and the South African situations are different. Burning down objects is then a symbolic action, a message of violence that both the state and the protestors clearly understand. Similarly, wartime rape is "the smoke that calls" for Congolese militias such as the Mai-Mai.

The totality of respondents acknowledged that when the Mai-Mai movement was nascent, it was considered to be a relief for community members. Asked about the population reaction toward the Mai-Mai militia, a director of a national NGO operating in Bukavu reported that

> "In this community for example, young men organized into an 'illegal' and small army called the 'Mai-Mai' in 1997 because the national army was proven to be not efficient… Those young men were brothers, fathers and uncles of community members. And here the family has a great value" (Respondent 13, 2013).

What started as a community-based liberatory movement ended up by being corrupted and decided to have some share in the national army.

> "In 2009, when the national government was trying to reinforce unity by including Congolese militia into the national army, some Mai-Mai groups used rape as a way to be taken seriously. As an example, the Colonel Mayele, a well-know Mai-Mai leader, was arrested by the MONUSCO[4] in 2010 for multiple rape in the North Kivu Province" (Respondent 13, 2013).

Different testimonies from participants highlighted that wartime rape has multiple functions. However, rape is not the only way an armed group can gain recognition. As an example, the Mai-Mai group was already respected because they conquered many territories under the Interahamwe captivity. Nevertheless, they felt the need to resort to rape. Why? When the answer to this question was not directly provided in the collected data, I hypothesized that these actions were sustained by the same logic which portrayed the domination upon female bodies as the domination upon the identifying groups to which they [women] belonged. Therefore, in order to play in the men's world perpetrators (foreign and national) have to prove that they are male enough to do so. This is aligned with the feminist approach to wartime rape as an issue of masculinity –'the means through which all male assert domination upon all female' (Brownmiller, 1975) – to encompass the idea of rape as symbolic of power. However, it does not stop on the 'manhood' explanation because perpetrators do not rape in the mere attempt of dominating their female victims. Wartime rape only serves to materialize the symbolic message of power upon individuals, their community and eventually the whole nation. This reminds us of the suggestion I made in the second chapter of this work; that of symbolic order established and reinforced through physical violence. This means that the Mai-Mai attack female bodies because of the symbolic role and place occupied by females in a patriarchal society. Being able to confer suffering to women in the presence of their male counterparts enabled the Mai-Mai to gain more recognition locally, nationally and internationally. They therefore gained power to make further claims on the face of the central government. The physical violence was thus a means to an end and not an end in itself (the "smoke that called" attention to an issue but not the issue itself).

To sum up, the argument presented in the above discussion was wartime rape and different factors which favored its propagation in the studied area. I have argued that those factors, such as the patriarchal system and forced military enrolment give to rape other dimensions other than physical. I have argued that the absence of appropriate legislative measures create impunity but does not explain wartime rape by the national army. Instead, I propose that understanding the

[4]United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

patriarchal system helps to capture the symbolic dimension of wartime rape. The public appropriation of females in a highly patriarchal society constitutes the trap perpetrators use to deeply affect, first, the victims, secondly, the community as a whole and thirdly the entire nation. Rape is then a message perpetrators send to their enemy and the central government. This message aims to undermine the enemy's masculinity and establish symbolic victory upon them at the same time gaining recognition and attention from the state and the international community. This is why this study has looked at war rape as strategic. More than a physical violence, wartime rape clearly exposes different dimensions of power playing where those in means of power assert their symbolic order upon those in lack of means of power. However it is not to be concluded that the perpetrators' power cannot be challenged by the oppressed. The ways Kamanyola community members are working to rebuild their symbolic order is a living example. However, it has to be recognized that the symbolic order imposed upon victims (direct and indirect) has deep impact because it uses preexistent discriminatory cultural norms which were deeply embodied in people's habitus.

4.7. How was women's engagement in economic activities affected by wartime rape in Kamanyola.

Generally, women in DRC are considered to be an important working force because of high structural unemployment that men face or the forcible enrolment in the diverse armed group that leave many households headed by women. One of the dominant activities in which women engaged in is the informal cross border trade that takes place between Bukavu and Rwanda. As presented by Titeca and Kimanuka (2012) the usefulness of small-scale cross-border trade cannot be ignored in the Great Lakes Regions because it "constitutes a survival mechanism and a means of employment for at least 45.000 traders and those who depend on them" (Titeca and Kimanuka, 2012:4). This situation has resulted in the increment of women's precariousness because they are obliged to cope with difficult situations at work while they are also being harassed by local authorities working at the borders. In simple words, precarity is "an *existential*, not merely occupational condition…" (Barchiesi, 2012). In this light, Mugoli, a women engaged in informal trade explained that

> "These agents [local state officers] look at us as if we were "femmes libres" (free women or 'prostitute' to some extents). They do not know that we do these activities for our families. My husband does respect me because he recognizes the value of my work. But just because they wear

uniforms (talking of state officials) they think they are better than everyone else…"(Respondent 14, 2013).

The other aspects to be considered are the fact that wartime rape survivors are abandoned by their community because they are considered to be economic burdens.

In the third chapter of this work, Kamanyola has been presented as an agrarian community which also practices fishing and farming. Agriculture plays in that traditional community numerous roles such as socialization and reinforcement of community ties because it rests on collective efforts. In addition, before the wars, the community was organized in different small traders units which were exporting agricultural products to Burundi and Rwanda. However, with the wars these activities have been rendered difficult. Therefore, the social networks which were constructed around agriculture also decreased.

Nabintu, an ADIJF[5] [a community-based association which has many branches in villages surrounding Bukavu] member explained the way the agricultural activities have been attached by different armed groups. She said that "when you cultivate your farm you don't always have the chance to get crops" because the Interahamwe soldiers used to put crosses in farms to inform you "if you want to live you have to abandon the farm" (Respondent 13, 2013).

Attacking the farming activity was another direct attack on the community's symbolic order in such a way that the element around which their unity and collaboration was built was invaded by armed groups. At this level the situation that women faced was that they were raped and denied any source of social bonds. In other terms, they were publicly shamed and the means through which they were gaining recognition and respect was also destroyed. Therefore, they were reduced to shame and to being an economic burden.

Nsimire, earlier presented as a peer educator in the making, chose to share some of the struggle she passed through as a consequence of war rape. She is a widow and mother of three children aged between seventeen and thirteen. She originates from Kamituga, a gold mining village situated 180 km from Bukavu. Her husband died in 2001, three years before she was raped. Her family in law marginalized her some time after the death of her husband. She had no other

[5] Action pour le Développement Intégral de la Jeunesse et de la Femme/ Action for Youth and Women'sIntegralDevelopment

alternative than leaving her community. She was welcomed in September 2004 in the Panzi hospital where she was treated by the Dr. Denis Mukwege and his team. During her period in the hospital some church members were taking care of her children. She arrived in a place where she had no previous social ties and obviously no economic survival means. She explains that:

> "When everything my husband and I worked so hard for was taken away, I did not live a single day without asking myself why he died and how I would provide for my children…But I still had access to field, and, from time to time I worked in the gold mine where I was carrying stones from one place to another. I managed to put something on the table for my kids. I still had my dignity. Worse, in 2004, I was raped with other women on our way back from the mine. I thank God that I am still alive; other of my fellows lost their lives. They were raped, some objects were introduced in their vagina…I had that grace of not being killed…I then decided to do something good with my life not only for my kids but for myself and other women who have been in the same path like me" (Respondent 15, 2013).

