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Rape, the masculine thing to do?

A comparative study of rape in DRC by the DRC military and the peacekeeping force

Hanna Lenander

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Tutor: Maria Småberg

Examiner: Annika Bergman Rosamond

Abstract

This thesis deals with the vast number of rapes that have been conducted in DRC (the Democratic Republic of Congo) since the outbreak of war in '98. I have used a comparative case approach to investigate this phenomenon and have compared the DRC military with the UN's peacekeeping forces in DRC. I have done this through content analysis, and I have analyzed studies and reports from my two different cases. By using this method I have been able to determine different themes on how rape in DRC are explained. I have then used a theoretical framework on masculinity theory in war to analyze these themes. My theoretical framework explained how militarized masculinities are theorized and how peacekeeping forces construct their masculinity. The four main themes that I have seen that explain why the soldiers in both DRC military and the UN peacekeeping force is: failed masculinity, high heterosexual sex drive, being a protector/provider and gender inequality. Especially the first two themes I have seen being important when explaining acts of rape in DRC. Failed masculinity makes the soldiers want to reassert their masculinity and violence is a prominent feature of masculinity which means that resorting to violence to reassert one's failed masculinity seems like the easy choice. The attitude of males' high heterosexual sex drive also normalizes rape and enables the soldiers to use rape as tool to reassert their masculinity. It might seem as the perfect way to reassert their masculinity for some soldiers since it both includes the masculine feature of being violent and showing off the masculine high heterosexual sex drive.

Key words: DRC, peacekeepers, masculinity, UN, rape, sexual violence

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1. Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has long been in focus when discussing rape in war, which is not surprising since sexual violence has been one of the most prominent features in DRC since the war broke out in '98 (Meger, 2010:2). DRC is even known as the 'rape capital of the world' (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:5), and rape in DRC is often very brutal and girls as young as six months have been sexually exploited (Meger, 2016:8,9). In 2010 alone the UN's stabilization mission, MONUSCO, reported more than two thousand incidents in DRC (Freedman, 2011:170). MONUSCO has also reported that the main perpetrator of the sexual violence is the national army, FARDC, which has been reported as committing up to 60% of the sexual violence in DRC (Meger, 2010:11). Other reports say that there are so many rape crimes in DRC that there are 48 new rape victims every hour (Kovatch, 2016:161-162).

All forces and parties in the country are perpetrators of sexual violence, including the UN peacekeeping force (Meger, 2016:2). The peacekeeping force have even committed the highest levels of SEA (Sexual Exploitation and Abuse) in UN peacekeeping missions since UN started collecting data on the matter (Kovatch, 2016:158). In 2004 numerous media reports revealed the scandal of UN personnel sexually abusing the local population (Gilliard, 2011:28). The UN had already outlined a zero-tolerance policy regarding SEA in 2003, but after the media scandal in 2004 UN Secretary General Kofi Annan commissioned an investigation and the Zeid report, conducted by Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al Hussein, was released in 2005. This report has become an important and well referenced document on this topic (Allais, 2011:7). The report describes how serious the situation in DRC is and provides guidelines to how the UN can lower the levels of SEA in their peacekeeping mission in DRC – and in general (Zeid, 2005).

Most NGO's reports about DRC were released in 2006, but levels of sexual violence seem to have been the same since then (Meger, 2010:8). UN stated that the level of SEA by peacekeepers has declined substantially in the years prior to 2011, and say that this is due to implemented restrictions that make it harder for the peacekeepers to commit acts of SEA (UN News Centre, 2011). The problem has however not gone away and in 2016 there were still allegations against peacekeepers for having sex with minors and fathering babies without taking responsibility for the child. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) have also been noted providing medical and psychosocial care for the victims in DRC (UN News Centre, 2016).

To discuss such a sensitive topic as rape – like this thesis does – involves the researcher intimately and is often linked to the researcher's sex (Branche et al., 2012:15). I should therefore problematize my position as a woman and the emotional aspect of hearing about women being raped, because even if women are perpetrators and men are victims as well, most stories are the reverse which is also shown in statistics about rape. When conducting this study, it is important to combine sensitivity and scientific rigor, which when writing means using plain language and avoiding rhetoric that can pose emotional or ideological blocks to understand the meaning (Branche et al., 2012:15).

Part of being sensitive is to consider the emotions that this study might arise within the reader (Branche et al., 2012:15). For me personally the song *you are the problem here* by First Aid Kit has been a good way to let out some frustration when reading about rape became too much. If rape is something that might make you frustrated I recommend having this song in the background while reading this thesis. Here is a taste:

*I am so sick and tired of this world
All these women with their dreams shattered
From some man's sweaty, desperate touch
God damn it, I've had enough*

1.1 Purpose and research question

Why the soldiers in DRC rape have been investigated on micro, meso and macro level. Why the peacekeepers in DRC rape on the other hand have, first of all not been investigated as thoroughly and secondly, the focus has primarily been the macro and sometimes meso level. Because of this I wanted to investigate the micro level and see how the individual soldier reasons about the sexual violence they and their colleagues conduct. The time frame to produce this thesis makes it hard for me to do interviews with actual peacekeepers that are or have been in DRC. I have therefore decided to compare the peacekeeping force with the military in DRC, to see which arguments differ and which are the same between the two cases. Since the material for the DRC context goes into micro level it can help provide an insight on how rape is explained in DRC and nuance the explanation to why peacekeepers in DRC rape. Masculinity theory will also help me understand how rape is explained on a micro level. The following research question will be used for this study:

What are the differences and similarities between the models of explanations the soldiers in DRC use and the UN peacekeeping force use to why they and their colleagues rape?

2. Previous research

Since this thesis will focus on rape and sexual violence in DRC I will start off with a short review of previous research done to explain rape in war.

2.1 Rape in wars and conflicts

Wallström – at the time UN special representative of secretary general and sexual violence in conflicts – says that rape is a crime that has gotten too little attention historically (2013:11). Rape has however been proscribed since the beginning of the modern era in both civil and criminal codes (Branche et al., 2012:5). But not until the wars in Yugoslavia and Rwanda it was seen as a crime against humanity (Branche et al., 2012:7). The higher attention that rape has gotten recently has resulted in greater and more consistent focus on sexual violence in general and more convictions both on national and international levels (Branche et al., 2012:7,12). Wallström stress the fact that rape in war is nothing new, but that the security implications of rape has not been discussed properly until recently (2013:21).

