

Understanding the international community

A Framing Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo

BA Thesis Wendy Hendriks

3467082

Research seminar III – Conflict Studies

L.M. Gould, MA

10-4-2013

List of Abbreviations

DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
EUSEC DR Congo	EU advisory and assistance mission for security reform in the Democratic Republic of Congo
EUPOL RD Congo	Mission de police de l'Union européenne en République Démocratique du Congo
FAC	Forces Armées Congolaise
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FDLR	Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MONUSCO	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en République Démocratique du Congo
M23	23 March Movement
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UN	United Nations

Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is marked by horrific cases of sexual violence that has been, and continues to be, committed on a large scale in the multiple wars that have plagued the DRC. Like Lincoln argues in his article about the DRC, “the two Congo Wars—the first occurring from 1996 to 1997 and the second from 1998 to 2002—are irreducibly complex” (2011: 141). By many authors, the Rwandan genocide is seen as the catalyst of the conflict in the DRC. This becomes clear in the following description of Lincoln as well:

“most of the Rwandan Hutus sought refuge across the border in the eastern region of the DR Congo (then Zaire). (...) In 1996, Rwanda, citing national security and regional stability concerns in the face of Hutu extremism, backed a rebellion in the DR Congo led by Laurent Desire Kabila that overthrew Mobutu Sese Seko to begin the First Congo War. (...) By 1998 tension between the Kabila government, Rwanda, and Uganda led to a new round of armed conflict that lasted until 2002. (...) the conflict eventually encompassed over twenty-five separate armed groups (2011: 142, 143).

The United Nations, European Union and lots of NGO’s attach great importance to the development of a powerful approach to overcome the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. All those actors have different ideas about the scale, causes and impact of sexual violence, as well as who the perpetrators and victims are. Douma and Hilhorst build on this ‘discourse on the Congo’ in their paper, by addressing that “[t]hese questions concern the way the problem is framed, the focus of the programmes, the gaps in coordination and the forms of abuse addressed by these programmes at all levels. It is often heard that sexual violence has become a ‘fond de commerce’ (business)” (2012:15). Simultaneously, many academics criticise the international approach because it would not cover the complexity of sexual violence in an effective way.¹ For example, Freedman criticizes the international programs by stating that “[i]n focusing on help for victims, they do not address the more fundamental causes rooted in traditional gender roles and representations, and the low social, political and economic status of women in Congolese society” (2011:171). Moreover, Lincoln argues that “while weak rule of law perpetuates sexual violence, only rule of law programs designed

¹ see for other examples Carlsen 2009: 477- 482; Kelly 2010: 2 and Eriksson Baaz and Stern 2008: 58

specifically with respect to the needs, risks, and cultural norms pertaining to Congolese women can help curb this problem” (2011: 139).

The academics mentioned above, want to understand the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and especially the policy that various international actors implement in the Congo. However, little practical research has been done by looking at how the international community ‘frames’ sexual violence in existing policy documents. First you have to understand the behaviour of the international community in terms of the way sexual violence is framed, before you could understand the implemented policy. Therefore, my topic of research will be relevant because it covers the practical research and this has led to the following research question: *How do various international actors frame sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, how do these frames influence the type of policy they implement and to what degree are these frames aligned?* More specifically, this research question is broken down into the following sub-questions:

1. How do the various international actors describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and to what extent are the used frames aligned?
2. How are the used frames by the various international actors translated in the policy they implement in the DRC and to what extent are the used frames aligned?
3. How do the Congolese men describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and to what extent are the frames used by the international community aligned with the frames of Congolese men?

During my analysis I will be an interpretive policy analyst who will “map the architecture of a debate relative to the policy issue under investigation, by identifying the language and its entailments (understandings, actions, meanings) used by different interpretive communities in their framing of the issue” (Yanow 2000: 12, 13). To fulfill the role as an interpretive policy analyst I have taken different steps that are illustrated by Yanow (2000: 20).

Firstly, I have identified the interpretive communities relevant to the debate regarding sexual violence in the DRC. I have included the United Nations and the European Union because those are the main international organs that operate in the world by establishing missions. The UN has established MONUSCO in the DRC and the EU has established two missions, EUSEC DR Congo and EUPOL RD Congo. Besides the UN and the EU, I have included the three non- governmental organizations, Amnesty International, Women for Women and Caritas Australia. I have selected these organizations because they work in many

countries and not just in the DRC, because they are not just focused on one goal and they are known for their extensive work in the DRC. To better understand the social construction of meaning around sexual violence, I have selected the Congolese men as the last interpretive community.

Secondly, I identify how the different interpretive communities talk and act with respect to the problems of sexual violence. Therefore, I use the theory on 'framing' which is described by academics in many different ways. For instance Wood (2008:347) describes this theory in terms of "labeling", Nelson and Oxley (1999: 1043) in terms of "issue frames" and Bathia (2005: 208) uses the term "politics of naming". However, I will use the theory on framing that is described by Benford and Snow. These authors argue that frames are "constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, articulate an alternative set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change" (2000: 615). According to Benford and Snow, three 'core framing tasks' could be distinguished, which are "diagnostic framing", "prognostic framing" and "motivational framing" (2000: 615). Firstly, diagnostic framing is twofold. The first aspect of diagnostic framing is the "injustice frame" that refers to "the ways in which movements identify the victims of a given injustice and amplify their victimization" (2000 :615). The second aspect of diagnostic framing is the "adversarial frame" which identifies the "source(s) of causality, blame and/or culpable agents". (...) "This attributional component of diagnostic framing attends to this function by focusing on blame or responsibility" (...) and it seeks to "delineate the boundaries between good and evil" (2006: 616). In other words, regarding the case of this research, the adversarial frame illustrates who and what is to blame for the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. Secondly, prognostic framing "involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan" (2000: 616). Lastly, motivational framing provides a "call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action, including the construction of appropriate vocabularies of motive" (2000: 617). In other words, using the motivational frame, urgency is given to the case and it makes clear that something must be done. The diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frame that are used by various international actor as well as the Congolese men are discussed in this thesis through a document analysis that is focused on policy reports, information on websites, press releases, conferences and interviews.

By taking the last step, I identify whether the various frames of the international actors as well as the Congolese men are in “conflict between or among groups” (Yanow 2000: 20). Therefore, I use the theory on ‘frame alignment’, described by Benford and Snow et al. as well. According to them, frame alignment refers to “the linkage of individual and social movement organizations (SMO) interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary” (1986: 464). In the case of this research, frame alignment thus refers to the process whereby one actor’s meanings and interpretations about the problems of sexual violence matches – therefore “aligns” – with another actor’s interpretation.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, the diagnostic frame of each international actor and the similarities and differences between the used frames are discussed which will answer the first sub-question. The second chapter will answer the second sub-question by explaining the prognostic and motivational frame of each international actor. Furthermore, the similarities and differences between the used frames are discussed. In the third chapter I will explain the used frames by Congolese men. Moreover, the similarities and differences between their frames and the frames used by the international community will be discussed. This will answer my last sub-question. I will finish this thesis with the conclusions of my arguments and recommendations for further research.

Diagnostic frame of each international actor

In this chapter I will answer my first research question which is as follows: *How do the various international actors describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and to what extent are the used frames aligned?* To investigate how the various international actors describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC, I will discuss the used diagnostic frames. First of all, I will explain the used ‘injustice frame’ of each international actor by looking at who are identified as the victims of sexual violence and how they are victimized. Moreover, the ‘adversarial frame’ will be discussed by looking at who is to blame in terms of who are seen as the perpetrators and what is to blame in terms of the consequences of sexual violence in the DRC.