Nsimire said "I still had my dignity" because she was still able to provide for her children and herself. She associated 'dignity' with her ability to be economically independent. However, when this last aspect was also taken away as the result of being raped, she left the village for another place.

Through her narrative, we can deduce that her community's symbolic order was and is made of different components with the corner stone being patriarchy. Because in her village and many other villages in DRC such as Kamanyola, women are valued in relation to marital status, losing her husband constituted the first step of being ostracized and being raped was then the next step towards her social marginalization. Becoming economically unproductive was 'the drop that broke the pot' and shaped her as socially undesirable. The way she managed to rebuild her life started with her journey as a patient at Panzi Hospital. This point will be further developed in the next chapter to show how the community's symbolic order is rebuilt from below.

4.8. Conclusion

I started this chapter by presenting an overview of Kamanyola's social and cultural symbolic order which is patriarchy. I suggested that wartime rape has introduced other dimensions to the understanding of patriarchal norms in the community, through women particularly. I presented how wartime rape reinforces the masculinity of foreign perpetrators at the same time undermining that of the enemy groups. Because of this prevailing social and cultural symbolic order, war rape serves as a means to an end, but not an end in itself. This is why I have discussed war rape by foreign armed groups and by Congolese militias as strategic. War rape is then used as a means of asserting a dominant power over the enemy group because it goes beyond the individual or the community to which victims belong but it reaches the national level.

Furthermore, I proposed that wartime rape by the government army operates in two ways which are both connected to patriarchy and the masculine indoctrination. Because the recruitment process of many national army combatants did not allow for the construction of social ties, wartime rape was then utilized as a means of creating the 'brotherhood in guilt'; it [wartime rape] therefore serves as a socializing process between forcibly enrolled militaries. War rape then played the role which was supposed to be fulfilled by traditional military training. Moreover, I proposed that national army soldiers resorted to war rape to claim back their masculinity which is undermined by foreign armed groups who rape local women. The raping of Congolese women by foreigners is then a symbolic message that questions the national army's role as an army at first and secondly as males. This is because the army is built upon masculine rules. Those who are masculine enough 'feminize' their male enemy and assert a dominant power upon them.

I cannot claim that I have captured every dynamic around this form of physical violence; however what I have discovered is that wartime rape is not merely opportunistic but strategic. It has symbolic purposes which are accomplished only through resorting to physical violence against women. Women are chosen as targets because of patriarchal norms which define women and their social role in relation to their male counterparts.

Finally, undermining women's economic capacity was noted as a way of destroying community ties which were sustained through collective economic activities. However, can we say that the symbolic order which is imposed upon the victims and their community remains unchallenged? This question is addressed in the following chapter

Chapter 5

COMMUNITY-BASED SYMBOLIC ORDER IN RESPONSE TO WARTIME RAPE

5.1. Introduction

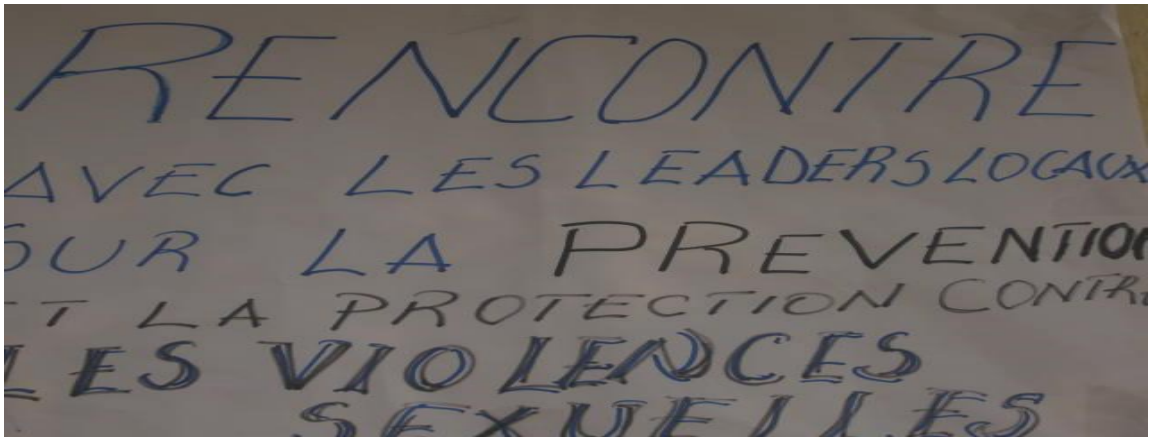
Kamanyola has been chosen as this study's research site because of the ways in which the community responded to wartime rape. It has been mentioned that the geographical location of this village makes it in permanent contact with Rwandan militia who enter South Kivu. However, since 2009 the situation seems to be relatively better compared to some other villages in the North Kivu for example. It cannot be said that the community has totally recovered from the consequences of wartime rape but, it can however be stated that the community works to reconstruct its symbolic order. This reconstruction aims to address the issues of social marginalization towards wartime rape victims. In addition, the community-based peace reconstruction process which will be highlighted has made great strides in the healing process of the community. In this study, the community has been looked at as the subdominant group and perpetrators as the dominant group.

This paper will now demonstrate that the power (symbolic or physical) imposed upon a given group of individuals does not always remain unchallenged but might be countered when the dominated manage to gain a means of power to build up their own symbolic order. One aspect that will be investigated is the reconstruction of victims' subjectivity. This reconstruction takes place firstly through the use of specific concepts (survivors instead of victims); this has proven to be very useful in Kamanyola because oral tradition still matters.

As such, the construction of the community's symbolic order from below has taken two forms. At first I will examine what Scott (1990) called the "infrapolitics of the subordinate" which informs how the oppressed publicly express their hidden transcript. In this context, it refers to the fact that women use some body languages to protest against their marginalization under the patriarchal system. This has been noticed at the time of a community-based meeting between community members and local leaders among which the son of the Chief of the village under the

supervision of COFAS[6] was a part. Secondly, there have been public manifestations which aimed to directly criticize sexual violence against women. The third level of examination will be the symbolic empowerment of women (both victims and non-victims of wartime rape) through collective economic activities which have also played the role of community-based counseling for direct and indirect victims of wartime rape.

<u>Figure 7</u>: The Main topic discussed at the community-based meeting



Translated from French into**:** *"Debate with local leaders on the issue of prevention and protection against sexual violence".*

5.2 Women's resistance toward patriarchal norms in Kamanyola

The previous section looked at sexual violence as "the ultimate display of power and dominance by the opposing force to signify the weakness" and inadequacy of the men in the targeted social group or community (Bartels et al., 2010:5). However, Deleuze (1990:24) proposes that "power can achieve an effective command over the entire life of the population only when it becomes an integral, vital function that every individual embraces and reactivates of his or her own accord." As long as those conditions are not completed it is difficult for the predominant power to maintain its position. This is why the dominant resorts to other means of coercion and persuasion to guarantee that dominated groups reproduce the hegemonic symbolic order. This is why Foucault (1978:144) asserted that "…but a power whose task is to take charge of life needs continuous regulatory and corrective mechanisms." It is difficult to maintain such a dominant position when the dominated do not find their interests in the current symbolic order from above.