The amounts of rape being conducted during war are at levels rarely seen during peace time (Wallström, 2013:22). Rape is a way to express the power domination that men exercise over women and this power dynamic seems to be amplified by war as well as the explanation of men as perpetrators and women as victims (Branche et al., 2012:3). Rape in war can be explained in different ways, it can be a way for the perpetrator to assert power and victimize the other person, to show a systematic domination over the opponent or to inflict long term consequences such as impregnating women and forcing them to give birth (Branche et al., 2012:4,5). But sometimes the purpose of rape is solely a way for the individual to relief desire, affirm conquest and the individual's imposition of power (Branche et al., 2012:5). Rape in war can take many forms, and occur in as many ways as there are militarized women and men (Enloe, 2000:110). The explanations to rape in war might differ on the individual level, but they show a certain structure and a pattern in the military. Enloe has determined three different types of rape that occur in war and these are: recreational rape, national security rape and systematic rape (2000:111).

Recreational rape come from thinking about prostitutes and rape in the same analogy. This way of thinking uses arguments of prostitutes being means to prohibit men from raping and claims that the military has to be provided with enough prostitutes to satisfy the soldiers' sexual needs. If they still rape it is explained to spur from the same recreational purpose that prostitutes satisfy (Enloe, 2000:111). For example, this way of thinking has made the justice system having a higher tolerance for rapes by the US military staff (Enloe, 2000:115). This attitude is also an explanation to the sexual harassment that female staff in the military has to endure from their male colleagues. A military culture that tolerates and maybe even fosters prostitution is also a military that makes soldiers hostile against female staff that does not act as sex objects (Enloe, 2000:117).

Rape can also be used as an instrument of national security, where it is used as way to bolster a nervous state. Governments that use this tactic both use rape and the threat of using rape as a way to gain - what they presume is - national security (Enloe, 2000:111, 123). Enloe points out eight conditions that promote rape as a national security tool: 1. A regime that is preoccupied with national security. 2. That most the population believes that security is a

question for the military. 3. When national security is decided by a masculinized policy elite. 4. When police and military are male dominated. 5. When the definition of what honor, loyalty and treason means comes from the police and military. 6. When the prevailing institutions are misogynous. 7. When men that pose security threats are primarily perceived as fathers, lovers and husband by the security officials. 8. When women are well enough organized against policies to be publicly visible (Enloe, 2000:124).

Systematic rape is when rape becomes an instrument of open warfare for the warring parties (Enloe, 2000:111). Enloe points out five aspects that might make a warring party more prone to using rape as a weapon and these are: the assumption that women are the backbone of society, the definition of women as breeders, the assumption that residential communities rely on women's work, if women are seen as the man's property and if any or all of these beliefs are held by the war-waging policy makers (2000:134). For rape to become systematic it has to fall into a pattern that does not leave the occurrence to chance or makes it random (Enloe, 2000:134). Ethnic cleansing has been used to describe systematic rapes in different conflicts such as Serbia, Bosnia and Rwanda (Enloe, 2000:140). In Rwanda the Tutsi population was singled out by the Hutu population who raped, killed and tortured the Tutsi population, which is an example of systematic rape since the Tutsi population was singled out (Enloe, 2000:132).

To discuss wartime rape under the term of a weapon in war have only been done for about twenty-five years but the term is used by scholars, NGO's, politicians, the UN and media (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:50). When rape in war becomes a weapon, it seems to be specifically aimed at non-combatant women (Branche et al., 2012:2). Wallström uses this term and claim that it is the choice of weapon for many (2013:14). Eriksson Baaz and Stern describes the purposes of rape as a weapon of war in six steps: First, ethnic cleansing makes civilians flee, second, it demoralizes the opponent, third, it signals an intention to break up society from the perpetrators, fourth, it inflicts trauma on the opposing side, fifth, it gives psychological benefits to the perpetrator and sixth, it inflicts a blow against a common enemy (2013:48). Eriksson Baaz and Stern means that rape in war often is more complex than only as a weapon and refer to theories about rape as a war booty and males heterosexual high sex drive to show this complexity (2013:54). They also argue that seeing rape in war simply as a weapon marginalizes the individual purposes and experience to instead give light to a structural explanation (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:56).

When understanding studies about rape in DRC it is important to understand the previous research of rape in war as a weapon of warfare that they relate to. Theories about rape in war are also closely connected to masculinity theory, and how masculinity is constructed in war will be my theoretical framework for this thesis.

3. Theory

3.1 Masculinity theory in war and conflict

Masculinity theory is derived from the academic discussion of gender being a performative act of something you do rather than something you are which Simone de Beauvoir started 1949 with her book *the second sex*. This theory describes gender as a contradicting and binary pair where male or masculinity is described in positive terms and female or femininity is described as “minus man”. For example, masculinity equivalent to rationality meaning femininity is constructed as sensitive without the capacity to be rational (Björk, 2013:36-40).

For this thesis I will look into how masculinity has been theorized in the military and the slight difference of how it has been theorized when constructing masculinity in a peacekeeping environment. I will use these theories about militarized masculinities and peacekeeping masculinities in my analysis and relate them to my findings and to explain how masculinities are constructed in my cases.

War is a masculine concept and the ideal soldier is defined as masculine (Eichler, 2014:81). War stories are constituted of stories about male soldiers and their struggles, losses and victories. Stories about females are marginalized, inaccurately portrayed and made from limiting gender tropes. Civil men's stories are also often marginalized and forgotten when war is discussed (Sjoberg, 2014:23-27,60). Militarized masculinity in the simplest definition means to acquire traits stereotypically associated with masculinity through military service and especially through combat. It is also appropriate to talk about militarized masculinities in the plural form since they manifest in many and various ways, and they are constantly changing and context-specific (Eichler, 2014:81,82,90; Duncanson, 2009:64). Different military masculinities will be constructed depending on rank, job specialization, nationality, race, sexual orientation, age, class, gender etcetera (Duncanson, 2009:65). When masculinities are successfully militarized - meaning that masculinity is closely tied with military practice - militarism and masculinities reinforce each other (Eichler, 2014:83)

Like masculinities, militarized masculinities are constructed in relation and often opposition to ideas of femininities, as for example just warriors who are supposed to protect the feminine beautiful souls (Eichler, 2014:82,83; Duncanson, 2009:64). In war females serve as reproducers of the biological, cultural and social and males' roles are to be the protector of these things. Masculinity in war is closely connected to being a protector and heinous acts are legitimized through arguments of having to do them to protect the self, family and state (Sjoberg, 2014:30,62,66). Being a just warrior and/or a war hero is, and have been, an important part of how masculinity is constructed in war throughout history (Resic, 2006:423). As masculinities are changing so are the concept of what it means to be a good warrior changing, but the meaning of a good warrior is closely linked with being ‘a real man’. It is also often described in terms of coming out of boyhood and into manhood, and military training often exaggerate the ideals of manhood (Sjoberg, 2014:64-66,68; Eichler, 2014:83).