United Nations

First of all, the used ‘injustice frame’ becomes clear by looking at the UN campaign ‘UNITE to END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN’. The UN argue that “in the Democratic Republic of Congo approximately 1,100 rapes are being reported each month, with an average of 36 women and girls raped every day. It is believed that over 200,000 women have suffered from sexual violence in that country since armed conflict began” (United Nations).² So, it immediately becomes clear that women and girls are primarily seen as the victims. This is confirmed in an audio fragment in which the UN say that “[a]long with the challenges of surviving, danger is never far afield, particularly for the women” (United Nations 2013 A). This is then illustrated with a couple of stories of women who are raped, which ends with the following words from the UN “[i]t is the most dangerous place in the world for women” (United Nations 2013 A).

In addition, on the website of the UN campaign that is described above, the UN state that sexual violence is “frequently a conscious strategy employed on a large scale by armed groups to humiliate opponents, terrify individuals and destroy societies” (United Nations).³ In this example the used ‘adversarial’ as well as the ‘injustice frame’ become clear. The consequences of sexual violence are described in terms that opponents are humiliated, individuals terrified and societies are destroyed, which illustrates how the victims of sexual violence are victimized by the UN. Moreover, the armed groups are blamed for the problems of sexual violence, which illustrates the used ‘adversarial frame’, which I will now discuss in more detail.

Giving the background of the mission MONUSCO, the UN talk about the causes of sexual violence in the following way:

The drivers of sexual violence are complex but recognized to stem from state fragility and the lengthy nature of the conflict. (...) Furthermore the fragmented command structures of both militia and government security forces (FARDC) have led to the use of sexual violence as a military tactic (United Nations).⁴

In this example, it becomes clear what is to blame according to the UN, which is an important

² United Nations. Human Rights Violation. <<http://endviolence.un.org/situation.shtml>> (2 March 2013)

³ Idem

⁴ United Nations. Background. <<http://monusco.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=10817&language=en-US>> (4 March 2013)

aspect of the ‘adversarial frame’. Moreover, in a report of the Secretary-General on the UN mission, it is said that the cases of sexual violence “were allegedly committed by armed groups and national security forces” (United Nations 2013 B: 11). The examples they give are cases in which “at least 66 women (...) were reportedly raped by Mayi-Mayi Simba/Lumumba combatants” in November 2013 in the Orientale Province (United Nations 2013 B: 11). Furthermore, “[i]n South Kivu, at least 126 women, including 24 girls, were reportedly victims of sexual violence by FARDC soldiers in Minova and its surrounding villages, in Kalehe territory, from 20 to 22 November in 2013” (United Nations 2013 B: 11). The armed groups as well as the national security forces (FARDC) are thus blamed for the problems of sexual violence in the DRC.

European Union

Regarding the used ‘injustice frame’, the EU mainly argues that women and children suffer the most from the problems of sexual violence. In a factsheet in which the background of the EUPOL RD Congo mission is explained, the EU states that “in the past 12 years of conflict, about 200,000 women are raped in the DRC, including at least 120 in the first two months of 2011” (European Union, my translation).⁵ Furthermore, it is said that “sexual violence has psychological, physical and social consequences for the victims and it effects their families and communities” (European Union, my translation).⁶ This illustrates how the EU amplifies the victimization of women and girls in the DRC.

Furthermore, in the factsheet I mentioned above, it becomes clear what is to blame for the problems of sexual violence, which is one aspect of the ‘adversarial frame’. The EU states that “[t]he climate of impunity encountered in this area aggravates the situation and encourage acts of violence“ and impunity is seen as “the consequence of a lack of technical equipment and institutional state structures as well as a lack of training and knowledge of police officers” (European Union, my translation).⁷ In addition, in a document of the European Scrutiny

⁵ European Union. EUPOL RD CONGO Appui à la lutte contre les violences sexuelles en République Démocratique du Congo. < http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/docs/EUPOL_Appui_DH.pdf> (6 March 2013)

⁶ Idem

⁷ Idem

Committee it is mentioned that in 2009, the then new Minister for Europe Chris Byant, said that “the problem of rape and sexual violence is one of the most serious aspects of the conflict in the DRC” (European Union 2010). The conflict in the DRC is thus seen as another cause of the occurrence of sexual violence. Concerning who is to blame, it is remarkable that the EU does not go into this question very extensively. In one document of the European Scrutiny Committee, it is said that “sexual and gender based violence is used systematically as a weapon of war by the Congolese Army and my militia groups” (European Union 2010). Furthermore, in a briefing of June/ July 2011 of the EU regarding the EUSEC DR Congo mission, it is argued that sexual violence “is also perpetrated by members of the Forces Armées de la République (FARDC) “ (European Union 2011 A). Therefore it can be assumed that the armed groups as well as the national security forces (FARDC) are blamed for the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. However, how can this lack of a clear ‘frame of blame’ be explained? A possible explanation will be presented later on when the used ‘prognostic frame’ of the EU is discussed.

Amnesty International

In a report of Amnesty International, it is stated that especially women and girls are the victims and “in a smaller number of cases, men and boys”, which is the first aspect of the ‘injustice frame’ used by Amnesty International (2008: 6). In that report, ten interviews with raped women, who differ from six years old to fifty-six years old, are presented to show in detail how those women are brutally raped (2008: 9 – 12). This makes clear that women and girls are seen as the main victims. However, after the presented interviews with raped women, one interview with a twenty-year-old man is included in the report. Amnesty International further go into this interview by arguing that “[a] largely unreported aspect of sexual violence in eastern DRC is the number of men who are also victims of sexual violence. Because of the high level of prejudice associated with male rape, very few survivors come forward to report attacks” (2008: 12). Furthermore, Amnesty international argues that “[i]n many cases, sexual abuse and rape appear to be ethnically motivated and/or aimed at terrorizing an demoralizing communities suspected of supporting enemy groups” (2008: 6). This shows the way Amnesty International NGO amplifies the victimization, which is the second component of the ‘injustice frame’.

Regarding the ‘adversarial frame’, Amnesty International talks about the causes of

sexual violence in a press article called ‘International Women Day’ and argues that “[p]erpetrators are often not punished (...), corruption within the judicial system is common and the police and the judiciary in the DRC are weak” (Amnesty International 2010 A, my translation). Concerning who is to blame for the problems, especially armed groups as well as the government security forces are seen as the perpetrators. In a report, it is said that, “[s]ince the beginning of the armed conflict in eastern DRC (...) rape and sexual assault is committed by combatants” (Amnesty International 2010 B: 5). Amnesty International clarifies what they mean with ‘combatants’ by presenting that regarding the cases of sexual violence in North-Kivu for instance, “one- fifth (20%) of these rape cases were attributed to FARDC soldiers, 16% to mayi-mayi fighters and 11% to FDLR fighters” (2008: 6). Next to members of several armed groups as well as the government security forces, this NGO states that “the remaining attacks were reportedly committed by civilians” (2008: 6).

Women for Women

Looking at who Women for Women identifies as the victims which is one aspect of the ‘injustice frame’, it can be argued that women are seen as the main victims who “bear the brunt” (Women for Women).⁸ This is further illustrated by 4 stories of women who differ from 24 years old to 53 years old in which it is explained how they have survived as a victim of sexual violence. However, despite women are mainly depicted as the main victim of sexual violence, Women for Women argues in a report that “within the context of war, just as the world automatically casts women in the role of victim, men are automatically casted as violent aggressors. Just as we ask the world not to stereotype women, we must recognize when we are guilty of making similar assumptions about men” (2007: 5). With this example, it has become clear that ultimately, this NGO acknowledges that men should not automatically be seen as the violent aggressors. Furthermore, on the website of Women for Women it becomes clear how this NGO amplifies the victimization of women: “[i]magine that you never feel safe, not even in your own home. You are perpetually at risk of violence, rape, famine, disease, and displacement. (...) Rape is a common tactic of war. (...) This is

⁸ Women for Women. WHY DO WE WORK IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo.php>> (4 March 2013)

today's DR Congo ” (Women for Women).⁹ Moreover, in a report of Women for Women, it is argued that sexual violence “has shattered the social bonds of whole communities” (2007: 6). These examples have shown how Women for Women amplifies the victimization, which is the second component of the ‘injustice frame’.