[6]Congres des Femmes Agissant en Synergie/ Council of Women Organizations Acting in Synergy

More importantly, the latter is likely to be challenged when it is seen by the dominated as an outsider's imposition as it is the case with wartime rape.

Both ordinary community members and NGOs operating in Bukavu in general and Kamanyola in particular have agreed on the fact that some 'negative' dimensions of patriarchy needed to be challenged. The young generation (18-30 years old) interviewed in this research was in support for complete change and removal of patriarchy even when they did not provide an alternative. When asked what she meant by 'negative dimensions' of the patriarchal system, the director of COFAS explained that it referred to those practices under patriarchy which place women on the subordinate level.

At the time of the interview with Faradja mentioned that:

> "There are those old people who are not ashamed to wed young girls who are of the same age with their own daughters. In the name of culture men here think they can marry as many women as they can. Women have been marginalized for so long. But actually things are changing. We will not just seat and observe any more. And, you know, if it was up to me this culture should be banished because it works, in some ways, in favor of rape given that teenager are obliged to get married to old men in the name of tradition" (Respondent 8, 2013).

Faradja is a twenty-eight married woman. Her highest educational qualification is the completion of primary school. However it is not difficult for her to observe that the culture within which she has been socialized since her young age does not serve her interest in particular and that of female kind in general. "If it was up to me, that culture should be banished", she said.
The above quote highlights a concrete opposition to Bourdieu's approach to the power patriarchy has on societies built upon patriarchal norms. As a reminder, Bourdieu proposed that patriarchy was a dominant form of symbolic violence.

Talking of patriarchy, Bourdieu (2004) asserts that symbolic violence refers to the way people are dominated in their quotidian life under the motive of culture for example. This is taken as inheritance by community members. Therefore, they do not imagine that there is an alternative for them. Bourdieu is right to assert that culture is most of the time taken as inheritance and defines the life of many individuals. However, Faradja (as the voice of many other community members) does criticize this culture which has shaped her identity for many years. The question then is why do people – whose habitus has been framed and still is led by patriarchy – decide

that it would be better for them to bring some changes to those norms which were 'deeply' embodied in their daily practices? At this point, I should bring back what I proposed in the literature review section. It was said that for symbolic violence to be effective it needs the use of physical violence to create obedient subjects. By doing so, I may add, symbolic violence also produces its own counter-hegemonic force. Therefore, through wartime rape, what was unperceived wears a mask of visibility which renders it visible and thus likely to be challenged by those who do not find their interest in it. In other words, the patriarchal system succeeded to maintain its self-reproduction through individual actions when it was not associated to war rape in this context but when it became visible through wartime rape an opportunity to oppose it emerged. When asked if the customary law helped in fighting against wartime rape, Faradja clearly said that

> "…Some years ago I was taking it for granted, but through different mobilization movements that take place to help people understand what rape is, I have come to learn that marriage and sexual activities between a minor and an adult is also rape. So many people have been raped here" (Respondent 8, 2013).

Faradja's quote does not speak of wartime rape per se but relates what has been ongoing in their community for ages because of the tradition which allow a fifteen year old girl to be married to an old man who might be twice her age. In many traditional communities in DRC, women are still reduced to the procreation functions and unpaid household work.

The physical dimension of wartime rape has brought negative connotations to patriarchy. This physical violence can then be considered to be the activator that 'stimulates' and redefines people's consciousness; enabling them to question the hegemonic place patriarchal norms occupied. I can argue that wartime rape removed the mask used by the dominant patriarchal system. It, as would suggest Scott (1990), publicized patriarchy's hidden transcript. Scott proposed that "so long as the subordinate cannot reliably and fully penetrate the hidden transcript of the powerful, they are obliged to make inferences from the text of power presented to them in the public transcript" (Scott, 1990:67). However, when the contrary happens; when subordinate groups manage to read the hegemonic hidden transcript, therefore they can take from the discovered weakness to build a counter-hegemonic force. This means in this context that wartime rape at the same time that it was reinforcing patriarchy, also exposed its dark side. Because of

this people who, for so long, were unconsciously supporting the patriarchal norms gained consciousness on what does not serve their interests and needs to be interrogated or changed.

In conformity to other traditional forms of communications in the DRC, body language conveys important meaning in Kamanyola. Women for example normally occupied back seats in community-based meetings where traditional authorities are invited. They are also supposed to remain quiet when males are talking.

As acknowledged above, at the time of my research, a dialogue between community members and local leaders was organised. This dialogue aimed to discuss the quotidian violence women in informal cross-border trade face as a result of highly corrupted state agents who work at the border as well as the marginality of women in the society in general. During the dialogue, women had a particular way of showing their disagreement toward the representative of trade and commerce officer. The latter undertook a position which shaped women as guilty of the injustice they were facing. He asserted that informal trade was illegal and therefore women in informal cross-border trade should not complain about excessive taxations. Each time the officer was talking, women were murmuring among themselves, clapped and laughed loudly. At the end of the dialogue I asked them about the meaning of the sound they were instantly producing. Respondents explained that it was a way of making the speaker understands that "the reality differs from what you are saying".

Furthermore, a group of women, among whom Faradja was a part, entered the room almost thirty minutes after the beginning of the dialogue and sat on chairs that faced the one occupied by local authorities who were all male. They were late yet did not bother occupying other discreet seats. These are gestures which speak, I may say. Scott (1990) asserted that subdominant groups may resort to gestures, proverbs, songs and other things to publicly but indirectly express their hidden transcript; that is what he termed the "infrapolitics of subordinate groups." He defines the infrapolitics as "a wide variety of low-profile forms of resistance that dare not speak in their own name" (Scott, 1990:19).

At the end of the dialogue I approached one of them and asked what she thought about the topic that was debated about. I also asked if she lived far from the place the dialogue was held. She replied that she did not stay far from the place but she thought that people will be late as usual. Therefore, she took her time taking care of her children and household works. Talking about the

topic, she asserted that “it was interesting because it was all about equality between genders” (Respondent 16, 2013).

The picture bellow represents some women engaged in informal cross-border trade between Bukavu and Cyangugu (Rwanda)



<u>Figure 8</u>: Women informal trader in a dialogue with local state officers organized by COFAS

We can see in the picture women laughing and standing at the same time that the speaker is holding his speech. However, none of them openly said that they did not believe what was said.

Figure 9 shows one of the women who arrived late. She stood up to give her point of view regarding wartime rape which happened in their community.