Militaries are still a male-dominated institution but there are indications that gender norms are changing which might weaken the connection between masculinity and militarism. How masculinity might change will depend on multiple factors such as how new gender norms will look, women's integration into the military, economic incentives and how the military deployments will evolve in the future (Eichler, 2014:84). Today women make up 15 percent of the military, but they are mostly employed in non-combat sectors such as medical, dental,

clerical and support (Eichler, 2014:87). The association of women as pacifists and men as militaristic is still strong, even if women have been in military settings during the twentieth century and continue to be present in military in the twenty-first century (Eichler, 2014:82). The fact that more women are fighting in war have not made war more feminized, rather the female military staff adapt to the masculine ideal, and Resic describes the soldier today as a cyborg with blurred gender identity that performs masculinity (2006:430).

Duncanson has studied how peacekeepers construct their masculinities and has seen that there is a tension between how peacekeepers know they should bring about peace most effectively and their desire to be manly. This is shown through frustration with peacekeeping practices that are deemed as inferior to real fighting (2009:68,74). The biggest difference between peacekeeping and war-fighting is the minimal use of force and this is also the biggest focus or frustration from the peacekeeping soldiers (Duncansson, 2009:69). Duncanson has also seen that peacekeepers construct their masculinity surrounding impartiality and control which is two traits that traditionally have been linked to masculinity but is not as common in military masculinity (2009:70). The discourse that puts femininity as a counterpart to masculinity describes women as supportive wives, mothers or passive victims and the men as aggressors or soldiers, this discourse can be seen in the peacekeepers' stories that Duncanson studied (2009:71).

When the peacekeepers in Duncanson's study construct their masculinity in contrast to other masculinities strength and size are two aspects that gets a lot of focus. For example, the peacekeepers portray the local military as hyper-masculine, which makes them aggressive, irrational and violent and this construct the peacekeepers as the opposing military with characteristics of being intelligent, civilized and controlled. The construction of the own identity against an Other that is perceived as backwards, irrational and violent is something that has been done throughout history in the military (2009:73). In the process for the peacekeepers to become heroic agents of progress, democratic values, peace and security the peacekeepers feminize and racialize the local people, and make them into the Other (2009:73).

Maxwell means that because the UN peacekeeping force is built from various national troops which struggle with their own gender and race issues the peacekeeping missions is an environment where sexual abuses of the local and racialized population can thrive (2010:110). Maxwell further explains that the UN peacekeeping missions have produced a masculine culture that gives tolerance for extreme behaviors such as sexual exploitation (Maxwell, 2010:110). This is not a problem of a few individuals, but rather a systematic failure in unequal gender, race and power relations and military training built on male-as-warrior ideals which the female military staff also adapts to (Maxwell, 2010:111).

There is also a discrepancy in how internal versus external sexual harassment is treated. Internal is treated as a minor category but external on the other hand is treated as a serious category implying to the female personnel that the institution is more concerned with the possibility of a scandal than the actual safety of the victims (Maxwell, 2010:111). The peacekeeping force has, as the military in general, an attitude that 'boys will be boys' which heightens the tolerance for military personnel to commit acts of sexual abuse and exploitation. This attitude can be found throughout the military institution (Maxwell, 2010:109,111).

War and conflict is still very much a masculinization exercise and losers of war are feminized meaning they are given bad features and are emasculated (Sjoberg, 2014:72). This can be

shown through the frustration and emasculation the peacekeepers in Duncanson's study felt from having to avoid combat. The possibility to show one's strength through combat is an important part of militarized masculinity, and by being pacific and not participating in combat the peacekeepers felt feminized and frustrated. Maxwell has also seen that when the woman in a heterosexual couple in the military performs the task usually assigned to the man the masculinity that the military espouse disables the man to deal with the frustration from the reversal of roles which makes the man act violently to deal with the frustration. The abuse done due to this frustration is a way of reasserting power and control over the woman (Maxwell, 2010:115).

4. Method

This study will be conducted through a comparative case study. George and Bennett talk about six different types of case studies and this will be the type they call '*building block studies of particular types or subtypes*' (2004:76). The aim of this kind of case study is to identify common patterns or to serve a heuristic purpose. They can be used as tests for theories or to identify alternative casual paths to similar outcomes or contribute to general theories (George & Bennett, 2004:76,78). My aim with this case study is to build on previous research and identify common patterns between my two cases to contribute to general theories about masculinity. To analyze and determine the key arguments for my cases I will use content analysis. Content analysis means to pay close attention to what phrasings, words and models of explanation has been used (Bailey, 2007:134).

4.1 Case selection

When doing comparative case studies it is important to select cases from specific parts you deem important and chose cases to get variation in those (Ackerly & True, 2010:137). I chose DRC since it is a very interesting case when discussing rape because of the high rates of rapes that is being conducted there - some even deem it to be the 'rape capital of the world' (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:5). The peacekeeping mission in DRC from UN also has the highest rates of SEA by peacekeepers since UN started to collect data on SEA by peacekeepers (Kovatch, 2016:158). There has been a lot of research done on how and why rape occurs in DRC. When discussing how and why peacekeepers rape there is a research gap and very few ask the peacekeepers why they rape. To understand why peacekeepers rape I will compare the arguments that is being used *for* the peacekeepers with the arguments that studies have shown the soldiers in DRC use.