Regarding the ‘adversarial frame’, Women for Women does not go into the question who is to blame very extensively. Only when Women for Women explains why they work in the DRC they argue that “[c]ountless armed groups pose a constant threat (...) and rape is used by rebel forces and government militias” (Women for Women).¹⁰ Therefore, it can be assumed that the several armed groups as well as the national security forces are blamed for the injustice of sexual violence in the DRC. Again, how can this lack of a clear ‘adversarial frame’ be explained? Looking at the used ‘injustice frame’, it can be concluded that Women for Women is very careful with the identification of one victim. They argue that the world should not stereotype. This perhaps explains why this NGO does not have strong view about who is to blame either. However, further research should be done to be able to completely clarify this lack of a clear ‘adversarial frame’ by Women for Women.

Caritas Australia

Caritas Australia identifies in a report the victims of sexual violence the DRC , which is one aspect of the ‘injustice frame’ and states that “the ongoing conflict in the DRC has a direct and horrifying consequence (...) that is, the deliberate and brutal targeting of women and girls” (2008:15). That Caritas Australia identifies women and girls as the main victims further becomes evident by the fact that a story of the 24 –years old Elisabeth and a video fragment about the teenager Isabelle are presented on the website of this NGO, to illustrate that women suffer the most (Caritas Australia).¹¹ In a report, Caritas Australia further amplifies the victimization, the other aspect of the ‘injustice frame’, by stating that “sexual violence is used in order to frighten populations, humiliate military opponents, intimidate female human rights campaigners, or settle scores between communities” (2008: 16).

⁹ Women for Women. WHY DO WE WORK IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo.php>> (4 March 2013)

¹⁰ Idem

¹¹ Caritas Australia. Supporting victims of sexual violence. <<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/africa---democratic-republic-of-the-congo-medical-and-social-support-for-victims-of-sexual-violence>> (5 March 2013)

Regarding the used ‘adversarial frame’, it becomes clear that, in the report I discussed above, Caritas Australia relates the problems of sexual violence to the conflict in the DRC by arguing that it has become a “war within the war” and that “there is no doubt about the link between conflict in the DRC and the prevalence of rape and sexual violence” (2008: 15). Besides the nature of conflict as the cause of sexual violence, “the collapse of law” is seen as another cause by Caritas Australia (2008: 15). Lastly, it is said that sexual violence “is simply another way of venting the frustrations and tensions of soldiering” (2008: 16). Concerning who is to blame, it can be concluded that like the EU and Women for Women, Caritas Australia does not really elaborate on that either. However, they do state in the background of their program that “all the armed forces, both state and non-state, in the DRC have used sexual violence as one of the main weapons” (Caritas Australia).¹² This emphasises that Caritas Australia also identifies the various armed groups as well as the national security forces (FARDC) as the main perpetrators. The question of how this lack of a ‘frame of blame’ could be explained, should also be asked here. It could be that Caritas Australia is not sure about how they have interpret the problems of sexual violence in terms of who has to be blamed for it. Further research would be helpful to completely clarify this lack of a clear ‘frame of blame’ by Caritas Australia.

Similarities and differences between used diagnostic frames

Because it is now clear how the different international actors have talked about the problems of sexual violence in the DRC, it is interesting to identify whether the diagnostic frames are in conflict with each other or are aligned by looking at the theory on ‘frame alignment’ of Benford and Snow et al. (1986: 464).

Looking at the first aspect of ‘diagnostic framing’, namely the ‘injustice frame’, it firstly becomes clear that women, girls and children in general are identified as the main victims by every international actor. However, Amnesty International and Women for Women argue that men and boys also has to be taken into account as victims. Regarding the women who are seen as the main victims, it has to be mentioned that the various international actors

¹² Caritas Australia. Supporting victims of sexual violence. <<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/africa---democratic-republic-of-the-congo-medical-and-social-support-for-victims-of-sexual-violence>> (5 March 2013)

talk about women in general and do not differentiate them in terms of ethnic identity, race or religion for instance. In the research I have done, the various international actors only talk about different ages. You would expect that differences of ethnic identity, race and religion do make sense in terms of who are the most vulnerable to become a victim of sexual violence. Further research would be interesting to investigate why these international actors just talk about women in general. Regarding the way the victims are victimized, it is argued by almost every international actor that sexual violence has psychological, physical and social consequences for the direct victims but it also humiliates and terrorizes the entire community.

Regarding the ‘adversarial frame’, the problems of sexual violence are related to the ongoing conflict in the DRC by all international actors and sexual violence is framed as a weapon of war. Furthermore, a climate of impunity and a weak judicial system and national police are identified as the causes of sexual violence by three of the five international actors. Only Caritas Australia identifies the frustrations and tensions of soldiering as an important cause of sexual violence. In addition, every international actor argues that the several armed groups as well as the national security forces (FARDC) has to be blamed for the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. Only Amnesty International states that the civilian population also has to be blamed. Moreover, it has to be mentioned that three of the five international actors, do not give much information about who they think the main perpetrators of sexual violence in the DRC are. Like I said before, further research would be helpful to completely clarify this lack of a clear ‘frame of blame’.

In conclusion, the used diagnostic frames of the international actors matches quite well with each other and are therefore moderately aligned.

Prognostic and motivational frame of each international actor

In this chapter I will answer my second research question which is as follows: *How are the used frames by the various international actors translated in the policy they implement in the DRC and to what extent are the used frames aligned?* To investigate which kind of policy the various international actors implement in the DRC, I will discuss the used prognostic and motivational frame. First of all I will explain which solution for the problems of sexual violence is proposed by each international actor. In addition I will look at the strategies they present for carrying out their plan. Lastly, I will discuss in which way each international actor gives urgency to the case.

United Nations

Prognostic frame

Within the MONUSCO mission which is established in the DR, it has become clear that the UN propose a solution to the problems of sexual violence which is mainly based on a “Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DRC”, developed in 2008 (2009 A:1). According to this report, “the comprehensive strategy has four inter-related components” of which the first component is *Combating Impunity for Cases of Sexual Violence* (2009 A: 2). The second component of the Comprehensive Strategy is the *Prevention and Protection of Sexual Violence*. The following three objectives were identified regarding this component: “[t]o prevent and/or mitigate threats and reduce vulnerability and exposure to sexual violence; To strengthen the resilience of survivors of sexual violence; To create a protective environment” (2009 A: 2). The third component is the *Security Sector Reform and Sexual Violence* which refers to “ongoing justice reform initiatives especially military justice, the demobilization and disengagement plans for armed groups and the reform of the FARDC” (2009 A: 2). The last component of the Comprehensive Strategy is the *Multi-Sectoral Response for Survivors of Sexual Violence*. The aim of this component is “to improve access of survivors of sexual violence to multi-sectoral services and to establish minimum standards for the provision of assistance” (2009 A: 2, 3). In short, medical and judicial assistance for the survivors, as well as prevention, protection, security sector reform and the fight against impunity are strategies which keep returning in the policy of the UN.