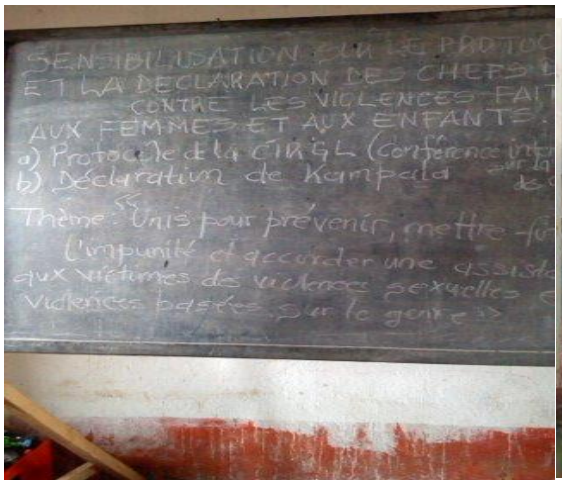


Figure 9: *Woman (in green) explaining her view in a Community-based meeting.*

Figure 10: *Kamanyola's community leaders*

Figure 11: *The topic which was discussed at the community-based meeting in Kamanyola*

Figure 12: *The UN/Women panel in front of the COFAS office in Kamanyola ("Project of support for victims of sexual violence and other vulnerable women").*





From above, it can be asserted that the community in general and women in particular have come to that point where patriarchy has stopped to be a divine order that has to be taken for granted. It was clear that women in that community are shaping their subjectivity in the ways that challenge the existing patriarchal system. However, what has been noticed at this point is that, as singular individuals, women do not directly speak out their thoughts. Instead they use body languages and sounds to express what they cannot say loudly in the face of their male counterparts. This represents a level of resistance which still is weak because the hegemonic order is still fighting to maintain the status quo. Therefore, fearing repression, the dominated either disguises his/her actions to appear as not challenging the hegemonic public transcript while actually doing so. On the contrary, the dominant does not always hide his/her infrapolitics. The next point proposes

that ‘number’ is an important component when it comes to building a symbolic order from below.

5.3.Collective and public protests: “As long as women will be oppressed, we will walk”.

In 2008, women in the DRC organized a collective movement which aimed to commemorate those women who were buried alive in Mwenga in the 1999war. The movement took place on the 8th March which is women’s international day. The theme given to the event was “Women’s international day without women.” The director of COFAS, who was among the organizers of the movement, pointed out that there was no point to joyfully celebrate women’s day when women were still being dehumanized through wartime rape. In the interview, she recalled those days as she narrated that:

> “…through numerous sensitization movements, we were encouraging women to denounce any form of violence they would be subjected to. We organized uncountable seminars with local communities... On the 8th March 2008, at the women’s international day, we organized a mobilization called “Women’s International Day without Women”. We were all dressed in black and wore black plastic on our heads. This is because Congolese women are in continuous mourning. We entered the streets in the aim of protesting against our government because it was present but doing nothing against all the violence and rape which were happening…We were mourning all those 15 women who were buried alive in Mwenga in 1999” (Respondent 3, 2013).

This movement organized in Bukavu had a huge positive impact on women in Mwenga territory (located at the West of Bukavu). On the 30th May, 2010 women from Mwenga organised in turn a public manifestation against wartime rape and other violence against women. The RFI – France International Radio – journal published that the 15 women who were buried alive were accused of witchcraft by the Interahamwe militia mixed with the RCD – Congolese Rally for Democracy – rebel army. They were accused of making some magic potion which strengthened the Mai-Mai militia. “After being raped, they were thrown in a mass grave which was dug by male community members under the threat of guns” (RFI, 2010).

These community based actions were reinforced by ‘Marche Mondiale de la Femme’ (MMF) in October 17th, 2010. This movement was carried in Bukavu by 20 000 women from 48 countries

around the world among whom was also the Congolese First Lady who planted a tree symbolizing peace in the Kivus (Lusiku, October 2010). The MMF movement is an International feminist movement which constitutes seventy countries around the world. The local representative of COFAS argued that the fact that other women joined this movement encouraged Congolese women in general and those victims of wartime rape in particular to continue their fight against rape as well as cases of domestic violence by making them understand that they were not alone or left by themselves. They therefore needed to continue fighting for women's emancipation.

The October 17th, 2010 movement joined the Congolese local and national fight against wartime rape to a global feminist action against women's oppression. The movement was characterized by the demand for social equality of gender, 'peace and demilitarization' and female access to 'common goods and public services'. These sort of demand refer to what Weeks (2011) termed "demand as provocation". Weeks (2011: 130) believed that "as a provocation, a demand should be understood as claim and incitement of antagonism, collective power and desire." Therefore, for women in the DRC to publicly make a demand, they have to self-appropriate the power found in the public sphere. Given that they have publicly made their claim, this means that they have entered the hegemonic public sphere to make such a claim. There is a dimension that needs to be understood here. Both local and international collective movements undertaken by women in the DRC were not seen as a disturbance by the patriarchal hegemonic order. This is because women have adopted a structure which is recognized by male dominants. It was on March 8th in Bukavu, on the 30th May in Mwenga territory and on the 17th October by the MMF. All three dates are fixed. They were then not insurgent movements. It is known and accepted around the world that women celebrate their international day on March 8th. In the DRC history May 30th was conventionally fixed to remember those women who were tortured, raped and buried in the mass grave in Mwenga. Therefore, it can be said that women were taking their actions within a margin of liberty given to them by the hegemonic patriarchy. In this light, Scott (1990) proposed that a hegemonic order is not always in opposition to the dominated interests. Therefore, acting in that margin can help the dominated group to gain more power and to make further demands.

The way women made their demands in the above mentioned situation can appear firstly to be the reinforcement of the existing dominant power. However, this can constitute a means to and

not an end per se. This is because women in the researched area for example did not stop by marching only on pre-established days. Their collective actions developed in relation to realities they were facing as women in general. The fate wartime rape victims were facing has inspired collective demands and undertaking collective actions against community-based outcomes of wartime rape. One interesting symbolic action from below which helped in re-establishing war rape victims' subjectivity was the shift from victim status to that of survivor. In addition, NGOs undertook strategic community-based counseling initiatives which had two main functions. These initiatives are developed in the following lines.

5.4. Strengthening community-based counseling and Women's economic empowerment

The construction of the community-based symbolic order has been done around those points which previously sustained community ties. There has been promotion of collective activities which enable community members to collaborate. The first reconstructive attitude toward war rape victims was the use of words such as 'survivor' instead of 'victim'. These points are presented in the following lines.

a. Moving from being victim to become survivors

Discourses and specific words have proven to be holders of symbolic power over individuals because a simple word can either empower or disarm a human being. The director of COFAS acknowledged that in their work with victims of wartime rape, they have adopted the appellation of survivors instead of victim because the first term embodies a person who has overcome a painful path and can therefore work on reconstructing his/her life. The second term of victim instead, she argued, obliges those who have experienced sexual violence to remain passive. This view was supported by the interviewed doctor at Panzi Hospital. He explained that after operating the reparative surgery on sexual violence victims, they refer to them as survivors and this appellation has positive impacts on the 'ex-victims'.

The doctor at Panzi Hospital and the interviewed nurse as well as local leaders agreed on the fact that beside the social stigma which leads to social rejection of the victims, many families have also turned their back to rape victims not only because of shame but also because of economic motives. The doctor explained that because of the medical interventions which are needed to reconstruct the victim's genitalia, war rape victims are considered to be an economic burden for those families which suffer firstly from war and widespread unemployment.