4.2 Materials

It is important to make the study focused and structured and one way I will do this is by including specifications of how the data will be obtained and requirements for that data (George & Bennett, 2004:86). The material I will use will mostly consist of secondary sources, secondary sources includes reports and other researcher's findings (Höglund & Öberg, 2011:36). To ensure the validation of the material Höglund and Öberg recommend asking the material questions both internally and externally. Examples of what is of important for the external evaluation is asking what type of source it is, who wrote it, if it is translated, when it was produced and who the intended audience is (2011:38,39). For the internal evaluation it is important to look more closely into phrasings, reliability and analyzing the content of the material (Höglund & Öberg, 2011:40,41). The internal evaluation will also be a way to start my content analysis.

When choosing material for my thesis I will choose material from researchers and reports from especially UN. Since I do not understand any other languages than English and Swedish I will mostly have to rely on studies and reports written in English. All documents that I will use I will first evaluate to see if they have been peer reviewed, how they conducted their studies and which theories they have chosen to use.

The military in DRC and the peacekeeping force in DRC have not been studied and discussed in the same way. For DRC there is a lot of studies done that try to examine the construction of masculinity in regards to the high rates of rape in DRC. The peacekeeping force have not been examined in the same extent and very few studies that are based on interviews with the peacekeepers. Because of this different material will be chosen for the DRC military and the

peacekeeping force. The DRC military I will discuss with the help of the studies I have found, since I found enough studies made by different authors to see if they have found the same explanations. For the peacekeeping force I will use different types of sources and combine them to understand the peacekeeping force in DRC. When gathering material I will use triangulation. Triangulation means to collect the same data from different sources such as studies, reports and other sources to make sure that they say the same thing (Ackerly & True, 2010:156).

4.3 Limitations

As a part of making my study structured and focused I have certain limitations to which material I should chose for my study. I have already discussed my limitations for which material I will use and which cases I have chosen and why. Besides the limitations I have already discussed I will also use a timeframe to choose my material, and I will in here discuss why I have chosen that timeframe.

My timeframe will be between 2010 and 2016, and this timeframe is primarily chosen because I wanted to make my study manageable and relevant. Because I wanted to make it relevant I chose to have it close in time and to make it manageable I chose to have it over a timespan of six years. I have also chosen to not make that much difference between the years. Since most of my material will consist of studies that will not be specific for the years of my timeframe I realized that it will be hard to distinguish between the years. The timeframe will be a way for me to not accumulate too many studies to read and have partly been done due to *convenience selection* which means that I have chosen this timeframe because it was possible to find material to study within this timeframe (Ackerly & True, 2010:156). This timeframe has also been chosen because the UN changed the name of their peacekeeping mission in DRC from MONUC to MONUSCO 2010 as a way to gain back some credibility that had been lost due to the high rates of SEA by peacekeepers in the MONUC operation (Kovatch, 2016:158). I wanted to have my timeframe after this change because I wanted the material to be consistent, so that they all talked about MONUSCO (even if I deemed it OK with articles that dealt with MONUC as well, if they related it to MONUSCO).

4.4 Operationalization

When making the study structured general questions should be made to guide and standardize the data collection and enable a systematic comparison between the cases. To make the study focused it should only deal with certain aspects of an event and have a specific research objective (George & Bennet, 2004:67,69,70). Since my theoretical framework will be feministic I have considered feminist methodologies which have given me means to make my study structured and focused. Four key elements when conducting feminist research is attentiveness to power, attentiveness to boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, attentiveness to relationships and a commitment to self-reflection (Ackerly & True, 2010:40). These key points have guided me when I decided on how to make my study structured and focused.

To make this study focused I have chosen to only focus on rape and sexual violence and no other forms of violence and human rights abuses that are being conducted in DRC. I will also focus my study with the help of my theoretical framework, which will help me focus on the construction of masculinity. To make my study structured I have decided upon three questions to guide me when reading the literature. These questions will help me to find different themes in the literature which I will present in the analysis. The questions are the following:

- How are masculinity constructed and how is this connected to the occurrence of rape?
- How can rape in my two cases be understood in relation to power?
- Who are included and excluded in the literature I am studying and how can this help me understand how masculinity is constructed?

Self-reflection of my position as a researcher is also an important part when doing research. I will continuously back away from my studies and try to look at them from 'the outside' and when I do this it is also important for me to reflect on my position as a white female researcher, and problematize my position.

5. The DRC conflict and UN's intervention

Usually the conflict in DRC is described as two wars, the first one beginning in 1996 when the Rwandan army invaded eastern DRC to back rebel leader Laurent-Desire Kabila who later toppled President Mobutu Sese Seko. The second war began in 1998 when Kabila broke with his Rwandan allies making them instead backing a different rebel group with the hopes of overthrowing Kabila (Global Witness, 2009:15,16). The fighting in DRC has various causes and one is the long-standing political and ethnic grievances and disputes over land (Global Witness, 2009:15). Another big aspect to understand the conflict in DRC is the presence of Hutu refugees from the Rwandan genocide which according to estimates is over one million (Clark, 2011:366). The fact that the regions North and South Kivu are rich on minerals and metals has also fueled the war and made it last longer and become more severe (Global Witness, 2009:15). All warring parties in DRC, even the national army, are involved in mineral trade in North and South Kivu (Global Witness, 2009:5). And even if the agenda for some of the warring parties might have been something else from the beginning some of the armed groups now only focus on the resources and the taxes they can gather from the local population (Global Witness, 2009:16). During the entire war impunity has been the rule and very few war crimes have been punished (Global Witness, 2009:17).

After UN's failure in Rwanda they had the chance to reassert themselves through a peacekeeping operation in DRC and since the two conflicts have strong links to each other the UN felt a pressure to step up (Clark, 2011:364, 368). Kabila also called for an UN intervention immediately after the second war broke out, because he saw the war as an invasion by Rwanda and Uganda (Koko, 2011:31). Since 1999 the UN have been present in the DRC conflict with a peacekeeping operation named MONUC (Clark, 2011:368). MONUC is an example of robust peacekeeping where more force is used and they have fought alongside the Congolese army, FARDC (Clark, 2011:369; Koko, 2011:34). MONUC has also been the largest and most expansive peacekeeping operation since the UN's inception 1945 (Koko, 2011:29). Since July 2010 the peacekeeping operation in DRC has been renamed to MONUSCO and the new peace operation has as MONUC an aim to prioritize the protection of civilians and they still work alongside the Congolese army (UN News Centre, 2010A). MONUSCO also has an emphasis on working together with the Congolese government to help to develop ways for the country to deal with the many problems it faces (Clark, 2011:373). Two of the biggest reasons the peacekeeping operation were changed from MONUC to MONUSCO is that the DRC government wanted the UN army to leave the country and this were a way for the UN to negotiate their desire to stay in the country, and at the same time try to shake the bad reputation MONUC had received due to the revelation of the peacekeepers committing crimes of sexual violence (Koko, 2011:37,38).