Next to the Comprehensive Strategy, another important strategy according to the UN is that, the Congolese government itself works hard to overcome the problems of sexual violence by implementing the National Strategy. In a report of the Secretary- General of 15 February 2013 , it is said that the UN wants to ensure that “the Government takes forward the national strategy on combating gender-based violence” (2013 B: 21). The content of this Nation Startegy is further illustrated in a document which is written in 2009 in the DRC. According to this document, it consists of strengthening the implementation of the law and the fight against impunity; prevention and protection; supporting reforms of the army, police, justice and security forces; the responses to the needs of victims and survivors; analysis and awareness of gender-based violence; the empowerment of women (2009 B: 25).

Motivational frame

In a report of the UN Secretary-General on the MONUSCO mission of 15 February 2013, it immediately becomes clear that the UN give urgency to the case by stating that “sexual violence continued to be of high concern” which is followed by a presentation of the large number of women who are raped so far (2013 B). In addition, in a press conference, the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict said that “a policy of zero tolerance could not be backed by zero action. The Government must have means to bring perpetrators to justice” (United Nations 2010).

Lastly, in another press release it becomes clear that the UN Special Representative on Violence against Women, Yakin Ertürk, called for immediate international action regarding the problems of sexual violence. It is remarkable that Ertürk especially mentions that “[t]here is an urgent need to mobilize support for these women who are working both under security threats as well as severe resource problems”, she added (United Nations 2008). This example makes clear that the UN argues that the international community must do something now, especially to help women in the DRC.

European Union

Prognostic frame

First of all, on the official website of the European Union it is mentioned that “[t]he European Union is leading two advisory and assistance missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). (...)The EUSEC DR Congo mission is dedicated to reforming the Army, while the EUPOL RD Congo mission is dedicated to restructuring the police” (European Union).¹³ This summary of the EU missions immediately makes clear that the EU proposes a solution to the problems of sexual violence which is mainly based on the security sector reform.

In addition, in many documents and press releases it becomes clear that regarding the two EU missions, the sensitization of the police and the public on the 2006 law on sexual violence; criminal procedure; the promotion of gender; training and technical support of the Congolese police and judicial authorities; and care of the victims are objectives that keep

¹³ European Union. EU Missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. <http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/ps0005_en.htm> (27 March 2013)

coming back in the policy of the EU¹⁴.

The strategy that the EU use to carry out their plan is to assist the Congolese with the development of logistical capabilities so that they are able to overcome the problems of sexual violence by themselves. For example, in a press article of the UN it is mentioned that EUPOL RD Congo has deployed a multidisciplinary team in Goma to fight against sexual violence and impunity. “This team consists of a police expert, justice expert and a civilian expert” (European Union).¹⁵ With this team, the EU European talks about their demand for training and technical support to build up a strong Congolese Police and judicial authority. This example makes clear that the policy of the EU consists of a strong cooperation with the Congolese population and authorities.

Another important strategy mentioned by the EU, is greater involvement of women when one talks about the solutions for sexual violence. For example, in a press article it is mentioned that with the support of the EU, a sensitization workshop was held on 8 March 2013 in the town of Minova for the military, village leaders and women. The goal of this workshop was on the one hand to talk about the role of women to stop sexual violence and to strengthen their identity and on the other hand to restore and enhance the relationship between the military and the civilian population (European Union 2013).

In the previous chapter, it was briefly indicated that looking at the ‘diagnostic frame’, used by the EU, a clear ‘frame of blame’ lacks. Looking at the used ‘prognostic frame’, the EU has established two advisory and assistance missions in the DRC and their policy consists of a strong cooperation with the Congolese population and the national authorities. The EU assisted the Congolese National Police and the national Judicial authorities for instance, to develop their logistical capabilities so that they are able to overcome the problems of sexual violence and especially to end impunity. Other international actors who do use the ‘frame of blame’ have argued that the national security forces (FARDC), which refer to the national authorities, are seen as one of the most important perpetrators of sexual violence. However, the EU has established a mission which is actually focusing on the strengthening of the military and Congolese National Police. Therefore, this may answer the question why the EU

¹⁴ See for example: European Union (2011 B). Une campagne radio de sensibilisation aux violences sexuelles commence au Nord-Kivu. European Union (2012). Formation spécialisée en matière de lutte contre les violences sexuelles renforce les capacités de 172 Officiers de Police Judiciaire

¹⁵ European Union. EUPOL RD CONGO déploie à Goma une équipe multidisciplinaire de lutte contre les violences sexuelles et l’impunité. <<http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/dossier.php?num=118&style=bleu&numdos=57>> (27 March 2013)

is reluctant to clearly blame the military and the police because that would be in conflict with the goal of their missions. Nevertheless, further thorough research of the lacking ‘frame of blame’ could be helpful.

Motivational frame

In a factsheet of the EUPOL RD Congo mission, it immediately becomes clear that the EU give urgency to the case by stating that “[d]espite efforts by the Congolese government, the civil society and the international community, to combat sexual violence that is committed on a large scale, the situation remains difficult” (European Union).¹⁶ Furthermore, in a briefing of 6 July 2011, the EU said that:

Given the continuously high levels of rape and other forms of sexual abuse in DR Congo (...) it is important that EUSEC and EUPOL DRC receive sufficient resources from EU Member States to fulfill their mandate in this specific area. (...) It is crucial that (...) the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), EU Member States active in DRC as well as non-governmental actors (...) continues and improves (European Union 2011 A).

This example makes clear that the EU argues that the EU Member States as well as the UN with their MONUSCO mission and non-governmental organizations, are all responsible for taking action to overcome the problems of sexual violence in the DRC.

Amnesty International

Prognostic frame

In a report of the Amnesty International called ‘No end to war on women and children’, it is stated that the “DRC government, with support and assistance of the international community, must for its part make justice a living and convincing reality” (2008: 23). This immediately makes clear that, according to Amnesty International, the Congolese government itself has to work hard to overcome the problems of sexual violence which mainly has to be focused on

¹⁶ European Union. EUPOL RD CONGO Appui à la lutte contre les violences sexuelles en République Démocratique du Congo. < http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/docs/EUPOL_Appui_DH.pdf> (6 March 2013)

ending impunity. Justice is therefore seen as the best solution to overcome the problems of sexual violence.

Furthermore, the program of Amnesty International is mainly based on the “provision of support and protection to victims and witnesses, and sufficient financial, material and training resources to ensure that police, prosecutors and judges are able to perform their roles capably and independently” (2008:23). Subsequently, Amnesty International stresses that a “long-term engagement of national authorities and international donors will also be needed to tackle the medical, psychosocial and economic consequences of systematic and widespread sexual violence” (2008:14).

Motivational frame

In the report of Amnesty International, which I presented above, it is stated that “[u]rgent measures are needed to protect Congolese women and girls from continuing rape and other forms of sexual violence” (2008: 14). The demand for immediate help for women becomes also clear in a press article about an action that has been devised in collaboration with Pinkpop, a festival held in the Netherlands. In the article it is said that “to support women, Amnesty International has asked the festival visitors to send the women a message of solidarity” (Amnesty International 2009, my translation).

Furthermore, Amnesty International urges the “international community to become more actively involved in ending the rape and other sexual violence emergency in eastern DRC, and to press and assist the DRC government to provide access to justice and emergency programmes of medical care for rape survivors” (2008: 14). This example illustrates that according to Amnesty International, the international community must do something in terms of pressing and also supporting the Congolese government.

Women for Women

Prognostic frame

By explaining on the website of Women for Women why they work in the DRC, it is argued that their programs “include business and vocational skills, rights awareness and health education classes, and emotional support. The one-year program was developed for DR Congo's special challenges and demands, and includes vocational training that helps women

earn an income and support themselves” (Women for Women).¹⁷ Paying attention to women in the DRC is thus seen as an important solution to overcome the problems of sexual violence.