Therefore, international and local NGOs as well as religious groups joined forces together to help those victims who lack economic means to pay for the needed medical assistance. The doctor stated that in 2003 for example,

> "… We contacted UNICEF and IRC for help given that the war did not allow the easy flow of aid from PMU Norway. UNICEF accepted to assist us with medicaments and the IRC brought psychological help given that we were not equipped to deal with the psychological need of the patients. However, the number of victims continued to increase with the war. That is when the main doctor and Director of Panzi Hospital asked for external help from UN in 2003. From January 2004 we restructured our services and organized in such ways we could bring the medical and psychological help to our patients within the hospital" (Respondent 2, 2013).

A particular approach undertaken by local NGOs, and different hospitals, was a community-based counseling which helped women psychologically at the same time empowering them economically.

As highlighted above, wartime rape created some social stigma which resulted in social exclusion of rape victims. Therefore, in order to address this particular situation, local NGOs such as COFAS, in collaboration with local hospitals, established what they called "La Citee de Joie" which means 'The city of Joy'. This served as refuge for all willing survivors of war rape. The COFAS's director explained that:

> "…What we do is to train them to some artisanal works, we give them some land to cultivate, and they learn how to make clothes and other things they can sell on market. When they go back in their respective communities with something in their purses, you can see that their own families are less resistant to welcome them" (Respondent 4, 2013).

Furthermore, COFAS director added, "these activities are done collectively." The purpose is to fight against isolation and make survivors understand that they are not the only ones in such a situation and more importantly that it was not their fault. The respondent added that as a local NGO working in collaboration with other international NGOs such as COCAFEM/GL, they do train some community members at local level and other population members at the national level to develop listening capacity and to pass the message that "remaining silent is a way of killing oneself twice" (Respondent 4, 2013). Survivors of war time rape are encouraged to talk firstly because they come from cultures where people join together perhaps to sing at the same time that

they are working their farms, or gathering firewood and many other activities which are done collectively. Being isolated is considered to be social death. Therefore, to bring back that feeling that survivors might have lost as a consequence of being raped, 'La Citee de joie' was put in place. Local community-based activists acknowledged that the purpose of 'La Citee de joie" is to create a permanent atmosphere of joy. Women who have strength to work on farms are all mixed, both survivors and those who did not experienced sexual violence come together and work on the farm, singing and sharing different experiences.

The picture on the left (Figure 13) represents a community-based activist who works with COFAS. Figure 14 represent the community farm which is worked by survivors and community-based peer educators



Figure 13: *A civil society activist in Kamanyola in her office*



Figure 14: *Women's Community-held farm*

Working in small groups has been, local leaders acknowledged, very helpful for survivors who suffered from social exclusion. This way of acting helps in the reestablishment of the survivor subjectivity. In addition, survivors have increased chances to be reintegrated in their communities when they were considered to be a source of revenue. This contributes partially in the remaking of the community's symbolic order. In addition, some respondents have acknowledged that it happens that some survivors of wartime rape get married again. However, in most cases marriage happen after survivors are medically established as non carriers of HIV or other sexually transmitted diseases in addition to being sources of revenue.

Moreover, Poole (2013) says survivors who become activists are considered to be a huge source of inspiration for other survivors and therefore, this helps in recruiting minds against wartime rape. This has been the case of Nsimire who has succeeded to transcend the position of victim and adopted that of survivor. Actually she is a peer educator. She is a living example of the ways in which the symbolic violence which has been imposed upon her can be challenged. She acknowledged that leaving her community, however difficult, was the first step she had to take for her healing process. She said:

> "When I left the hospital, I had nowhere to go. The hospital then directed me to "La Citee de Joie". I met women who had experienced the same condition I did. All of them were not abandoned by their families per se but they knew the humiliation of being raped. I was far away from home but I found a better place where I was not judged. We were offered many programs such as collective artisanal work. I remember the first thing I made was a straw basket. We collected our furniture and gave to nurses and other people who were helping us so that they would sell them on our behalf. It was a joyful moment every time we received back the money. Those moments helped me to realize that I could still make something good with my life. I had a better physical condition than many other women…The church offered a place to stay with my three kids here in Kamanyola. I have been permanent in this village for seven years now and it has been two years that I am trained by COFAS so that I can assist other women…" (Respondent 15, 2013)

Overcoming war rape's symbolic power does not happen within a short space of time; it is a process that the survivor goes through. It took eight years for Nsimire and perhaps more for other survivors. The important point is that this order does not remain unchallenged by those who undergo it at first and by the community. Therefore, to succeed such resistance, the dominated has to gain other means of power which help in the reconstruction of their subjectivity. For Nsimire, gaining back a sense of usefulness and recognition gave her the impetus that she needed to stand up. She is one of the rare cases that cannot be automatically applied to the rest of wartime rape survivors. However, she constitutes a symbolic message which undoes the one implanted by perpetrators. She asserted that "the simple fact of seeing me in front of them, the fact of sharing my story with other survivors in the 'Citee de Joie' gives me a great sense of achievement; it also help other women to stand up and fight back". When asked about what she meant by "fighting back", Nsimire explained that

> "…I do not want to be married again but it does not mean I do not have a meaningful life…I always pray to get the power of forgiving my family in law and I know I will one day. My humiliation is now my weapon against war rape because I had to pass through that situation to be who I am today. This is the reason why I was not killed…" (Respondent 15, 2013)

It has to be acknowledged that Nsimire is not the only survivor who has become a peer educator. She is the only one I have interviewed but there are many other women in her position who work to fight wartime rape. This is the case of Solange Nzigire mentioned by the International Trade Union Conference (ITUC) article from November 2011 as presented in the second chapter of this paper.

b. How the community-based peace building process is addressed

Because the legal system has proven to be weak in terms of reparation and justice towards rape victims, community members have organized community-based "payote de paix" (French word to mean 'peace court') (Respondent 3, 2013). The FOCHI (Foundation Chirezi) is one expended form of the 'payote de paix' and has some ramifications in different communities. Poole (2013) defines FOCHI as "a small local peace building organization" which is functional in different areas in South Kivu. Its first objective is to promote the idea of "fairness and non-punitive justice" through its community-led justice courts that provide "successful resolution to conflicts through participatory process of dialogue and reconciliation" (Poole, 2013). This allows the population, as the direct witness of war rape, to propose solutions which best suit their realities for a better tomorrow.

Another form of community-based peace building strategy was presented by COFAS director. She explained that they take those activities which are of interest for community members and turn them into a means of building community ties. The COFAS director explained that:

> "…In practice, we give five goats (three females and two males) per family. The family has to keep those goats and take care of them up to the moment they give birth. Some of the new born are kept by the first family and the others are given to a second family. The first five goats will be passed to a third family up to the next season of birth and so on. Because of this, community members look after the safety of the family which is supposed to pass the goat to the next family. They are also obliged to communicate. At the beginning the conversation might be around goats,

but after, strong relations are built. As a result, the community which was destroyed by rape finds other reasons to rebuild up. That is what we call 'payotte de paix'" (Respondent 4, 2013).