6. Analysis

Because of the different material available for the analysis I will start of by summarizing how masculinity in DRC and the DRC military have been portrayed previously. I will then walk through the different arguments and explanations that have been made to why the DRC military and the UN peacekeeping force rape. I will in the end of the analysis wrap up how masculinity is portrayed for the peacekeeping force in the UN.

6.1 Constructing masculinity in the DRC military

To be a good soldier in DRC is connected with having discipline, to have been in battle and knowing the rules (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:22,23). According to soldiers interviewed it is not connected with being the protector which is something that is usually associated with how militarized masculinities are constructed, but instead it is connected with being a provider and the bread-winner of a household (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:576,577; Meger, 2016:25). The masculinity is also based on norms surrounding leadership, strength, courage and financial independence (Meger, 2016:26).

Another interview study with boy soldiers in DRC showed that the boys felt that they needed to put on a mask to not show their fears and emotions. The right way to behave in the military according to the boys were to be able to mask their emotions and to not question fellow soldiers when they committed violent acts (Ahlberg et al., 2012:214). The firearm was also described by the boys as empowering and were used as an antidote for feeling powerless or abased (Ahlberg et al., 2012:215). Acceptable behavior according to the boys were a narrow range going from obedience to aggression and entitlement vis-à-vis civilians, but the behaviors that were not acceptable were much longer (Ahlberg et al., 2012:220).

In DRC militarized masculinity is constructed around violence, which is how militarized masculinities usually are constructed, another usual feature that the DRC militarized masculinity have is the heterosexual high sex drive (Banwell, 2014:51,53). When the soldiers in DRC construct their masculinity they also do it in contrast to femininity, and they strive to have their own masculine sphere where females do not belong, and the zone of combat is particularly masculine and women are preferably placed outside of this zone (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:565-566).

6.2 Failed masculinity and frustration

To fail one's masculinity means that one is feminized and made into a victim and the oppressed part. The soldiers in DRC saw the soldiers that raped as failing to be a man, meaning that they were not performing successful masculinity (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:48; Ahlberg et al., 2012:216). At the same time rape stem from frustrations due to failing at performing the legitimate type of masculinity. Soldiers that have been subjected to violence, humiliation and rejection feel the need to take out their frustration on someone. This someone is usually someone that is perceived as smaller and with lower status, which makes women, unarmed civilians and children preferable victims (Ahlberg et al., 2012:217).

Revenge was also a reason for the soldiers to rape and if the soldiers for example got infected with HIV or if they were rejected by a woman they could use rape as revenge. This also goes together with the desire from some soldiers to inflict pain on the woman they raped (Ahlberg et al., 2012:215-217). Frustrations and trying to deal with failed masculinity often results in

cycles of violence, which is what is happening in DRC when the soldiers feel like they have been unfairly treated and respond to that feeling with violence (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:33,46). A corporeal in DRC said that rape is connected to all; it is anger, frustration, killing, stealing, they are all connected (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:12) showing that rape is an outlet for bad feelings.

To rape is to fail at performing masculinity but still the soldiers used rape to try to restore their masculinity, which poses a question of why this were thought to be a good way to restore their failed masculinity? My hypothesis is that since militarized masculinity is closely connected with violence the soldiers that could not meet up to the standards of being masculine used the only tool they were provided with to live up to the masculinity norms, and that is violence. In DRC violence against women is seen as a part of military behavior (Ahlberg et al., 2012:215,216), and poses part of the explanation why rape is widely used as the violence to get an outlet for one's frustrations. Violence against women is normalized and therefore to use violence against women poses more positive effects than negative ones.

Because of the different kind of material that I have found for the peacekeeping force and the DRC military I have not found material that specifically talk about failed masculinity amongst the peacekeepers. The fact that peacekeeping fuels insecurities and identity crises for the soldiers seems to be pretty much agreed on by various scholars however, especially to not be able to be aggressive seems to be a reason for insecurity for the peacekeepers (Kovatch, 2016:174; Maxwell, 2010; Duncansson, 2009). This would suggest that it is a fair assumption that the peacekeeping soldiers go through frustrations because they feel like they fail at performing masculinity as the DRC soldiers do.

To rape is not part of how militarized masculinities usually are constructed neither in militaries nor in peacekeeping forces. But masculinities and militarized masculinity gives the tool to restore one's failed masculinity with the use of violence and aggression which is because this is an important part of how militarized masculinities are constructed. The arguments about a high sex drive that the next part will discuss helps with understanding why the soldiers conduct acts of sexual violence instead of simply using violence to restore their masculinity.

6.3 High sex drive

Peacekeepers has been accused of being the perpetrators of rape as well as pedophilia, trafficking and leaving children they have fathered. This behavior has continuously been justified by arguments of men's natural high heterosexual sex drive, and reasoning about men's biology that are rendering them unable to control their sexual urges (Gilliard, 2011:28,29). The UN peacekeepers complain in almost every mission about being targeted by prostitutes (Kovatch, 2016:170,171), and this is also part of the high sex drive argument since it implies that part of the problem for the peacekeepers is that they have a problem saying no when they are pursued by prostitutes. The availability of prostitutes as well as the arguments about a biological high heterosexual sex drive explain why the peacekeepers in DRC do not see that they have done anything wrong when offering local women - many under the age of eighteen - food, money or protection for sex (Gilliard, 2011:28; Simm, 2013:157). To deal with this problem the peacekeepers have been provided with sport and recreational facilities, but the most effective way to deal with this problem is by withholding payment until they

have left the country (Simm, 2013:157). The fact that this is something that is dealt with by creating other distractions for the peacekeepers shows that the peacekeepers are viewed as biologically unable to control themselves due to their high sex drive. The zero-tolerance policy is not enough because their high sex drive is uncontrollable by the peacekeepers themselves. It is this logic that has made distractions a good option to stop peacekeepers from raping and buying sex from prostitute and the policies not being enough. The fact that the most effective way for the peacekeepers to not engage in transactional sex is by being made unable to engage in it shows that the peacekeepers themselves think that they are not able to turn down sex when offered.