Furthermore, Women for Women present the content of their program, that consists of ceramics production which will learn women “to create practical household items for sale in local markets” as well as bread-making that learns women “the basics of baking and earn an income from the sale of baked goods” (Women for Women).¹⁸ This examples illustrates that its program is mainly based on the empowerment of women.

Although Women for Women is focussing on the empowerment of women, they argue in a report called ‘Ending Violence Against Women in Eastern Congo’, that “any effective strategy for empowering women to realize their rights must involve men in the process” (2007: 8). Therefore, Women for Women has launched a Men’s Leadership Program in January 2005 in eastern DRC’s South Kivu Province. According to this NGO, the overall strategies to involve men are to ensure long-term resources for gender training; provide rights education for women and men; provide gender training for military and police; target youth for gender training; provide opportunities for cross-sectoral dialogue between women and men; promote role models and success stories; provide effective monitoring and evaluation and increase livelihood support for women and men (2007: 8, 9).

Motivational frame

On the website of Women for Women, many stories of raped women are presented including an extensive story of Lucienne which illustrates the poor life condition of women.

Subsequently, Women for Women gives urgency to the problems of sexual violence in the following way :

Sexual violence in the Congo is the worst in the world. But right now you can sponsor a Congolese woman like Lucienne, and help physically and emotionally save her (...). Your generosity will help her provide for her family and get important rights awareness training to help ensure that she won't ever be a victim again (Women for Women).¹⁹

¹⁷ Women for Women. WHY DO WE WORK IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo.php>> (4 March 2013)

¹⁸ Idem

¹⁹ Women for Women. Crisis in the Congo: War Against Women. <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo-60-minutes.php>> (21 February 2013)

This example illustrates that Women for Women thus calls upon the public for immediate help for women through a sponsorship.

Caritas Australia

Prognostic frame

An explanation of the program that Caritas Australia establishes in the DRC is given on their website. According to this NGO, their program is threefold. First of all, the program “provides health, psychosocial and material support to victims of sexual violence. (...) We provide immediate medical care and HIV testing for rape victims, as well as ongoing counselling services” (Caritas Australia).²⁰ Secondly, “the program also provides longer-term support. Training in income-generating activities promotes independence and greater confidence for victims of sexual violence, and a special focus is placed on reconciling couples” (Caritas Australia).²¹ Thirdly, according to Caritas Australia, their program “also provides legal support to victims” to end the culture of impunity (Caritas Australia).²² In conclusion, this NGO emphasizes that both care of the victims with longer-term support focusing on their independency, reconciling couples and also legal support to victims, are together seen as the best solution to overcome the problems of sexual violence in the DRC.

Motivational frame

In a report of Caritas Australia called ‘Forsaken Voices’, it is argued that something must be done by stating that “1,200 people die each day and 2,000 are raped in a month... yet the world allows it to go on. It is time for justice and peace in the Congo. These lives and their country have been raped and plundered for too long” (2008:1). Furthermore, urgency is given to the case by stating that:

Many children are raised by mothers whose pregnancy was the direct result of being raped. (...) Without direct and drastic action the incidence of rape will continue to remain high, and both women and children will be continually subjugated to the

²⁰ Caritas Australia. Supporting victims of sexual violence. <<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/africa---democratic-republic-of-the-congo-medical-and-social-support-for-victims-of-sexual-violence>> (5 March 2013)

²¹ Idem

²² Idem

tyranny of sexual violence. The devastating culture of acceptance and impunity must end (2008:4).

Moreover, Caritas Australia “calls upon the international community to establish an international commission of inquiry into the atrocities in the DrC. This process must be actively supported by neighbouring African countries and the African union” (2008: 4). This NGO thus regards the international community and the neighbouring African countries and the African Union responsible for taking action to overcome the problems of sexual violence in the DRC.

Similarities and differences between used prognostic and motivational frames

So far, it has become clear which solutions for the problems of sexual violence are proposed by each international actor, which strategies they present for carrying out their plan and in which way each international actor gives urgency to the case. Therefore, it is interesting to identify in this section whether the prognostic frames as well as the motivational frames are in conflict with each other or are aligned by looking at the theory on ‘frame alignment’ of Benford and Snow et al. (1986: 464).

Prognostic frame

A comparison of the used prognostic frames of the six international actors, firstly makes clear that a multi-sectoral or comprehensive approach is seen as the best solution for overcoming the problems of sexual violence by every international actor. Subsequently, the strategies that are presented to carry out their plan, have to do with the provision of support and protection to victims, the combat against impunity and the security sector reform. Regarding these strategies, it is furthermore argued that long-term support is really important to expand services and improve the safety and well-being of women.

Moreover, the EU and Women for Women argue that paying more attention to women in the DRC, is seen as an important solution for reducing the problems of sexual violence. Nevertheless, there is a slight difference. Women for Women really focuses on the empowerment of women by finding employment or business opportunities for them. However, the EU is more focused on the greater involvement of women in terms of identifying their role in the fight against sexual violence and the search for peace.

Another similarity between the used prognostic frames is that the UN, as well as the EU and Amnesty International argue that the Congolese government itself has to work hard to overcome the problems of sexual violence and which mainly has to be focused on ending impunity. Assistance programs and a strong cooperation with the Congolese population and authorities are therefore seen as an important solution for the problems of sexual violence.

Next to the similarities of the used prognostic frames there are also differences. First of all, Women for Women is the only international actor who argues that attention has to be paid to gender training and the involvement of men, in order to overcome the problems of sexual violence. These aspects are not addressed by any other international actor.

Furthermore, Caritas Australia is the only international actor who pays attention to the reconciliation of couples. This NGO argues that rape victims are often not only stigmatised by their community but are sometimes also rejected by their spouse and family. Therefore, attention to reconciling couples is seen as an important solution to reduce the problems of sexual violence. However, this aspect of stigmatization is not addressed by any other international.

In conclusion, it can be argued that there are clear similarities but also differences between the used prognostic frames. Therefore, the used prognostic frames are moderately aligned.

Motivational frame

Comparing all used motivational frames, firstly makes clear that every international actor gives urgency to the problems of sexual violence by presenting the many acts of sexual violence and by stating that the situation is growing worse.

Moreover, three of the five international actors argue that urgent measures are needed to protect Congolese women specifically. This is not surprising because in the chapter regarding the used 'diagnostic frames' of all international actors, it has already become clear that women are seen as the main victims of sexual violence.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that each international actor clearly refers to other actors regarding taking action to overcome the problems of sexual violence. For instance, the UN argues that the Congolese government as well as the international community must do something now. Moreover, the EU refers to the EU Member States as well as the MONUSCO mission and non-governmental organizations, Amnesty International refers to the international community and Caritas Australia refers to the international community,

neighbouring African countries and the African Union. Lastly, Women for Women calls upon the public for immediate help for women through a sponsorship. How could this pattern of referring to other actors be explained? It could be that the various international actors are not really sure about how to cover the complexity of sexual violence. Overcoming the problems of sexual violence could not be realized by just one international actor. This might explain why they call upon the help of other actors. Another explanation could be that, by pointing at other policy-makers, a single international actor avoids that he only is being held responsible for the situation in the DRC if it does not improve. Nevertheless, further research could be helpful to completely clarify this pattern of referring to other actors.

In conclusion it can be argued that there are clear similarities between the used motivational frames. Although there is a difference between which international actors are specifically regarded as responsible for taking action, it can be said that the motivational frames as such are clearly aligned.