Moreover, community members explained that they join together when it comes to feeding their cattle because it helps them fight against laziness. Therefore, they have time for social dialogue.



Figure 15: *Community-held cattle in Kamanyola*

From the testimony of community members in Kamanyola, this approach has proven to be successful when it comes to strengthening community ties. It is therefore evident that despite wartime rape which resulted in fragmented and weak community ties, community members are still willing to and do rebuild their symbolic order. What national and international NGOs do is to provide the community with the means of power that helps in the reconstruction of their collective identity which was compromised by wartime rape. Nevertheless, there still is a huge concern about the 'symbolic order' which is rebuilt. I have mentioned in chapter four that there still is resistance from the tenant of the patriarchal system as it was before wartime rape. The fact that this community is organized as a chiefdom renders difficult the action of those against patriarchal rules. A public challenge against patriarchal rules can be considered a sign of disrespect against the chief and his entire family. It can also result into penal punitive measures because the chief has also hand on the judicial system within the area under his leadership. This is why women do not dare to publicly challenge the prevailing patriarchal rules. That is why some can easily think that what the community is rebuilding is a form of symbolic order similar to the one before wartime rape. Nevertheless, the significant rise of consciousness from the part

of women community members in general – concerning the role of patriarchy in opening the path for war rape – informs the potential resistance which might result in considerable and positive changes to women's status in Kamanyola.

5.5.Traditional Court as a real challenge for social equity

The legislative system has proven to be silent in many instances when it comes to addressing the issue of wartime rape. As an alternative, respondents acknowledged the existence of the "Initiative Conjointe" (IC – or Joint Initiative). The latter has been defined by participants as a sort of cooperation between local, National and international activists. Asked about anti-rape policies which are effective locally and help in the remaking of community ties, the director of RHI revealed that:

> "…One policy I might consider to be somehow in action is the "Initiative Conjointe – IC" which encompasses local, national and international activists as well as different donors. The IC works as a coordination which aims to analyze the impacts wartime rape had/has on women's life. Some of the targets of the IC are to establish different commissions at the local, provincial and national levels to fight against wartime rape. The one which is already existent is the Provincial Commission against Sexual Violence – CPLVS and the CTLVS – Commission Territoriale de Lutte contre les Violences Sexuelles" (Respondent 17, 2013).

Despite the existence of these policies, respondents have highlighted the responsibility of traditional leaders in undermining the peace building and reparation processes toward survivors of war rape. One practice which has highly been criticized by most respondents is the monetary compensation approach adopted by some traditional courts. A number of respondents including the doctor from Panzi Hospital criticized the monetary compensation as a 'silencing tool' which only wants to silence rape survivors. This is because "the money the victims receive can barely support the medical cost for a singular reparative surgery", the doctor said.

In addition, interviewed community members in agreement with interviewed NGOs members referred to the monetary compensation as the "capitalization of other people's suffering". This is because, Mulume – a male community member – explained, money cannot compensate for the suffering people have been induced; "I prefer to see perpetrators in jail instead of receiving money. When free, they can still come back to rape and steal the money people received as compensation" (Respondent 18, 2013).

The relationship which exists between traditional leaders and the central government, as presented in chapter 4, also contributes in creating a situation in which traditional leaders do not feel the need to effectively address the issue of wartime rape. In Kamanyola for example, what I have noticed is that community leaders – who are generally male – do participate to community meeting but it is mostly because they are paid by national or International NGOs who organized those meetings. Money is then seen as the solution to all problems.

At the time of my volunteering period in Kamanyola, I witnessed a community-based protest against the local police. This protest sparked by the fact that a wealthier civilian who was imprisoned for rape was released a week after because he could afford to pay the corrupt Police Commander in Kamanyola. As a consequence, the body guard of this commander was killed because the population could not lay their hand on the real culprit. This shows how an inefficient judicial system can create other insurgent social crises and do injustice to victims.

It is therefore important for the Congolese government to find effective ways of dealing with reparative justice. The first step which would be likely to serve all community members on an equal basis would be to remove war rape survivors' claims for social and economic reparation from traditional court. The latter is seen by community members, especially females as non-gender neutral and corrupted.

5.6.Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that community-based reconstruction of symbolic order whilst being clearly in progress, still faces considerable challenges. This is because patriarchy is still the dominant symbolic order. Therefore, women's protests against patriarchal norms take the form of what Scott (1990) termed the 'infrapolitics of the subordinate group'. This means in other words that women use body language and other mimics that they all understand to assert their disagreement. However, their actions are veiled because they fear an eventual reprisal.

It has also been argued that the community-based counseling and women's economic empowerment has an important role when it comes to rebuilding the community ties through community-based and collective activities which ask for collaboration among community members. The strength of this approach is that it is inclusive of women in general and therefore challenges the exclusion of women in decision making processes.

Nevertheless, the lack of an appropriate judicial structure from the state, which still empowers traditional leaders to address wartime rape issues, is a huge challenge not only for sustainable peace building processes but also for gender equality. Most participants in this study have criticized the monetary compensation form that the traditional court applies as a reparative mechanism towards survivors of wartime rape. In addition, participants have criticized the level of corruption that exists on the part of the local state authorities who work in collaboration with traditional chiefs.

Because of all these facts, I have suggested that the reconstruction of a new symbolic order might take considerable effort and time because patriarchy is likely to remain the dominant community-based symbolic order. Nevertheless, it has to be clear that the patriarchy which is reemerging is that which was toppled by the wartime rape. This is because men in Kamanyola as a particular case are resisting against the realities which clearly associate wartime rape to sexual and gender based violence and patriarchy. However, the fact that women in general have started to question patriarchal norms is a clear sign that the dominant symbolic order [patriarchy] is failing to effectively address the current reality in DRC in general.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo has experienced many wars which have been characterized by the use of wartime rape. The number of wartime rape victims in DRC cannot be stated with exactitude. However, this report has attempted to provide some causes of this human catastrophe. The aim was to move toward a sociological analysis of wartime rape as a form of physical violence with specific symbolic dimensions. While many studies have based their explanation on economic and political reasons to explain wartime rape in DRC, it has been argued that it is reductionist to limit the analysis of wartime rape on those [economic and political] facts. Instead, this report built on the argument that economic and political motivations on their own provide weak explanations concerning the extent and persistence of wartime rape in Kamanyola and eastern DRC in general. I proposed that the analysis of the dominant social and cultural norm, which is patriarchy, is more useful to understand why wartime rape persists in DRC.

To achieve this, this report mainly used in-depth interviews as a data collection instrument. Interviews were done with ordinary Kamanyola community members, community leaders, a doctor and nurse from Panzi Hospital, an army General based in Bukavu, a survivor of the 2004 wartime rape, a lawyer and some local NGOs members. All of these respondents were willing to participate in this study. Observation during community-based meetings also helped to gather data on women's infrapolitics. The analysis of documents provided by Panzi Hospital statistics services as well as the 2010 Harvard Humanitarian Initiative Report contributed to provide insight on the demography of survivors this hospital has received on a five year basis.