That the peacekeepers themselves think they cannot control their high sex drive can further be shown by the widespread ‘boys will be boys’ attitude that the peacekeeping force in DRC hosts (Simm, 2013:158). It is due to this attitude that a frequent response to the question of why peacekeepers rape is ‘what do you think is going to happen when you have thousands of men away from home?’ (Kovatch, 2016:170). Not only when the peacekeepers are talked about this attitude is shown but it has also been seen in the peacekeeping force, and for example a MONUC commander told his team that when a soldier have been out in the field for a time rape is an expected behavior (Meger, 2010:130). The ‘boys will be boys’ attitude implies that boys have a high sex drive and that they are unable to control their sexual desire. This attitude is also common in militaristic masculinity and it is not surprising that it is a part of the peacekeeping masculinity. This does however not make it unproblematic and this attitude legitimates crimes of SEA.

SEA occurs in almost all peacekeeping operations that the UN have, but ironically the levels of SEA are highest in countries where Protection of Civilians (PoC) is part of the mandate (Kovatch, 2016:171). When peacekeepers construct their masculinity they have an inner conflict because peacekeeping is not supposed to be aggressive or violent and they have constructed their militarized masculinity a lot around being aggressive, strong and able to fight (Duncanson, 2009). This provides an explanation to why the UN peacekeeping personnel have higher levels of SEA in missions where PoC is active since this poses a further threat to the construction of a militarized masculinity and might intensify their inner conflict. It builds back on failed masculinity since PoC puts higher pressure on being a protector. This probably results in more peacekeepers feeling like they fail at performing masculinity since they cannot protect through combat, and this frustration makes them conduct crimes of SEA.

When constructing masculinity in DRC and the DRC military the perception of men having a high heterosexual sex drive is an important part, and the need for the soldiers to satisfy their sexual needs has been an explanation to why the soldiers rape (Ahlberg et al., 2012:216). The legitimate way to satisfy ones’ sexual need was perceived as paying for sex or being able to provide for a wife who wanted to have sex with you (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:48). This perceived high sex drive enabled the soldiers in DRC to rape. Some rapes were more legitimate than others and those were the rapes that occurred due to the high heterosexual sex drive and were described as ‘lust’ rapes. Rapes that were not legitimate and were perceived as bad were described as ‘evil’ rapes that spurs from the soldiers’ frustrations with their conditions – mainly poverty – and in a sense of disengagement, these rapes were also conducted in more brutal ways (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:31).

6.4 Protector

The soldiers in DRC emphasized, that their job was not to protect women, their job as protectors is broader and their role is to protect the nation (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:576). Meger has on the other hand seen that the soldiers' role in DRC are to protect women, but she has seen that this protection extends outside of their immediate family to include all women of the community (2016:26). These might seem like contradictory findings, but they both point to the fact that for the soldier in DRC the protection of their wife or family is not their primary concern rather they want to expand their protection to the whole community or even nation.

The main goal for both the old and the new peacekeeping mission in DRC is to protect civilians (UN News Centre, 2010A). After visiting DRC Wallström stress that the peacekeepers do everything they possibly can to protect civilians and when they fail it is due to being over-stretched, under-resourced and they are demoralized because of the critique they receive from all sides (UN News Centre, 2010C). The narrative that the peacekeepers are there to protect is very prominent and one would presume that it is a big part when they construct their peacekeeping identity. It would also be a fair assumption drawing on the explanation in the masculinity chapter, where to be a protector is a more important feature in peacekeeper masculinity than in militarized masculinity.

Continuously when UN talks about rape and SEA in DRC they fail to mention their own peacekeepers as perpetrators and instead they praise DRC for addressing and taking measures against rape and SEA (UN News Centre, 2013B). Or they talk about the peacekeepers ability to protect civilians against rape and how this ability is strengthened (Wallström, 2013:20). This shows how hard the UN are trying to keep the image of their peacekeepers as protectors and not wanting to destroy this image by talking about them as perpetrators. This can explain the high level of impunity that the peacekeeping mission in DRC suffers from. For example, commanders make it hard to investigate SEA, whistleblowers are harassed and peacekeepers are unlikely to be punished for crimes committed while being deployed (Gilliard, 2011:30; Kovatch, 2016:163; Allais, 2011:8).

There is even a claim that the UN peacekeepers main concern is to protect themselves from being accused of SEA (Simm, 2013:175). In the masculinity chapter, we saw that external accusations were treated more severely leaving a feeling that protection from a scandal is the main concern. Drawing from this theory the high attention to protect against scandals seems to be a widespread problem in the UN peacekeeping operations, and this also seems to be the case in DRC. My hypothesis is that being an UN peacekeeper is an honorable position and if scandals are revealed they stain the honorable position and this might make the peacekeepers prone to protecting their honor.

DRC also suffers from impunity and sexual violence in DRC is not perceived as a serious crime by neither politicians nor commanders in the military and very few perpetrators are punished in the justice system (Meger, 2010:132; Banwell, 2014:52). Impunity to crimes of rape is not a part of masculinity, but that the impunity in DRC is so widespread shows how normalized rape have become in DRC. The fact that it is so normalized is an explanation to the vast numbers of rapes in DRC.

6.5 Gender inequality

SEA is spread throughout UN missions and considering the various background of the peacekeepers this is evidence of patriarchal views being a part of international relations (Gilliard, 2011:34). Those peacekeepers that come from countries with high levels of gender inequality also commit the highest level of SEA in DRC (Kovatch, 2016:168,169), which shows that there is a clear correlation between SEA and gender inequality. The UN have tried to increase the amount of female staff on their peacekeeping forces but still the force has a male majority (Kovatch, 2016:169). As we saw in the masculinity chapter to include women are often done to challenge gender norms, but this is usually not enough and the women often adapt to the masculine culture. Unequal gender norms are also often part of the military which this indicates is true for the peacekeeping force in DRC as well. The peacekeeping mission in DRC also have a culture that accepts acts of SEA as something 'one does' and this culture stuck with the mission even after the name change (Kovatch, 2016:169).