The frames by the international community and Congolese men

In the chapters above it is illustrated how the international community frames the problems of sexual violence by looking at the used diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames. However, it is useful to add a local framing of the sexual violence to the frames offered by the international community because this will make clear whether the frames used by various international actors are contested. Therefore, the following fourth sub-question will be answered : *How do the Congolese men describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and to what extent are the frames used by the international community aligned with the frames of Congolese men?* In this section I will discuss the results of a research that is done by Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern in which military Congolese men were asked in interviews about their interpretation of the problems of sexual violence. Like I did before, I will present a frame analysis by looking at the used diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames. I immediately acknowledge that the frames used by these men respondents cannot be representative of the perception of all Congolese men. Furthermore, their used frame is just one of the many different local frames that exist. The purpose of making a comparison between the used frames by the international community and Congolese men is not to find support for any particular frame, nor it is intended to look for the truth or to offer a reading of how soldiers 'really are'.

Field research of Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern

The field research, done by Baaz and Stern, was undertaken in “several locations (Kinshasa, South Kivu, Kitona and North Kivu) and in various phases between 2006 and 2009” (2010: 9). Baaz and Stern have interviewed 226 soldiers and officers of the national security forces (FARDC) and “roughly half of those interviewed had a background in the previous government forces, Forces Armées Congolaise (FAC). The rest came from the multitude of armed groups integrated into the army in various phases” (2010:10).

Diagnostic frame

First of all, regarding the used ‘injustice frame’, it can be argued that the Congolese soldiers acknowledge that women are victim of sexual violence. However, simultaneously they see themselves as a victim. According to the soldiers, the civilian population does not understand and respect the soldiers and therefore “they need some punishment (...). If they respected us, it would be different” (2010: 28, 29). Furthermore, it is argued that the leaders and superior are cheating the soldiers because they do not provide money and food (2008:77). In conclusion, the Congolese soldiers perceive themselves as victims of their own poor life condition. In many other articles it is argued that Congolese men see themselves as a victim as well. However, in these articles it is argued that Congolese men are frustrated by the frames used by the international community who pays a lot of attention to the empowerment of women without recognizing men’s specific interests and needs. This becomes clear in the following statements of Congolese men, interviewed by Desiree Lwambo who has researched the general relation between men and masculinities in the DRC:

You hear a lot about women and the rights of women, but about men, there is very little about men. (Electrician, Goma)

Men are always accused. We have never seen an NGO that does work on men. (Student, Goma)

Due to these messages, some girls falsely reported men to the police as they claim to be raped, which are false accusations. (Money changer, Sake) (2013: 16).

This victimization by the Congolese men is really interesting and worth to mention here. However, the research of Lwambo is not explicitly focused on sexual violence and therefore I have not analysed it in detail.

Looking at the used ‘adversarial frame’ by the Congolese soldiers, Baaz and Stern

argue that poverty is identified as the main ‘reason’ for the occurrence of sexual violence. This immediately becomes clear in the following example in which a colonel talks about sexual violence:

... it is a problem of suffering/poverty [pasi]. A soldier, if he has no possibilities, no money so that he can go the normal way [voie normal] ... if he has nothing in his pocket, he cannot eat or drink his coke, he has nothing to give to a woman—he will take her by force. (...) Physically, men have needs. (...) So a soldier needs a bit of money in his pocket, and he needs to have leave. If that would happen, it would reduce the rapes a lot (2010: 31).²³

Besides the fact that poverty is related to sexual violence, “[t]he spirit and craziness of war and the use of drugs provided another explanation for the violence committed against the civilian population” (2008:78). One soldier described this in the following way:

War is crazy, it destroys the minds of people [ezali kobebisa mitu ya bato]. (...) Rape is a result of that too, especially the bad rapes. It gets too much ... Also, a lot is because of drugs. If you take drugs, drink, or other things – it is not good. And many, many ... most take drugs. (Male captain, 41 years) (2008:78).

According to the Congolese soldiers, the third cause of sexual violence is the disrespect of soldiers among the civilian population, which becomes clear in the following example:

The civilians don’t respect us. They see us as useless people/losers [batu ya pamba]. (...) We don’t go out alone anymore, not alone without any weapon. That can be dangerous, because sometimes they can attack you. (...) They are thick headed [bazali mutu makasi]. They don’t understand things. So sometimes they need some punishment ... (...) If they respected us, it would be different. Then you would not see so much of all that, rape, killings and stealing (2010: 28, 29).

This example, simultaneously illustrates that according to the Congolese soldiers, the civilian population has to be blamed for their acts of sexual violence, which is another aspect of the used ‘adversarial frame’. Furthermore, it has become clear that the interviewed Congolese

²³ The text between brackets illustrates the words that were used by the Congolese soldiers and officers themselves. The same applies to the rest of the quotations.

men acknowledge that they are the perpetrators of sexual violence. This becomes clear in the following statement of a male sub-lieutenant:

Rape is forbidden. (...) In the centres they tell us that, we cannot take other people's things [biloko ya batu] and we cannot take other people's women [basi ya batu] ...

Also in the Règlement Militaire it says that if you have needs, if you have not been with a woman for a long time and there is no woman, you should use the soap [masturbate] (Male sub-lieutenant, 25 years) (2008:75).

Moreover, it is argued that the leaders and superior are cheating the soldiers because they do not provide money and food and therefore they have to be blamed for the occurrence of sexual violence (2008: 77).

Prognostic frame

Regarding the solution that is proposed by the interviewed Congolese men to the problems of sexual violence in the DRC, the soldiers "suggested the introduction of severe punishments as the most pressing measure, followed by training (often the second most important measure identified by ex-FAC) and improving living conditions (often third)" (2010:37). That the soldiers emphasise impunity as a main preventive measure becomes clear in the following example in which two sergeants made the following recommendations:

Male Sgt A: To diminish [rapes] you need punishments, it has to be severe punishments ... and public trials. If a soldier at Zeta [military camp in Kinshasa] rapes a woman, he should be judged there. (...) *Male Sgt B:* That will give a lesson to all the people that are there to watch him. *Male Sgt A:* Yes, it has to be public trials (2010:37).

Looking at prognostic frame, it is remarkable that the Congolese soldiers mention the improvement of life conditions as the third point regarding the measures that must be taken to overcome the problems of sexual violence. The used diagnostic frames has showed that the Congolese soldiers emphasize that their overall poor life condition is one of the most pressing causes of their use of sexual violence. You would then expect that the prognostic frame of the Congolese soldiers is mainly focused on the improvement of their life conditions. However, impunity is seen as a more important measure to overcome the problems of sexual violence. How can this be explained? It could be that the Congolese soldiers have given a socially desirable response. Another reason could be that the Congolese soldiers are influenced by the international discourse which is really focused on the culture of impunity of the DRC. Maybe

they felt themselves somewhat forced to suggest the introduction of punishments as the most pressing measure. However, further research would be interesting to clarify the big difference between the used diagnostic and prognostic frame.

Motivational frame

Looking at how the interviewed Congolese soldiers give urgency to the case, it can be argued that “some of the soldiers’ stories of rapes featured a cautionary lesson or warning” (2009: 512). One soldier emphasises this by stating that:

“[t]he woman that you are raping is somebody’s woman [mwasi ya batu]. (...) If another man takes her, he has to die. We also saw that. One soldier went into the forest where he met a woman and raped her.(...) We took him to the hospital, there they asked him “what, tell us what is this, what did you do?” “I went to the forest and I raped a woman.” Just when he said that he died. So you see, rape is something bad. If you rape you will not live long in this world” (2009:512).