6.2. Under some circumstances symbolic violence produces physical harm because a physical violence is also symbolic violence.

This report has argued that perpetrators are strategically manipulating patriarchal norms – which reduce women to publicly owned human beings – to assert specific symbolic power upon the nation. More precisely, based on the collected data, this report established that perpetrators of wartime rape [especially foreign armed groups] aim to dominate upon men from the identified enemy group. The use of wartime rape against females is therefore a symbolic action that

empowers perpetrators at the same time it weakens males from the targeted group. This is why I have framed wartime rape as an issue of power which aims at domination. At this point, I suggested that wartime rape is a typical example of physical violence which aims to implement violent symbolic orders upon the dominated. Women's bodies are used as the instrument which materializes the symbolic message from perpetrators to their opposing males. This is why this report has questioned Bourdieu's conceptualization of symbolic violence as being soft, and, therefore invisible to the subdominant.

Based on different examples – as provided by Von Holdt (2011; 2012), Scott (1990), Lukes (2005) and many other authors who have been mentioned throughout this study – I have suggested that it is difficult for symbolic violence to be taken for granted by the dominated because in many cases this same symbolic order needs the resort to physical violence to be implemented. In other words, I have proposed that under some circumstances symbolic violence might be physically harmful because a physical action covers a specific message; which is its symbolic dimension. Therefore that which affects physically the body can hardly remain invisible, and based on circumstances that physical action is well understood by both perpetrators and oppressed especially when the two categories share the same social and cultural norms which sustain the symbolic and physical violence.

6.3. Wartime rape is a physical violence which aims to implement specific a symbolic order.

I have differentiated between wartime rape by foreign perpetrators and rape by the government army. I also proposed the reason why Congolese militias as a third group are committing wartime rape. This is not to say that wartime rape in the DRC is only perpetrated by these three categories. This paper stated in the beginning that the perpetrators in DRC are as many as there are armed groups.

When rape by foreign armed groups and Mai-Mai [Congolese militia] has been analyzed as strategic rape, I proposed to look at the rape by the government army as a claim for their masculinity which is undermined by foreign armed groups at the one side, and at the other side as a consequence of inappropriate recruitment processes which are in most cases forcibly done and against human rights. Wartime rape is then used by the national combatants as means of constructing social bonds. Wartime rape by foreign armed groups has been looked at as strategic

because it aimed to destroy the community's symbolic order by attacking its constitutive elements such as community ties, family bonds, marriage and the community's economic life. I proposed that by doing so, foreign perpetrators aim to challenge the entire Congolese nation. Their resort to wartime rape is therefore an instrument through which they pass a specific symbolic message to the nation as a whole. Furthermore I suggested that this is rendered possible because of masculinities, thus patriarchal norms upon which military armies are built. In addition, the war rape by Congolese militias has been analyzed as a strategy they use to get recognition from the state authorities. By raping women, they [militia] gain recognition and power to make further claims which would have been impossible to assert otherwise. As a result, Mai-Mai regiments have been integrated and their [Mai-Mai's] leaders have accessed higher positions in the national army.

The common underlying element of the wartime rape by the three mentioned categories [foreign armed groups, the national army and Congolese militia] is patriarchal norms. These norms have gained increasing resistance from community members (women in general) because they came to be associated with wartime rape. Because of the community's attitude, I have argued that despite the fact that patriarchal socializing processes deeply impact the entire life of human beings, they are not always taken for granted, or go unchallenged by the local population. Resistance towards socializing norms might take place the moment when people no longer find their interests in the way they [cultural and social norms] shape their lives. Nevertheless, the implementation of a counter patriarchal order still is a long process given that community leaders sustain the patriarchal norms and work to rebuild the same patriarchy which was undermined by wartime rape. This is why those against patriarchy can only use disguised actions to express their resistance. This is because Kamanyola is a chiefdom which is recognized and protected by state laws. Respondents in general have criticized the fact that the state lacks appropriate legislative institutions to deal with the issue of wartime rape. In rural areas, rape cases are therefore undertaken by traditional courts which are highly pro-patriarchy. Because of this, women most of the time are disempowered and receive mere monetary compensations when they place their claims and grievances as wartime rape survivors.

All in all, this research has found that wartime rape as a form of physical violence has deep impact upon individuals, their community and the whole nation because of its symbolic

dimensions which assert a symbolic order upon the dominated. Challenging negative aspects of the patriarchal system [which define a woman not as independent and an entire human being all by herself] would constitute an important step in the fight against wartime rape in DRC.

6.4. Recommendations for future research

The analysis of wartime rape has traditionally been based on women and girls as victims of wartime rape. Because of time constraints I had to resort to data which I could easily access. This is the reason why I believe that futures researchers can positively contribute to this area of study by analyzing the symbolic dimensions of wartime rape based on male survivors' accounts. This would bring a new understanding of patriarchy as a symbolic order which not only disenfranchises women but also oppress men. Seen this way, patriarchy would be exposed as a system that is inimical, not just to women's rights but to human growth and progress. Furthermore, it can be useful to get the opinion of traditional communities in DRC which are built upon matriarchal norms. Doing so might help illuminate a constructive comparison between the attitude of matrilineal and patriarchal social groups toward wartime rape. The result would help to validate or reject the argument according to which patriarchal norms constitute the ground for wartime rape. However, I have to recognize that matrilineal ethnic groups constitute a minority (one matrilineal ethnic group [Bakongo] against 249 patriarchal ethnic groups) of the overall ethnic groups in the DRC.

Moreover, future researchers could bring precious contribution to this study by analyzing the account of direct victims of wartime rape – not as mere victims but as owners of their own subjectivity to rebuild their life.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: REFLECTION ON FIELD WORK EXPERIENCES

a. Reflection on Interviews

Once in the field work, I had to adjust to two situations according to respondents categories. This is because key informants were literate whilst most ordinary participants were not. I therefore decided to obtain verbal consent for both key and ordinary participants so that I could not alarm one group or another. This precaution was explained by the political situation in DRC. A consent form would endanger the participants' trust I previously earned during my period as a volunteer in Kamanyola.

I noticed that the army General and community leaders (during the community-based meeting) had a defensive attitude and easily pointed fingers to others aspects for me to look in directions other than theirs. I remember, for example, asking to the army General based in Bukavuwhat was the state's attitude toward the wartime rape committed by the national army. The General's response was that the army and police forces protect the population against some religious men in rural areas who raped young boys during their prayer section and then attempted to flee the village. This answer was helpful in that it provided other dimensions I could explore to answer themain research question of this study, i.e. "Does the concept of 'Symbolic Violence' help us understand the practice of wartime rape?" However, the fact that the army General dissociated the national army from wartime rape made me question if I did clearly explain my research question to respondent. Before starting the interview I told to all willing participants that the interviews were about the ways in which the community has been affected by wartime rape and the mechanisms which are established to rebuild the community. I therefore had the impression that the army General as well as community leaders preferred to put in light their positive contributions in fighting wartime rape. I also made a deliberate choice to not present the topic I aimed to cover during the interviews. This is because I did not want to limit participants' freedom in raising other aspects they wanted to speak of. However, I did not hesitate to redirect the respondent to my topics (through a question) when they moved out of the debate lines. This mostly occurred with male respondents who were curious about my marital status or wanted to make sure if I had seen their son.

Legard et al. (2003:163) state that the social science researcher has to avoid exposing his/her own emotions during the interview "whatever the researcher's own reaction to the situation." However it was really challenging to control my body expressions especially when participants narrated the community's wartime rape experiences. For example I could not stop myself from holding Nsimre's hand when she was accounting how she was obliged to leave her community of origin with her children after being raped in 2004. At this moment I felt over-involved given that I stop being a social science researcher to become just human. Nevertheless, in the next minute I attempted to remediate to this over-involvement by emphasizing on her strength. I did this by encouraging her to speak of her next plan as a peer educator. I also reminded her that she was not obliged to recount any experience which might be painful for her. This particular interview with Nsimire was a huge lesson I learned on in-depth interviews. I realized that it is one thing to read about it in a book and a totally different thing to practice in-depth interviews on sensitive topics. I therefore tried to be more neutral in following interviews.

b. Reflection on where and when I collected data

It is traditionally accepted in qualitative research that the researcher should not constrain the time and place where interviews should be held (Legard et al. 2003). The participants, therefore, indicate where and when they are willing to answer research questions. Initially I programmed to interview key informants after their work time in a place of their choice and ordinary participants at their homes. However, most key informants (with the exception of the doctor, the nurse and Nsimire) gave me one hour for my interviews in between their work time. This was generally in the morning (9 am) given that they arrived at their work place around 8.30 am. I noticed that at that time they had not much pressure regarding their daily duties.

Interviewing the army General was a huge challenge because almost every ten minute there was someone on the door to get a directive on the task she/he had to do. Ordinary participants preferred to be interviewed in the same hall where community-based meetings took place sometime after the meal they shared at the end of the meeting. I understood this choice as respondents' means of avoiding any questions from local leaders in case the interviews took place at their respective home. I remember one community leader asking to the civil society

activist I interviewed if I payed her after the interview. From that moment I realized that this must be a reason why most ordinary respondents preferred to be interviewed in a public place.

APPENDIX 2: ETHICS CLEARENCE CERTIFICATE

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Mushagalusa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H13/07/01**
PROJECT TITLE	Does the concept of "Symbolic Voilence" help us understand the practice of wartime rape? A case study of Bukavu Rural community/South-Kivu Province (DRC)
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms AK Mushagalusa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/ Sociology
DATE CONSIDERED	19/07/2013
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	15/08/2015

DATE 16/08/2013 **CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Prof K Von Holdt

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____

Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDX 3 PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (was verbally disclosed to participants)

Who will conduct the research?

I, Alice MushagalusaKarhikalembu, will conduct the interviews. These interviews are part of my academic research project. I am a Master student at the University of Witwatersrand (in South Africa).

Title of the Research and Research Question

I am researching on the symbolic dimensions of wartime rape. My research question is "Does the concept of "Symbolic violence" help us understand the practice of wartime rape?"This means that I would like you to help me understand the how wartime rape has generally affected this community and its social ties.

What is the aim of the research?

Through different questions, I would like to have your opinion on how wartime rape affected the social relations within this community. More specifically, I would like to have your point of view regarding the ways in which the community ties, families, marriage as well as women's engagement in economic activities have been affected by the wartime rape. Finally, it is of huge interest for me to know the mechanisms in place which help community members to address the outcome of wartime rape.

Why have I been selected?

- For Key Informants

This research will be based on 20 in-depth interviews. You have been purposely chosen to participate in this research in respect to your expertise in the researched matter. As a (title) I believe you possess quality information that will help me answering my research question.

- For Ordinary Participants

You have been chosen because you are member of this community. Therefore, I believe you hold important information that will help me answering the research question of this study.

What happens to the data collected?

I will use my notes to build an analysis of wartime rape and these will constitute an important part of my academic research report. Therefore, the data I collect through interviews will constitute the departure point of this analysis.

How is confidentiality maintained?

Your identity will be fully protected. I will use pseudonyms in the final research report so that the information you provide does not expose you to any external harm. None recording device will be used for this interview. Instead I will be taking notes.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

You are free to participate to the research. In case you change your mind all along the interview and decide to not participate any more, your position will be strictly respected.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

This research is for pure academic purposes. Therefore participating in the research does not include any payment arrangement or any kind of financial remuneration.

What is the duration of the research?

The interview will take place within 60 minutes.

Will the results of the research be published?

This research report is an academic requirement for me to complete my Master degree.The final research report will be published at the University of Witwatersrand online resources.

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDES

1. KEY PARTICIPANTS INTERVIEW GUIDE

- Do you mind telling me a bit about yourself?
- From your opinion, why is (was) wartime rape happening in this community?
- I have read an article saying that rape is a weapon of war in DRC. Do you agree with that?
- (If yes) Saying it is a weapon of war comes to mean that it is a military strategy. Are there some cases were the victims have been raped by Congolese soldiers?
- Have you ever face a case where multiple rapes in this community were civilian actions?
- Do culture and the social organization encourage the social reintegration of wartime rapesurvivors?
- According to you, is there any link between the patriarchal system that characterizes this community and wartime rape that occurred here?
- From your own view, what is the impact of wartime rape on family ties?
- Did wartime rape affect marriage engagement in this community? Could you just explain why you think so? [if affirmative]
- What is the community's attitude toward wartime rape survivors?
- Are wartime rape survivors economically capable of supporting the medical fees for reparative surgery?
- Do women play an important economic role in this community? (Can you develop a bit on their role,[if yes])
- What effect did wartime rape had on women's economic activity in this community?
- Is there any role played by community-based associations in response to wartime rape? (Can you tell me a bit more about this role)
- Are there some mechanisms which are implemented to support the reconstruction of social bonds within this community?

- How local community leaders did addressed the issue of wartime rape in this community?
- Does the law in place encourage the victims to report their rape?

2. ORDINARY PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

- If you don't mind can I have more details about you (name and your current occupation)?
- Have you always been living within this community? (if not) Why did you leave your community of origin?
- Do you mind telling me a bit more about Kamanyola's experience with wartime rape?
- Who do you consider to be the main victims of wartime rape in this community?
- Has this community ever publicly protested against wartime rape?
- (if yes to the previous question) To whom was addressed the protest message?
- What effect did that protest have on this community?
- How can you qualify the community's attitude toward war rape survivors?
- Does your religious background have any impact on your attitude vis-à-vis survivors of wartime rape?
- In your own understanding, is there any link between the Kamanyola's traditional beliefs and wartime rape?
- In which ways families have been affected by wartime rape here in Kamanyola?
- What do you think about wartime rape survivors getting married?
- What are women's economic activities within the community?
- In your own view, what has been the part played by traditional leaders in discouragingwartime rape?
- Has it happen to a member of this community to be raped by another civilian?
- Are there some mechanisms put in place by community-based associations to facilitate the social reintegration of the victims? (if so) Can you please tell me more about it?

- Are those mechanisms helpful for the community as a whole?(If yes) Why do you think so?