The UN peacekeepers also have an unequal power relation with the women in DRC who have a very low socioeconomic status, meaning that the relationship is inherently exploitative. When the peacekeepers take advantage of the unequal power relation they perpetuate gender stereotypes and inequalities and undermines the legitimacy of the UN mission (Gilliard, 2011:28,29,33). Most prostitution is forced and the question is if it would be possible for it to be a consensual act in an environment with this strong power relations (Gilliard, 2011:32; Kovatch, 2016:164). Peacekeepers have also been reported for raping locals and then giving them money or food to make it seem consensual (Kovatch, 2016:164). The unequal gender relations go a long way explaining how the peacekeepers can justify their exploitation of the local women. It is easier to exploit someone that is perceived as lower than you and the fact that the local women are also racialized put them in an even lower position on the hierarchal ladder. The peacekeepers are however aware that rape is wrong and this is probably why they want to make their actions look like prostitution.

Why the DRC military rape is also explained with gender inequality, women's low status in the country and forced prostitution (Meger, 2010:127; Freedman, 2011:17.-174; Banwell, 2014:52; Meger, 2016:23,24). Gender norms are changing in DRC, giving women more power, and this is cause for frustration amongst Congolese men who use rape and sexual violence to reassert their domination in the gender hierarchy (Meger, 2016:26,28,33). Sexual violence can also be a tool for the men to improve their social status (Meger, 2016:35).

Women soldiers in DRC want full inclusion and see themselves like being as courageous or more than the male soldiers (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:570,571). The men in the military have a different view and they do not see that the women have the same role or the same abilities (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:575). To separate women and men in the DRC military the male soldiers use four different strategies which are: 1. comparing Congolese soldiers to foreign soldiers that are perceived as better and 2. making women into unreliable whores that corrupt the military (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:571,572,577,578). 3. Making the zone of combat masculine and women perceived as weak and incapable (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2011:573,574). This shows that the gender dichotomy where femininity and masculinity are an opposing pair is part of the militarized masculinity in DRC. Certain parts of the military are feminized and this is the place for feminized bodies, at the same time as certain parts are

masculinized and here masculinized bodies fit in. The last of the strategies is the denial of women's femininity. If a woman is doing a good job as a soldier she is transformed into a man and loses her female attributes. All good soldiers are masculine no matter what gender they have (2013:580-582). This further complicates the gender dichotomy and shows that since masculinity and femininity are each other's opposites they also cancel each other out. If you are masculine it is not possible to be feminine at the same time. The fact that being feminine and being female often are perceived as connected explains why a masculine female not only loses her femininity but also part of her gender and she is not perceived as a 'real woman' anymore.

6.6 Other arguments by the DRC military and the peacekeeping force

The peacekeepers in DRC do not consider long-term consequences from their actions such as fathering babies, which is explained as being because their deployment is short-term (Gilliard, 2011:31). Peacekeepers have also said that their deployment in DRC enabled them to participate in activities they would never do in their home country. This behavior is compared with 'sex tourism' which enables tourist to engage in sexual activities they would not participate in at home as for examples having sex with minors or prostitutes. However, the peacekeepers are not perceived as 'sex tourists' but rather as participating in 'sex in tourism', which is because they are situational and their intention when going to DRC were not to go on a sex-cation (Gilliard, 2011:173). This mentality of 'sex in tourism' can explain why the peacekeepers did not consider the long-term effects of their actions. It can also show how they adapt to a different mentality – that enables them to do certain things – when they were deployed. Kovatch (2016:159) has seen that the culture of the mission lived on even if the people in the mission themselves changed. This culture might make them participate in activities they would not participate in at home and deem actions okay that they would not think were okay at home. To argue that the peacekeepers commit acts of 'sex in tourism' would in Enloe's (2000) word make them participating in recreational rape.

For the military in DRC poverty is used as the main explanation from the soldiers in DRC to why they rape. Poverty is seen as the root to their frustration with hunger and suffering being main reasons. Poverty is also seen as the cause for them being looked down on by civilians and it is a reason for feeling that they are not appreciated for their service to the country (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:28-32; Ahlberg et al., 2012:218). The reason they rape is also connected with the explanation of the soldiers having a high heterosexual sex drive and they say that if they could get a woman the right way – which would be through money, either by buying a prostitute or being able to provide for a wife – they would not have to rape (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:31,47). In DRC being a provider or a bread-winner of a household is an important part of how masculinity is constructed and poverty means to the DRC soldiers that they are failing their masculinity. When masculinity is failed a way to restore the masculinity is by using violence and showing of the high sex drive, which explains why rape is a consequence of feeling the frustrations of poverty.

In DRC, the occurrence of rape has by some been portrayed as a weapon of war (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:14). According to Eriksson Baaz & Stern the rape that occurs in DRC does not seem to be part of a military strategy where the soldiers have been order to rape (2010:17). The high attention that sexual violence and rape has gotten in DRC and the zero-tolerance politics regarding sexual violence might however provide frustrated soldiers with an

effective tool of resistance and punishment directed at the soldiers' superiors (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010:33). Those that explain rape in DRC as a weapon use the arguments that the soldiers want to maintain the chaos necessary to loot expensive metals that are harvested in DRC and sexual violence is supposedly a good way to maintain that chaos (Meger, 2010:120; Meger, 2016:36). The argument is also that the violence is motivated by economic possibilities and not by ideological cause (Meger, 2010:132,133). In DRC, the authorities view sexual violence as an effective tool to inflict suffering on the women, the witnessing men, and men that were tortured or could not protect their women (Ahlberg et al.,2011:148). Rape is also perceived as a weapon used to destroy and exterminate by the Congolese women (Meger, 2016:9). Still there are reluctance from humanitarian aid workers in DRC to see rape as a weapon in DRC (Meger, 2016:13).

Whether rape in DRC is a weapon or not there seems to be some disagreement on, but even those that sees rape as a weapon of war seems to agree that it is not simply used as a weapon and that there are also other explanations to why rape occurs in DRC. Enloe (2000) described rape as warfare as being systematic and stresses the point of the victims being systematically chosen and the rape not occurring due to random events. In DRC there is nothing that indicates that the rapes are systematic and through Enloe's argumentation this would not make rape a weapon of warfare in DRC. I would say that it is important to not see the fact that the soldiers take advantage of the chaos SEA have created in DRC as an indication that they planned this chaos, and I would therefore argue that rape in DRC is not used rape as a weapon of warfare.