With this example it becomes clear that sexual violence is directly related to death and according to the soldiers, this makes clear that sexual violence is bad for which a warning is necessary.

The lack and presence of ‘frame alignment’

Because it is now clear how the Congolese soldiers have framed the problems of sexual violence in the DRC, it is interesting to look at the similarities and differences between the used frames by the international community and the used frames by Congolese men. That will be discussed in this section by looking at the theory on ‘frame alignment’, developed by Benford and Snow et al. (1986: 464).

Firstly, a comparison of the diagnostic frame and in particular the ‘adversarial frame’, used by the Congolese soldiers and the used frames by the international community, makes clear that the Congolese soldiers as well as the international community relate the problems of sexual violence to the ongoing conflict in the DRC. Furthermore, the Congolese soldiers as well as the various international actors identify the different armed groups as the main perpetrators. Moreover, poverty, the widespread use of alcohol and drugs and the disrespect of soldiers among the civilian population are seen as the causes of sexual violence by the Congolese soldiers, while the international community do not really mention this. Only

Caritas Australia identifies the frustrations and tensions of soldiering as an important cause of sexual violence. Regarding the used 'injustice frame', women are seen as the victims by the international community as well as the Congolese soldiers. However, the fact that men also has to be taken into account as victims, like the Congolese soldiers argue, is only addressed by Amnesty International and Women for Women. Moreover, it is argued by almost every international actor that sexual violence has psychological, physical and social consequences for the direct victims and it also humiliates and terrorizes the entire community, which is not addressed by the Congolese soldiers at all.

Secondly, by looking at the prognostic frame used, it can be concluded that according to the Congolese soldiers as well as the international community, breaking the culture of impunity as well as providing good training for the Congolese army are seen as important measures to stop sexual violence. However, improving the conditions of life of the Congolese soldiers are not addressed by any of the international actors. Nevertheless, Women for Women argues that women's active participation will not be possible without supportive men so they are the only organization that actively engage men in their programme. The perspective of men are thus addressed by this NGO although that perspective is still subordinate to the needs of women.

Thirdly, a comparison of the motivational frame used by the Congolese soldiers and the international community makes clear that both give urgency to breaking the culture of acceptance and impunity. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the used motivational frame. The international community argues that an end to sexual violence is needed because this will result in fewer victims, especially women. However, the Congolese soldiers argue that sexual violence has to stop because rape causes the death of men who raped women for which a warning is necessary.

Going back to the last part of the sub-question *How do the Congolese men describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC and to what extent are the frames used by the international community aligned with the frames of Congolese men*, it can be argued that especially the used diagnostic frames are not aligned. The international actor community frames the problems of sexual violence in a different way than the Congolese soldiers looking at who are the victims, what are the causes and what are the consequences. Regarding the prognostic frame, it can be concluded that the used frames by the international community and the Congolese soldiers are moderately aligned. They do share the perspective that a reform of the Congolese army, police and judicial system is the most important strategy to

break the culture of impunity and provide good training for the Congolese army. Only regarding improving the condition of life of the Congolese soldiers, the international community does not pay a lot attention to this.

Regarding the motivational frame, the international community as well as the Congolese soldiers both give urgency to breaking the culture of acceptance and impunity because the acts of sexual violence has to stop. However, in the end they have a different opinion about why sexual violence has to stop. Therefore, the used motivational frames are moderately aligned.

Conclusion

In order to map the architecture of the debate relative to the problems of sexual violence in the DRC, attempts were made to answer the following research question: *How do various international actors frame sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, how do these frames influence the type of policy they implement and to what degree are these frames aligned?* This is done by means of a document analysis of the UN, EU, Amnesty International, Women for Women and Caritas Australia. Moreover, a local framing is added to better understand the social construction of meaning around sexual violence. Therefore, the field research, done by Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern is discussed. In that research, military Congolese men were interviewed about their interpretation of the problems of sexual violence in the DRC.

Firstly, the application of the theory on ‘diagnostic framing’ of Benford and Snow, and more specifically on ‘injustice and adversarial framing’, has showed how the various international actors as well as the Congolese men describe the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. Regarding the ‘injustice frame’, every international actor perceives women, girls and children as the main victims of sexual violence in the DRC. Furthermore, it has psychological, physical and social consequences for the direct victims but it also humiliates and terrorizes the entire community. Congolese soldiers acknowledge that women are victim but they also see themselves as victims. Concerning the ‘adversarial frame’, the international actors relate sexual violence to the ongoing conflict in the DRC. Furthermore, a climate of impunity and a weak judicial system and national police are identified as the causes of the problems of sexual violence. In addition, the several armed groups as well as the national security forces (FARDC) are blamed for the acts of sexual violence. The Congolese soldiers

acknowledge that they are the perpetrators but the civilian population as well as their leaders and superiors are also blamed for their suffering and therefore for the occurrence of sexual violence. Moreover, poverty, the widespread use of alcohol and drugs and the disrespect of soldiers among the civilian population are seen as the causes of the use of sexual violence.

Secondly, the application of the theory on ‘prognostic framing’ of Benford and Snow, has showed how the used ‘diagnostic frame’ of each international actor as well as the Congolese men, is translated in a proposed solution to overcome the problems of sexual violence. A multi-sectoral or comprehensive approach is seen as the best solution by every international actor, which includes long-term support and protection to victims, the combat against impunity and the security sector reform. Moreover, more attention to women in the DRC, assistance programs and a strong cooperation with the Congolese populations and authorities, are seen as an important solution as well. According to the interviewed Congolese soldiers, the introduction of severe punishments is seen as the most pressing measure, followed by training and the improvement of their condition of life.

Thirdly, the application of the theory on ‘motivational framing’ of Benford and Snow, has showed in which way each international actor as well as the Congolese men give urgency to the case, in relation with their proposed solutions for the problems of sexual violence. The international actors give urgency to the case by presenting the many acts of sexual violence and by stating that the situation is growing worse. Moreover, most international actors argue that urgent measures are needed to protect Congolese women specifically and each international actor clearly refers to other actors regarding taking action. The Congolese soldiers directly relate sexual violence to death for which a warning is necessary.

Fourthly, the application of the theory on ‘frame alignment’ of Benford and Snow has showed to what extent the different frames are aligned. Among the various international actors, the used diagnostic frames and prognostic frames are moderately aligned and the motivational frames are clearly aligned. Looking at the similarities and differences between the used frames by the international community and the Congolese men, especially the used diagnostic frames are not aligned and the prognostic frames and motivational frames are moderately aligned.

Lastly, the findings of this thesis highlight a number of other important areas for future research. This research is limited in a way that the frame analysis of five international actors could not present how the whole international community frames the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. Therefore, I recommend further research on how other international

actors frame those problems. Moreover, in this research attempts were made to answer the question to what extent the frames used by the international community are aligned with the frames of Congolese men. I have only been able to focus on one field research, in which 226 interviews with Congolese soldiers and officers were done. Therefore, I recommend further research on the interaction between the international and local frames regarding the problems of sexual violence in the DRC. Furthermore, regarding the used 'injustice frame', further research would be interesting to investigate why the various international actors do not make a distinction between women in terms of ethnic identity, race or religion for instance. Moreover, regarding the used 'adversarial frame', three of the five international actors do not clearly identify the main perpetrators of sexual violence. Further research would be helpful to completely clarify this lack of a clear 'frame of blame'. Besides, regarding the used 'motivational frame', each international actor clearly refers to other actors in terms of taking action to overcome the problems of sexual violence. Again, further research could be helpful to completely clarify that pattern. Lastly, looking at the diagnostic and prognostic frames used by the Congolese soldiers, there is a big difference between those frames. Further research would be interesting to clarify that big difference.