As would be expected the peacekeeping force has not been accused of using rape as a weapon in war. Their roles as protectors are emphasized and the peacekeeping force are not supposed to engage in battle in the same way as military is usually expected – amplifying the pacific and protecting side of the peacekeeping mission. There is also an argument that the peacekeeping force are committing SEA due to spillover effects from the DRC military. The spillover effect argues that the peacekeeping force adapts a mentality where rape is normalized (Kovatch, 2016:162). The argument about the spillover effect also indicates that rape in DRC is not perceived as a military strategy but rather as a normalized thing to do, otherwise the spillover effect would mean that the peacekeepers adapted a military strategy.

The soldiers in DRC emphasize that they have to use drugs and alcohol and legitimates this with pointing out that they themselves have small bodies and that the weapons are heavy and hard to carry (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2010: 23,24). In Duncansson's (2009) study it was seen that size and strength were important factors and they were also compared with the size and strength from others. Here the soldiers compare their size and strength to what seems to be foreign forces. Since the UN peacekeeping force has been working side by side with the DRC national army, FARDC, it might be the UN soldiers that they compare themselves with. This comparison where they make themselves the smaller and weaker part also shows that they see the Other as a better soldier than they see themselves.

The UN has the ambition to take down the numbers of SEA to 'something like zero percent' and have taken measurements such as orientation training and curfew hours to lower the rates of SEA (UN News Centre, 2011). Different measures have also been made so that women do not have to venture beyond safe areas such as distributing fuel-efficient stoves and firewood

(UN News Centre, 2010B). The UN have taken measurements against SEA and the zero-tolerance policy has been in place for a long time, and one would presume that it would be very hard for the peacekeepers to not be aware of the of the prohibitions to committing acts of SEA. Still they commit acts of SEA and I see that this is due to these four main points that I have described in this analysis: failed masculinity, high heterosexual sex drive, being the protector and gender inequality. For the DRC military the reason to commit acts of SEA is very similar to the peacekeeping force. The difference is that they construct their masculinity a little different and instead of failing at protecting being a main reason for failing ones' masculinity in the DRC military it is failing at being the provider that makes them fail their masculinity. The underlying structures that make them rape and originate in their construction of masculinity I would after reading this material assume is very similar.

6.7 Constructing masculinity in the UN's peacekeeping mission in DRC

Because of the material at hand I have found it hard to say anything about DRC with absolute certainty, but I will still use the different themes I have determined to argue for how I presume the peacekeepers build their identity.

To be the protector and for males to have a high heterosexual sex drive is two key points that are emphasized about the peacekeepers. These two are most likely something that the peacekeepers themselves either embed in their own identity or relate their own identity to since they are so prominent on how a peacekeeper is supposed to be. I deem it very unlikely that they are not part of the peacekeepers identity at all.

The military provide a conditional framework which enables certain acts of violence and so the peacekeeping mission does as well. This mentality that the peacekeeping mission provides enables the peacekeepers to have 'sex in tourism' and to adapt a mentality where rape is normalized.

I also see that high levels of impunity in the UN peacekeeping force might come from honor, and not wanting to put light on things that might damage this honor. The high levels of impunity also show that the levels of SEA might be much higher than the UN have thought.

To get a clearer picture of how the peacekeepers construct their masculinity more research should be done on the matter and I can from my findings draw these indications on how they construct their masculinity but to be sure further research needs to be done.

7. Conclusion

I cannot say anything for certain because of the material I were able to use. My study has however provided me with indications to how the masculinity in both the DRC military and the UN's peacekeeping force is constructed and how this can explain why they commit acts of SEA. If I narrow it down I can point to two factors that seem to be the root of why acts of SEA are committed. These two factors are failed masculinity and the perception that males have a high heterosexual sex drive.

Failed masculinity differ depending on how masculinity is constructed which for example means that peacekeepers feel like they fail when they cannot protect the civilians and DRC soldiers feel like they fail when they cannot provide and have to live in poverty. Failed masculinity results in frustrations and in the soldiers trying to restore their masculinity.

The narrative about high heterosexual sex drive on the other hand is part of normalizing the occurrence of rape and sexual violence. The perception that males have a high heterosexual sex drive gives the soldiers an opportunity to express their masculinity through showing off their high sex drive. This in combination with the normalizing effect the attitude of a high sex drive has on committing crimes of SEA and the frustrations from failing ones' masculinity often results in violent outlets which explain why the soldiers commit acts of SEA.

Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2010:56) sees that DRC shows a danger on having a singular focus on sexual violence and not consider other types of human rights abuses that are being conducted. The high focus on rape have made reports focus on women being brutally and horribly raped and marginalized horrors that occurred at the same time such as killing your own child or watching you husband being killed (Eriksson Baaz & Stern, 2013:33). The singular focus on sexual violence in DRC I agree is a problem, but I can also see that it is problematic that the DRC military is the one that has gotten the main focus. Very few have asked themselves what goes on in the minds of the peacekeepers that makes them rape or commit acts of sexual violence.

During the writing process of this thesis I have tried to problematize my position as a researcher coming from a Western/Northern perspective. Most researchers who have written about rape in DRC also come from this perspective, and I cannot help to wonder if it this perspective that has made it sound so interesting to investigate why the soldiers in DRC rape. And if it is this perspective that at the same time inhibits feeling the necessity to look into the UN peacekeeping force and asking them why they rape.

There is a need to further study DRC and the vast number of rapes being conducted there. There is however also a need to not have a singular focus on sexual violence when studying DRC, and there is also a need to not have a singular focus on the DRC military when asking why soldiers in DRC rape. How the peacekeeping force in DRC construct their masculinity and how they explain sexual violence by themselves or fellow peacekeepers should be further investigated. This could help broadening the explanation to why the levels of sexual violence are so high in DRC. Comparing them to arguments in the DRC military as I have done could also help with understanding which arguments are universal and which are specific for the

DRC context. Lastly it could give a better and more thorough insight in how masculinity is constructed in peacekeeping missions, especially in relation to acts of SEA.

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