Bibliography

- Amnesty International. (2008) NO END TO WAR ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN. NORTH KIVU, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. London: Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved on 9 February, 2013 from <http://www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/2008_congo.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2009) Amnesty International en Pinkpop in actie voor vrouwen en meisjes in Congo. Retrieved on 19 March, 2013 from <<http://www.amnesty.nl/nieuwsporaal/pers/amnesty-international-en-pinkpop-in-actie-voor-vrouwen-en-meisjes-in-congo>>
- Amnesty International. (2010 A) Internationale Vrouwendag: Modeontwerpers, BN-ers en Amnesty in actie tegen seksueel geweld in DRC. Retrieved on 22 March, 2013 from <<http://www.amnesty.nl/nieuwsporaal/pers/internationale-vrouwendag-modeontwerpers-bn-ers-en-amnesty-in-actie-tegen-seksuee>>
- Amnesty International. (2010 B) MASS RAPES IN WALIKALE. STILL A NEED FOR PROTECTION AND JUSTICE IN EASTERN CONGO. Londen: Amnesty International Publications. Retrieved on 8 February, 2013 from <http://www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/congo-mass_rapes.pdf>
- Baaz, M. E. and M. Stern. (2008) "Making sense of violence: voices of soldiers in the Congo (DRC)." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (46)
- Baaz, M. E. and M. Stern. (2009) "Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)." *International Studies Quarterly* (53)
- Baaz, M. E. and M. Stern. (2010) "The Complexity of Violence: A critical analysis of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)." *Sida working papers*
- Benford, R. and D. A. Snow. (2000) "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* (26)

- Bhatia, M. V. (2005) "Fighting word: naming terrorists, bandits, rebels and other violent actors." *Third World Quarterly* 26:1
- Caritas Australia. (2008) Forsaken Voices. Retrieved on 13 March, 2013 from <<http://www.caritas.org.au/docs/publications-and-reports/forsaken-voices.pdf?sfvrsn=10>>
- Caritas Australia. Supporting victims of sexual violence. Retrieved on 5 March, 2013 from <<http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/programs/africa---democratic-republic-of-the-congo-medical-and-social-support-for-victims-of-sexual-violence>>
- Carlsen, E. (2009) "Ra/pe and War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 21:4
- Douma, N. and D. Hilhorst. (2012) *Fond de commerce? Sexual violence assistance in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Wageningen: Disaster Studies Group. Retrieved on 13 March, 2013 from <<http://www.wageningenur.nl/en/Expertise-Services/Chair-groups/Social-Sciences/Disaster-Studies-Group/Publications.htm>>
- European Union. EUPOL RD CONGO Appui à la lutte contre les violences sexuelles en République Démocratique du Congo. Retrieved on 6 March, 2013 from <http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/docs/EUPOL_Appui_DH.pdf>
- European Union. EU Missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Retrieved on 27 March, 2013 from <http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/foreign_and_security_policy/cfsp_and_esdp_implementation/ps0005_en.htm>
- European Union. EUPOL RD CONGO déploie à Goma une équipe multidisciplinaire de lutte contre les violences sexuelles et l'impunité. Retrieved on 27 March, 2013 from <<http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/dossier.php?num=118&style=bleu&numdos=57>>
- European Union. (2010) CFSP: EU support for the Democratic Republic of Congo. Retrieved on 17 January, 2013 from <<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmeuleg/428-ii/42828.htm>>

- European Union. (2011 A) Briefing 6, June/July 2011. Retrieved on 3 January, 2013 from <<http://www.isis-europe.eu/sites/default/files/programmes-downloads/Oct2011EUSECCONGO.pdf>>
- European Union. (2011 B) Une campagne radio de sensibilisation aux violences sexuelles commence au Nord-Kivu. Retrieved on 16 February, 2013 from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/missionPress/files/CP_campagne_radio_VS_20062011.pdf>
- European Union. (2012) Formation spécialisée en matière de lutte contre les violences sexuelles renforce les capacités de 172 Officiers de Police Judiciaire. Retrieved on 18 January, 2013 from <<http://www.eupol-rdc.eu/dossier.php?num=182&style=bleu&numdos=59>>
- European Union. (2013) Les unités de la 8ème région militaire sont sensibilisées pour mettre fin aux violences faites aux femmes et filles. Retrieved on 14 March, 2013 from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/missionPress/files/08mars2013.pdf>
- Freedman, J. (2011) “Explaining Sexual Violence and Gender Inequalities in the DRC.” *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 23:2
- Kelly, J. (2010) *Rape in war – Motives of Militia in DRC* (Report No. SR243) Washington: United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved on 24 March, 2012 from <<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/SR243Kelly.pdf>>
- Lincoln, R. S. (2011) “Recent Developments Rule of Law for Whom? Strengthening Rule of Law as a Solution to Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Berkeley Journal Gender, Law & Justice* (26)
- Lwambo, D. (2013) “Before the war, I was a man: men and masculinities in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.” *Gender & Development* 21:1
- Nelson, T. E. and Zoe M. Oxley. (1999) “Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion.” *The Journal of Politics* 61:4

Snow, D. A., E. Burke Rochford, JR., Steven K. Worden, Robert D. Benford. (1986) "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation." *American Sociological Review* 51:4

United Nations. Human Rights Violation. Retrieved on 2 March, 2013 from
<<http://endviolence.un.org/situation.shtml>>

United Nations. (2008) UN expert urges action to help women victims of violence in DR Congo. Retrieved on 13 February, 2013 from
<<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=25409&Cr=democratic&Cr1=congo#.UWMDq5OePrm>>

United Nations. (2009 A) Comprehensive Strategy on Combating Sexual Violence in DRC Executive Summary. Retrieved on 28 March, 2013 from
<<http://monusco.unmissions.org/Portals/MONUC/ACTIVITIES/Sexual%20Violence/KeyDocuments/Comprehensive%20Strategy%20Executive%20Summary.pdf>>

United Nations. (2009 B) STRATEGIE NATIONALE DE LUTTE CONTRE LES VIOLENCES BASEES SUR LE GENRE (SNVBG). Retrieved on 2 March, 2013 from
<http://monusco.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=RxbG_S-GaVo%3d&tabid=10818&mid=13836&language=en-US>

United Nations. (2010) PRESS CONFERENCE BY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT. Retrieved on 4 March, 2013 from
<http://www.un.org/News/briefings/docs/2010/100831_Wallstrom.doc.htm>

United Nations. (2013 A) Tears of rape in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Retrieved on 15 March, 2013 from <<http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/2013/01/tears-of-rape-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo/index.html>>

United Nations. (2013 B) Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Retrieved on 30 March, 2013 from <http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2013/96&Lang=E>

United Nations. Background. Retrieved on 4 March, 2013 from
<http://monusco.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=10817&language=en-US>>

Women for Women. WHY DO WE WORK IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO. Retrieved on 4 March, 2013 from <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo.php>>

Women for Women. Crisis in the Congo: War Against Women. Retrieved on 21 February, 2013 from <<http://www.womenforwomen.org/global-initiatives-helping-women/help-women-congo-60-minutes.php>>

Women for Women. (2007) Ending Violence Against Women in Eastern Congo: Preparing Men to Advocate for Women's Rights. Retrieved on 3 February, 2013 from <http://www.womenforwomen.org/news-women-for-women/assets/files/MensLeadershipFullReport_002.pdf>

Wood, G. (1985) "The Politics of Development Policy Labelling." *Development and Change* 16:3

Yanow, D. (2000) *Conducting Interpretive Policy Analysis*. Sage University University Papers Series on Qualitative Research Methods (47) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage