

Masculinity and Gender Based Violence in Rwanda

Experiences and perceptions
of men and women



Official Report

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Abbreviations

| | |
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| CARE | Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Incorporated |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CLADHO | Rwandan Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defense of Human Rights |
| DHS | Demographic and Health Survey |
| EDPRS | Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy |
| GBV | Gender Based Violence |
| GEM | Gender Equitable Men |
| ICRW | International Center for Research on Women |
| IMAGES | International Men and Gender Equality Survey |
| MIGEPROF | Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion |
| MINALOC | Ministry of Local Government, Good Governance, Community Development and Social Affairs |
| MINECOFIN | Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning |
| MRC | Medical Research Council of South Africa |
| MRI | Men's Resources International |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NGP | National Gender Policy |
| NISR | National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda |
| NWC | National Women's Councils |
| PSI | Population Services International |
| RPF | Rwandan Patriotic Front |

| | |
|---------|---|
| RWAMREC | Rwandan Men's Resource Centre |
| RWF | Rwandan Franc |
| SPSS | Statistical Package for the Social Sciences |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| VAW | Violence against Women |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

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Preface

RWAMREC in collaboration with the Rwanda Men Engage Network is pleased to present this report which shows the results of the first national household survey ever done in Rwanda on perceptions about masculinity and GBV. The study, conducted from January 2010 to June 2010, examined the roots of GBV in relation to perceptions about masculinity within Rwandan society. This quantitative and qualitative research explored the experiences and opinions of men and women with relativity to how men are supposed to act and behave according to the socio-cultural norms and values in Rwanda.

The quantitative instrument was adapted from IMAGES, a multi-country survey with women and men on attitudes toward gender equality, as well as behaviors and attitudes related to sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, GBV, fatherhood; men's attitudes toward women and toward gender equality; and men's attitudes toward various policies related to gender equality.

IMAGES is coordinated by the ICRW and Promundo, and was developed in partnership with the Center for Gender Studies-University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway; El Colégio de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico; the MRC, Pretoria, South Africa; CulturaSalud, Santiago, Chile; Partners for Prevention: A United Nations Joint Program for Ending VAW in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand; the Center for Education, Counseling and Research, Zagreb, Croatia; and RWAMREC, Kigali, Rwanda. As of 2010, IMAGES had been applied in Brazil, Mexico, India, Croatia, Chile, South Africa (as part of a separate study on men, health and violence coordinated by the MRC), in addition to Rwanda.

The overall goal of IMAGES is to add to our understanding of men's behaviors and attitudes – and changes in those attitudes and behaviors – to inform, drive and monitor policy development to promote gender equality by engaging men and women in such policies. The IMAGES questionnaire builds on existing instruments, heavily drawing on the "Questionnaire on Gender Equality and Quality of Life" developed by the Norwegian Ministry of Gender Equality and Children Affairs, along with items for the WHO multi-country study on VAW; the GEM scale developed by Population Council and Promundo; and by surveys on sexual violence and physical violence against women carried out by the MRC.

The analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data focuses on identification of particular aspects in society that contribute to violent behavior towards women and girls and negative perceptions about masculinity. This study explores the prevailing opinions about manhood in Rwanda and examines

how these perceptions, constructed and transmitted in the current society, are related to GBV.

The study, presented in this report, shows how different factors in Rwandan society play a key role in 'making men' and explains how these factors contribute to the fact that many men use violence towards their female partners. The findings provide important implications for the development of new strategies to tackle VAW with the involvement of men and boys.

The report includes four parts: the first part describes the problem of GBV in Rwanda and links the study to other international studies about masculinity and GBV. The second part explains the methodology and research process. The third part presents the main results. The last part concludes with recommendations for the development of programs that contribute to bridging the identified gaps on perceptions about gender and masculinity in the daily life of women and men in Rwanda facing GBV.

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Thanks are extended to the local authorities in Rwanda's 30 Districts; their collaboration and advice facilitated the essential data collection. Also, we are appreciative of the detailed data processing done by Mr. Ajay Singh and Dr. Annet Nugter. Their expertise added incredible value to this study.

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The RWAMREC Chairman

Fidèle Rutayisire

Kigali, October 2010

Executive Summary

Over the last 20 years, GBV has been recognized increasingly as a serious global health, human rights and development issue. A growing body of research confirms that GBV has significant consequences, especially for girls and women's physical, sexual, and mental health, as well as implications for the health and well-being of families and communities (Heise et al, 1999, Guedes, 2004). Like many other countries Rwanda has ratified international instruments addressing women's rights and expressed a commitment to address GBV among other forms of violence for every Rwandan to live a secure life, enjoying his/her rights which is conducive for sustainable development.

This report presents the results of a nation-wide study of experiences and perceptions of men and women regarding masculinity and GBV in Rwanda, which was implemented by RWAMREC. The study was conducted from January 2010 to June 2010. The quantitative part of the study included a national household survey among 1311 women and 2301 men. Qualitative data were obtained by five focus group discussions and ten in-depth interviews.

The following research question has been studied: **What is the relation between perceptions of masculinity and the problem of GBV committed by men towards women?**

The sub-questions are as follows.

- How do men see their male role in relation to partners and women?
- How do women see the role of males in society?
- What aspects of Rwandese society may fuel negative perceptions of masculinity that justify VAW?

This study's main objective is to examine the major aspects and manifestations of masculinity in Rwandan society in order to gain a better understanding of the links of perceptions on masculinity and GBV. The objective of these findings is to develop more effective strategies for VAW prevention and to promote gender equality through the involvement of men and boys. Equally noted, (1) there was an investigation into how men perceive themselves as men as well as how women and children perceive men in terms of power relations at the family and community levels; (2) the negative aspects in the masculinity perception that fuel violence and gender inequality are identified; (3) the attitudes of men towards gender roles and their preparedness to adopt gender equality norms are examined and linked to current VAW problems; and (4) the findings suggest recommendations including the involvement of men and boys to promote positive masculinity and stop VAW.

The study findings indicate three main factors in society that fuelled VAW acts committed by intimate partners. First, the exposure to and involvement with violence during childhood and adulthood has a significant impact on the use of violence against partners as an adult. The childhood experiences as well as exposure and involvement with war/genocide-related violence are associated with GBV acts against partners in comparative analyses.

Survey questions explored childhood experiences at home, in school, and in the neighborhood. The results show a high rate of violence exposure among all participants during childhood. More than half of all women and men reported acts of sexual, psychological or physical violence committed by parents, peers, or teachers. Witnessing violence between parents is considered as a form of exposure to violence. The results show that 17.4% of males have experienced forms of sexual violence when they were a child. Sexual abuse is considered mostly as a problem that affects female victims, but these findings indicate that a significant number of men experienced sexual abuse.

Second, the partner relations are defined by power inequality between the genders. As well, traditional gender relations are under strain, generated by changed social realities after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. For example, women had to take more responsibilities due to the loss of husbands and families, also receiving more rights through new laws and policies.

Even so, more than half of all women (57.2%) responded to having experienced GBV forms committed by a partner. The most common types of partner violence are slapping (30.3%) and forced sex (32.4%). Punching, pushing, throwing things and hitting with objects are types of violence that are reported between 21% and 16% of the women, while 3.7% of women indicated to be threatened with a weapon. The answers by men do not correspond to these outcomes. Only 38.0% of men say they have ever used partner violence. A small minority of 3.7% of men indicate ever having forced partners to have sex, while 32.4% of women responded to be forced by partners. The apparent contradiction may be related to the fact that men are not aware of the harm in slapping or forcing their female partners to have sex or they are less likely to be completely honest about their abusive behaviors. These explanations are confirmed by other findings that men need more sex and hold a right to having sex with their partners whenever they want. Slapping is considered as a natural way of men to control and correct their wife's disrespect.

Third, the social norms transmitted through informal institutions (e.g. family, school, church) are not in tune with the changes in gender relations taking

place in society, due to the war and genocide as well as the hampering of effective gender policies.

Cross-analyses indicate that men who went through war and/or genocide tend to become violent against their partners more frequently than men who did not have these experiences. Most participants (80%) in the study have passed through experiences of war related to violence and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. To protect the integrity and safety of all participants, there has not been an examination into the details of their experiences. However, knowledge about the facts of the enormous violence that took over the country in 1994 may suggest that many participants witnessed and experienced forms of violence that have affected them seriously.

Additionally, the survey included questions that explored the knowledge and the opinions about the law against GBV. Most men (65.2%) think that the law is not protecting women enough and 31.1% of males think the law will increase stigma of women that suffer from GBV. The overall data show that women and men see the law as problematic. Among all interviewed women 72.6% consider the GBV law as 'not protective enough' and 39.6% sees the law as a measure that increases stigmatization and suffering of women exposed to GBV.

Overall, the study gives many recommendations for the development of bottom up strategies needed to guide a social change process within societies in conjunction with government efforts to eliminate VAW with the positive involvement of men. For instance, further studies into the impact of exposure and involvement of violence on male's perceptions on masculinity are needed to get a better understanding of their violent behavior towards women. As well, community-based programs and the practical operation of policies at the local level have to support as well as guide women and men into changing attitudes involving the health, education, justice, and economical development sectors.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context and Justification

Over the last 20 years, GBV has been recognized increasingly as a serious global health, human rights and development issue. A growing body of research confirms that GBV has significant consequences, especially for girls and women's physical, sexual, and mental health, as well as implications for the health and well-being of families and communities (Heise et al, 1999, Guedes, 2004). Like many other countries Rwanda has ratified international instruments addressing women's rights and expressed a commitment to address GBV among other forms of violence for every Rwandan to live a secure life, enjoying his/her rights which is conducive for sustainable development.

The international relevant instruments that Rwanda has ratified include: (1) CEDAW, 1980; (2) the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995; and (3) the Optional Protocol to the African Charter of Human and People's Rights to Women's Rights in Africa approved and ratified through the Presidential Order N° 11/01 of 24/06/2004 (O.G. N° special of 24/06/2004).

To translate this international commitment into action, the Government of the Republic of Rwanda has developed national instruments and put in place mechanisms to ensure effective implementation of these instruments. Gender, under which falls GBV, is considered as a crosscutting issue that should be taken into consideration for all development sectors for national planning. The following sections discuss relevant national instruments and associated mechanisms.

National Instruments

The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda (of 4 June 2003, as amended to date) provides for higher levels of representation to previously marginalized groups such as women, youth and people living with disabilities. This constitutional framework provides quotas (at least 30%) for women in decision-making organs, which have resulted in an unprecedented number of women getting elected or appointed to decision-making positions at all levels within the Government of the Republic of Rwanda. The constitution reinforces principles of gender equality and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and men, and provides a very strong platform for gender mainstreaming in all sectors.

Vision 2020 is a long-term development framework that highlights the aspirations of Rwandan populations from 2000 to 2020. As Rwanda's development road map, it situates human development as one of the main pillars of the nation's development. *Vision 2020* highlights gender equality as a crosscutting issue, thus offering a vehicle for addressing gender-related

issues including GBV. This is materialized through the NGP, meant to act as one of the tools to translate Vision 2020 into action, which is giving guidance for equality of opportunities between women and men/boys and girls in every sector.

EDPRS underscores gender as a crosscutting issue for attaining its goal of achieving equity of voice, participation, and accessibility to services in every sector. Social protection and universal access to justice, including enactment and application of gender responsive laws, can draw on EDPRS through its key programs: "growth for export and employment", "Vision 2020 Umurenge" and "governance". Addressing GBV is connected strongly with these key programs, since addressing GBV may change the existing gender inequalities in Rwandan society.

As highlighted in Vision 2020 and the EDPRS, the NGP was developed as a means to translate the crosscutting nature of gender into action across all development sectors. The policy places emphasis on capacity building, gender mainstreaming and women empowerment as key approaches to promote gender equality in the country. GBV is one of the key gender issues that the NGP and various programs in the country are addressing.

The *National Decentralization Policy* underlines the commitment of the Government of the Republic of Rwanda to empower its people to determine their destiny. The implementation of decentralized structures down to the lowest level of Umudugudu (Village) is a strategic approach for ensuring that the NGP, which highlights GBV as a serious threat to human rights and sustainable development, is addressed effectively through the planning cycle and that a sense of community ownership by the different social groups is enhanced. It is through grassroots performance of the NGP that the population has an excellent opportunity to address gender-related issues.

In addition to the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda (O.G. special of 04/06/2003), the *Rwandese legislation* covers a range of legal materials including but not limited to:

- The Law N° 22/99 of 12/11/1999 to supplement Book One of the Civil Code and to institute Part Five regarding matrimonial regimes, liberalities and successions (O.G. N° 22 of 15/11/1999);
- The Organic Law N° 08/05 determining the use and management of land in Rwanda (O.G N° 18 of 15/09/2005); and
- The Law N° 59/08 of 10/09/2008 providing legal sanctions against GBV perpetrators.

Associated Mechanisms

MIGEPROF, leading the national machinery created to promote gender equality throughout the country, is responsible for the formulation,

dissemination and popularization of the NGP at national and international levels. Also, MIGEPROF is in charge of advocacy, coordination and mobilization of resources for an effective functioning of the NGP. Under its mandate, MIGEPROF ensures that GBV-related programs are given the attention they deserve.

The Ministry of Defense and the National Police have established GBV desks to address GBV-related issues. The establishment of free telephone hot lines (with strong support of telecommunication companies) to facilitate communication within the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Defense, and the National Police has contributed to significant improvement in addressing GBV. The Isange One Stop Centre hosted within the National Police Hospital is giving a holistic response to GBV survivors.

NWC were set up by the Government of the Republic of Rwanda to coordinate the functioning of Women's Councils from grassroots to the national level. NWC constitutes a critical forum to empower women for their effective participation in national development and more visibility in the Nation. To empower its members, NWC invests in various forms of activities including advocacy and lobbying for change in women's status. GBV-related issues are given first priority.

The role of the *Gender Monitoring Office* is to monitor progress towards gender equality. During its short existence, the Gender Monitoring Office has conducted a study on GBV impact assessment to serve as a basis for setting standards aimed at addressing the various GBV forms experienced in the country.

In terms of *Districts and Sectors*, the National Decentralization Policy provided local governments with roles played formerly by the central government. Promoting gender equality and addressing GBV are important issues for local governments. GBV is addressed at the Umudugudu (Village) level with guidance from Akagali (Cell) and Umurenge (Sector). GBV clubs, composed of at least 20 persons, are functioning at each Umudugudu (Village) level.

Civil Society Organizations are concerned primarily with NGP action. Concrete actions have been taken to address GBV at the level of prevention and response.

Development Partners like United Nations agencies and international organizations are playing also a vital role in addressing GBV through their technical and financial support to various partners operating in the country.

Achievements: On top of the various gender sensitive laws promulgated, several GBV-related programs have been actualized by different stakeholders. Examples are the creation of anti-GBV clubs in schools and universities; the establishment of GBV committees at the Umudugudu (Village) level; the creation of Malayika Mulinzi (Guardian Angel Initiative) and Ijisho ry'Umuturanyi (Eye of a Neighbor Initiative); and GBV week in the Justice Sector. Thanks to these initiatives, reporting of GBV cases has increased and people are gaining the confidence to discuss openly GBV issues.

Although Rwanda has registered tremendous achievements in addressing GBV, there are daunting challenges still. So far the various interventions have been placing emphasis on women's safety and empowerment. More recently, some have been recommending a primary prevention approach through the involvement of men in addressing GBV, since the majority of perpetrators are men. However, a systematic approach to tackling the root causes of the problem has not been given the attention it deserves. Thus, more efforts are needed in identifying GBV root causes. It is within this context that this first-of-its-kind study on masculinity and its link with GBV has been conducted to explore the extent to which boys' socialization is associated with the violence they subject women to when they become adults.

1.2 Country Profile: Rwanda

Geographical Location

Rwanda is located in the part of Central Africa that is usually known as the "Great Lakes Region". It shares borders with Tanzania in the East, the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, Uganda in the north and with Burundi in the south. Rwanda is part of the Eastern African Community. Its particularly mountainous topography has led Rwanda to be known as the "Land of a Thousand Hills".

In 2008, the population was estimated to be around 9.831.501 million¹, including 4.736.104 men representing 48.17% of the population, and 5.095.397 women representing 51.83% distributed on a surface area of 26.338 sq km (the population density was at 373 inhabitants per sq km, 1.000 sq km covered by Lake Kivu being included in the breakdown). The most recent projection of the population is 10.117.029 (2009: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda). The population residing in urban areas represents 16.69% of the total population.

¹ NISR, Population Projection 2009 in Statistical Yearbook 2009.

Table 1: Key development indicators

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Population | 10,117,029 ² |
| Total fertility rate | 5.5 ³ |
| Population under 25 years | 64% ⁴ |
| Adult literacy | 64.8% ⁵ |
| Poverty line | 56.9% ⁶ |
| Infant mortality rate (under 5) | 103 per 1000 live births ⁷ |
| Maternal mortality rate | 750 per 100.000 live births ⁸ |
| Urban population | 19.3% ⁹ |
| Annual population growth rate | 2.5% ¹⁰ |
| GDP per capita | USD 520 ¹¹ |
| Population aged 65 and above | 2.90% ¹² |
| Physicians per 100.000 people | 5 ¹³ |
| Population using improved water | 74% ¹⁴ |

Historical Background

Since its independence on July 1, 1962 Rwanda has been experiencing a cycle of violence caused by wars that have been affecting women and men. Thus, Rwandan women and men suffered in the wars in 1959, 1964, 1973 which culminated into the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Not only did the genocide claim millions of human lives but it devastated also the country leaving the social fabric in shambles. The post-genocide government was faced with a serious challenge of reconstructing the country socially and materially. Rehabilitation of the country covered several aspects including addressing the trauma and other manifestations of violence to which millions of people were subjected.

The socio-economic take off was very difficult but after the emergency phase, the Government of the Republic of Rwanda with the RPF as ruling party put in place policies and other planning tools and mechanisms for effective operations of development strategies. Progressively the country, with the support from international partners, experienced positive development socially and economically. NGP implementation made it possible to include gender-related issues like GBV in the development process.

² NISR, Population Projection 2009 in Statistical Yearbook, 2009.

³ NISR, Interim Demographic and Health Survey, 2007-2008.

⁴ NISR, Population Projection 2009 in Statistical Yearbook, 2009.

⁵ Les Indicateurs de Développement du Rwanda, UNDP, 2005.

⁶ Op cit, p. 246.

⁷ NISR, Interim Demographic and Health Survey, 2007-2008.

⁸ NISR, DHS, 2005.

⁹ Human Development Report, p. 219.

¹⁰ Human Development Report.

¹¹ Statistic by the NISR on <http://statistics.gov.rw>.

¹² NISR, Population Projection 2009 in Statistical Yearbook, 2009.

¹³ Op cit.

¹⁴ Enquête Démographique et de Sante, p. 219.

However, some cultural norms, values and practices sustaining masculinity and femininity are prevailing still that contribute to gender inequalities and hamper efforts to address GBV. The social construction of masculinity and femininity is understood as one root cause of gender inequality and GBV. This serious challenge is accompanied by poverty and consequences of wars.

1.3 The Problem of GBV in Rwanda

Like in many other countries, GBV is a sad reality in Rwanda. Reports have revealed rape of children and adults, beaten and injured women, and, and murder¹⁵. Out of the 30 districts of the country, Gasabo District ranked first followed by Nyarugenge and Kicukiro as the districts most experiencing violence. This adds to the fact that more than one-third of women (31 percent) in Rwanda have suffered from physical violence since the age of 15 years¹⁶. In 19 percent of these cases, women had suffered from acts of violence within the last 12 months. In 47 percent of these cases, the perpetrator of these acts of violence was the husband or partner.

Numbers of rape cases in 2005 as were revealed by the national police records¹⁷, showed that on average eight women/girl-children were raped everyday in Rwanda with approximately 80% of the victims under 18 years old. It is worth noting that many cases go unreported due to strong cultural beliefs, some of which reinforce or perpetuate violence against women and children. GBV examples include early forced marriages, sexual abuse, infanticide, physical abuse, emotional or psychological abuse, harassment or intimidation, neglecting and abandoning a child, just to name a few¹⁸.

Four main GBV forms have been identified in Rwanda. They include sexual violence, physical violence, economical violence and psychological violence¹⁹. The report of GBV mapping in Rwanda (2008) indicated the following perceptions among the informants about the main causes of GBV: consumption and abuse of alcohol, poverty, sexual obsession, jealousy, witchcraft, polygamy, wrong interpretation of gender, ignorance, prostitution, vengeance and provocative clothing. Apart from these perceived GBV causes, structural causes including patriarchy and culture are highlighted as central components.

1.4 Previous Studies on Masculinity and GBV

GBV is a form of violence that has been recognized worldwide as a serious abuse of human rights affecting the health of women, children and men involved. Since the first international conference on VAW in 1995 in Beijing, many studies have been produced that demonstrate the high prevalence of

¹⁵ National Police Annual Report on Violence, 2008.

¹⁶ DHS, NISR, 2008.

¹⁷ Publication by the Rwanda National Police on www.rnp.gov.rw.

¹⁸ DHS, MINECOFIN, 2005.

¹⁹ GBV Mapping in Rwanda, 2008, MIGEPROF/UNFPA, 2008.

this form of abuse, as well as its devastating psychological, social and economic consequences for entire families. (Herman 1993, WHO 2002, Diaz 2001, Van der Kolk 2000, Kumar 2001).

Several studies indicate that VAW performed by a husband or intimate male partner is the most common GBV form. A multi-country study of women's health and domestic violence across ten countries showed that a quarter of all women had been physically or sexually assaulted at least once by the age of 15 years. The same study indicated that between 16% and 50% of the women referred the (ex) husband, intimate male partner or male relative as the perpetrator (WHO 2005).

For many years, studies have been focused on women as GBV victims in order to develop strategies that may protect women against this form of abuse. The inequality in power relations between women and men is considered as an important factor that leads to conflict and VAW. Gender inequality is based on ideologies of control and power of men over women that shape everyday reality and social relations (Farmer 1996, Scheper-Hughes 1992). The promotion of gender equality, women rights and the empowerment of women has become a main target in developing nations to tackle the abuse of VAW and to improve women's health as well as their economic role in development. However, prevailing gender norms in societies are not easy to change without the involvement of the other gender half: the men. Growing emphasis on the role of men using VAW has resulted in an increased number of studies examining masculinity. (Silberschmidt 2001, ICRW 2002, Barker 2008).

Masculinity (and femininity) is considered as a socially-constructed identity. The roles of men and women in any particular society are based on perceptions that are shaped in the context of that society (Barker 2008). In contrast to biological differences between sexes as determined by nature, gender differences of masculinity and femininity are constructed in social relations. The social construction of masculinity reflects how a man sees himself as a male in relation to others and how women perceive men. In a patriarchal society, men are supposed to dominate women while women are supposed to be submissive. The norms and values in a patriarchal society will be embodied in men's and women's daily lives as "naturally" correct and just. The power of men over women is ingrained in all aspects of life and considered as normal.

The most disturbing expression of male power is the use of VAW. The power inequality between women and men is expressed in sexual relations as well as perceptions about male sexuality. The sexual experience of men is often associated with manhood and may be viewed by men and boys as displays of sexual competence or accomplishment, rather than acts of intimacy

(Nzioka 2001). As stated by Barker "men continue to be praised for their sexual prowess and their sexual desire is often believed to be impulsive and uncontrollable. At the same time, women are expected often to be demure, restrained in their sexual experiences and desires" (Barker 2008: pp 4).

The dominance of men in sexual relations with women is expressed in control and restraint of women's autonomy in practices of sexuality while men expand their own sexual liberty (Silva 2007). However, not all men become violent and abusive and not all women become violated in life. There exist many different forms of masculinities which vary within and across time, space and cultures (Connell 1995). Previous studies on masculinity perceptions and VAW have indicated that particular factors may be involved in creating environments that encourage violent behavior of men towards women and thus the construction of negative masculinity perceptions.

The following, four factors are used as indicators for the presented study.

(1) The gender norms that affirm 'a real man' as somebody who controls and dominates his submissive wife easily lead to violence between partners. Also, the norm that 'real men need more sex' may result in more violent behavior since the frequencies of sexual relations and the use of forced sex may be considered as an affirmation of male's identity instead of an abuse of women's integrity (Barker 2008).

(2) The influence of violence during childhood as well as witnessing violence between parents is seen as an indicator that may result in violent behavior of men. The studies indicated also that girls that witnessed violence will have higher risks to get involved into violent relationships as an adult (Vander Kolk 2000).

(3) A study on gender, conflict and development highlights that GBV may increase in post-conflict societies as a result of shattered male ego's as well as militarized masculinity identities. "Men left war with either an eroded sense of manhood or the option of a militarized masculine identity with the attendant legitimization of violence and killing as a way of maintaining a sense of power and control" (Bouta et al 2005, quoting Sideris 2000). The traumatic experiences of male combatants during and after the conflicts; and the loss of jobs, shelter, family and properties may be transformed into domestic violence as a continuation of small wars in their private sphere.

(4) Finally, the rapid changes in post-conflict societies are mentioned regularly as possible roots for increasing GBV (WHO 2002, Bouta 2005). The fact that women played a role in the war or were compelled to lead the household on their own has contributed to empowerment of women in

Mozambique (Berg and Gundersun, 1991). This had a considerable influence on the gender relations after the civil war, as men perceived these changes as undermining their traditional role as head of the family. A research on the integration of women's rights in a Mozambican community demonstrated the resistance of men towards policies that promoted gender equality. They felt threatened by weakening of power as well as undermining of traditional norms and social values that contributed to increase of circles of violence at individual and community levels (Slegh 2009).

Thus, tackling VAW problems and promoting gender equality demands the involvement of women and men. The present study examined how masculinity norms of power and control are linked to violent behavior towards women in Rwanda. The results show different factors in Rwandan society that may have contributed to the construction of negative masculinity perceptions. This report can help to identify strategies that address GBV problems through the involvement of men and boys.

1.5 Definitions and Key Concepts

GBV is violence involving women and men, in which the female is usually the victim and which is derived from unequal relationships between women and men. The term "gender based" refers to the roots of violence in gender inequality. Specifically, the violence is directed against the woman because she is a woman or affects women disproportionately. Gender inequality is tolerated often by law, institutions, and community norms and is considered as a GBV form. In this report the term refers to the most common types: sexual (intimate partner), physical, economical and psychological violence against women committed by men. Economical violence is narrowly interwoven with psychological violence.

Gender is understood as the social construction of the differences between women and men. Gender differences are defined by socially-ascribed assumptions rather than biologically-determined differences between men and women. Gender includes femininity (female roles) and masculinity (male roles).

Gender equality refers to equality in rights, opportunities and responsibilities for women, men, girls, and boys. Equal rights refer to equality of rights under the law. Equality of opportunities refers to equality in access to work, land, education, health and other recourses that enable opportunities. Equal responsibilities refer to equality in tasks and contributions to the development of society.

Masculinity is defined as the perceptions of women and men about the role of men in society. These perceptions are social expectations and are not determined by biological characteristics.

Types of VAW include the following acts and behaviors. *Sexual violence* is rape, forcing someone to engage in sexual activity against their will, imposing unwanted sexual practices and touching, etc. *Physical violence* involves slapping, beating with or without an object, threatening with a weapon, attempts to strangle or murder, locking a person in or preventing a person going out, etc. *Economical violence* is controlling women's income or preventing someone from having access to recourses, refusing to share the income or means that are needed to meet basic needs like food, clothes, housing, etc. *Psychological violence* is controlling the outings and the relationships, imposing specific behavior, despising, undermining the value of a person, denigrating a person, bullying, isolating a person, threatening, extortion, insulting etc.

VAW is a GBV form and is defined in this report as any manifestation of "physical, sexual, economical and psychological violence occurring in the family and in the general community, including battering, sexual abuse of children and women, dowry-related violence, rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation" (WHO 2000).

1.6 Problem Statement and Research Questions

In Rwanda, it is believed that the major VAW causes originate from the low status that is socially assigned to women in all aspects of life, which includes norms that men hold about the acceptability of VAW and the acceptability of violence as a way to resolve conflicts (domestic and otherwise). The norms and values that accompany these perceptions are transmitted from generation to generation through certain aspects of cultural norms and traditions.

Several studies have indicated that GBV in Rwanda is in the first place committed by men and inflicted to women and girls (DHS 2005). The same study indicated that nearly half of all VAW cases are caused by partners. The stigma and discrimination that accompany victims of violence limit the ability of the Rwandan society to effectively address the GBV problem.

The Government of the Republic of Rwanda and other actors have made significant efforts to address GBV, and more efforts are needed to overcome persisting social norms that are inherent to a patriarchal society like Rwanda. In order to develop strategies that tackle the roots of gender inequality and GBV, a better understanding is needed about the role of men in the problems mentioned above. The following research question has been

studied: **What is the relation between perceptions of masculinity and the problem of GBV committed by men towards women?**

The sub-questions are as follows.

- How do men see their male role in relation to partners and women?
- How do women see the role of males in society?
- What aspects of Rwandese society may fuel negative perceptions of masculinity that justify VAW?

Research Objectives: This study's main objective is to examine the major aspects and manifestations of masculinity in Rwandan society in order to gain a better understanding of the links of perceptions on masculinity and GBV. The objective of these findings is to develop more effective strategies for VAW prevention and to promote gender equality through the involvement of men and boys. Equally noted, (1) there was an investigation into how men perceive themselves as men as well as how women and children perceive men in terms of power relations at the family and community levels; (2) the negative aspects in the masculinity perception that fuel violence and gender inequality are identified; (3) the attitudes of men towards gender roles and their preparedness to adopt gender equality norms are examined and linked to current VAW problems; and (4) the findings suggest recommendations including the involvement of men and boys to promote positive masculinity and stop VAW.

Chapter Two METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Team

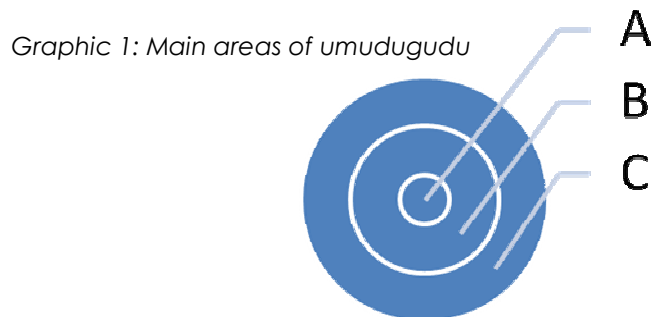
The study was coordinated by RWAMREC Management and was carried out by two consultants, one international lead consultant and one local key researcher. In early March 2010, the researchers gave a six-day training to a group of 72 data collectors with the technical assistance of an ICRW researcher from India. These data collectors were selected by RWAMREC Management, and were in the field to collect data during the last two weeks of March 2010.

2.2 Study Field and Sampling

The study was conducted among women and men between 18-60 years old at a national level and covered all provinces of the country. The study sites in districts and villages were selected by cluster sampling exercised by NISR; also, the study design was approved by NISR. For selection of the households within villages, a multi-stage sampling was applied. The sample was stratified in such a way that it would include 1/3 women and 2/3 men from different age groups. The sample selection at the (Umudugudu) Village level was at random following a counting system. The sample included houses with different distances from the main road and village center. The following selection procedures have been followed.

Every **umudugudu** or village is divided in three main areas:

- A. The center;
- B. The area 10 meters from the center; and
- C. The remote area, which is more than 30 meters from the center.



All five provinces are represented, with a slight difference in numbers of completed questionnaires. The differences in numbers of completed questionnaires are related to inclement weather conditions that made it difficult to reach some of the selected villages in the Northern and Western provinces. The relatively lower sample in Kigali province is related to the fact

that the survey has been carried out during the day and data collectors had more difficulties in finding people at home, since most people were at work.

Table 2: Completed questionnaires per province

| Province | Districts | Proportion of Total Sample |
|-------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Eastern province | Bugesera, Gatsibo, Kayanza, Kirehe, Ngoma, Nyagatare, Rwamagana | 24.3% |
| Kigali province | Gasabo, Kicukiro, Nyarugenge | 11.0% |
| Northern province | Burera, Gakenke, Gicumbi, Musanze, Rulindo | 19.2% |
| Southern province | Huye, Gisagara, Kamonyi, Muhanga, Nyamagabe, Nyaruguru, Nyanza, Ruhango | 25.0% |
| Western province | Karongi, Ngororero, Nyabihu, Nyamasheke, Rubavu, Rusizi, Rutsiro | 19.8% |

2.3 Research Methods

Data collection

The study applied quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative data have been collected in a survey carried out by the 72-trained data collectors. The survey is an adapted version of IMAGES (as designed by the ICRW, Promundo, and the partners listed in the preface). The Rwandan version is shorter than the original survey, and includes aspects that shaped the current Rwandan context (e.g. recent history of genocide and specific socio-cultural practices).

The questionnaires include closed questions, separated in five main topics: demographic data, experiences with violence, gender attitudes and dynamics in households, social-cultural norms and masculinity perceptions. The questions have been divided in three sections: for women and men, for women only and for men only. The women have been interviewed by female data collectors, while male data collectors conducted the interviews with men. In total, we received 3612 completed questionnaires; 1311 by women and 2301 by men.

The qualitative data were collected by two key researchers in five focus group discussions and ten in-depth interviews with principal informants. Two focus group discussions took place in two Umudugudus (Villages) with representatives of that umudugudu participating. Two other focus group discussions were held with women affected by GBV and women working with GBV victims. The fifth focus group discussion was held with the 12 field team leaders of the 72-trained data collectors. All procedures on ethical considerations have been followed. All survey focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were carried out with written or oral consents from the participants.

Data Analysis

The quantitative data was processed through SPSS and analyzed by univariate and bivariate analysis. The associations between variables have been measured by Chi-Square tests. Findings from analysis of quantitative data were matched or compared with findings from qualitative data either to validate or to invalidate associations from the various crosstabs. Besides, the quantitative and qualitative findings allowed a holistic understanding of the dynamics that influence the way women and men relate to each other.

2.4 Study Scope and Limitations

The study focuses on GBV as a VAW form committed by men. Although men can be victims of violence committed by their female partners, such experiences are not a part of this study. The questions in the survey explored a male's involvement in VAW and women's experiences as victims of acts of violence committed by intimate partners.

The available time to conduct the study was constrained by budget considerations. The 72-data collectors had to be trained within six days in survey instrument application and awareness-raising in gender issues. Some of the questions included sensitive issues about experiences with sexual violence as victims or perpetrators. The responses may be bias, since some people do not like to talk about the negative sides of human behavior. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics that play a role in the way women see men's roles, two focus group discussions were conducted on the topic 'violence and sexuality'. The large sample of 3612 interviews validates the findings.

Another study limitation is related to the field work in remote areas. Due to relatively short preparation time and communication problems, some community leaders were not well informed about the overall survey purpose, and thus, needed explanations before allowing access into their villages. After the appropriate documents had been received from district authorities, the survey was accepted. The rainy season influenced the survey, as some villages were difficult to reach. Data collectors in the City of Kigali found difficulties in finding people at home as is visible in the number of completed questionnaires in Kigali.

Nevertheless, the field teams managed to achieve the planned number of interviews, as was demonstrated by the total number of completed forms. The teams received warm welcomes in almost all villages, and most interviewees expressed gratitude that RWAMREC sent data collectors to listen to their stories and opinions regarding GBV and new gender policies. These interviewees considered the survey as a sign of hope that they will receive support to solve their home violence problems.

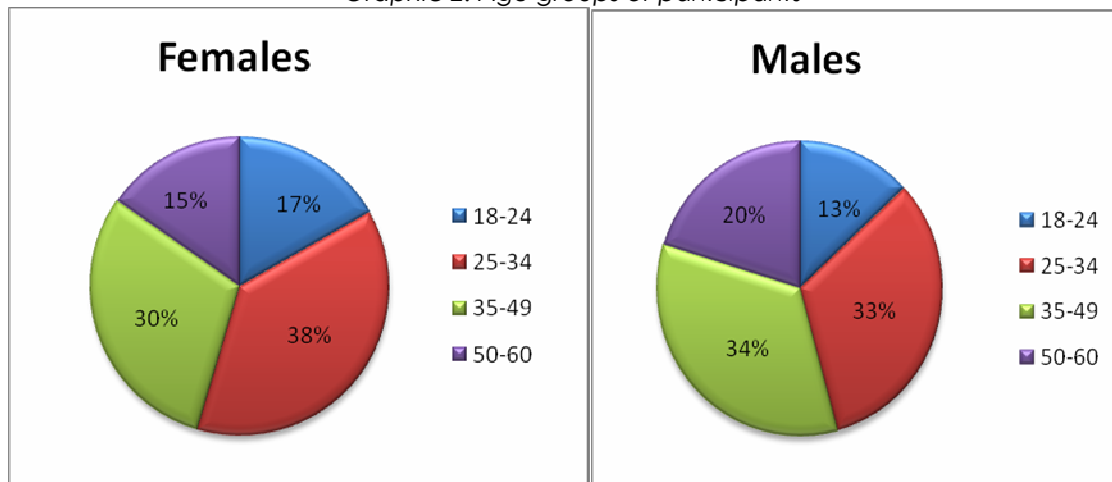
Chapter Three RESEARCH FINDINGS

The survey questions are divided into five main topics and have been analysed accordingly. The findings are presented in the same sequence in this chapter.

3.1 Profile of the Participants

We have received 3612 completed questionnaires: 1311 by women and 2301 by men. The mean age of female participants is 35 years and the mean age of male participants is 37 years. The age groups are represented in graphic 2 below.

Graphic 2: Age groups of participants



On page 28, table 3 presents an overview of the profile of the participants regarding their marital status, religion, educational level and employment. The demographic data show the differences between women and men regarding their socio-economic situation. The majority of women in the study earn less than half of the income of men, and almost three times as many women earn less than 200 RWF a day based on five working days a week.

Table 3: Characteristics of the participants

| Background Characteristics | Women (n=1311) | Men (n=2301) |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| MARITAL STATUS | | |
| Divorced/separated | 5.1% | 1.8% |
| Legally married | 53.2% | 67.3% |
| Living with partner | 19.6% | 11.5% |
| No stable partner | 11.0% | 11.5% |
| Single/never married | 11.0% | 17.9% |
| Widow | 11.0% | 1.4% |
| RELIGION | | |
| Adventist | 10.5% | 10.0% |
| Catholic | 45.2% | 51.8% |
| Muslim | 3.1% | 5.2% |
| Protestant/Anglican | 38.3% | 30.9% |
| Other | 2.9% | 2.0% |
| EDUCATION LEVEL | | |
| B degree and higher | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| Incomplete degree/diploma | 0.9% | 0.7% |
| Incomplete secondary school | 7.9% | 8.1% |
| No school | 24.4% | 17.6% |
| Primary school | 30.0% | 35.3% |
| Primary school grade 4 | 28.1% | 29.0% |
| Secondary school | 5.6% | 5.5% |
| Vocational school | 3.0% | 3.3% |
| EMPLOYMENT | | |
| Average income monthly | 12.409 RWF | 24.870 RWF |
| Income less than 4000 RWF | 44.5% | 17.7% |
| Work for money | 89.6% | 95.6% |

3.2 Exposure and Involvement with Violence

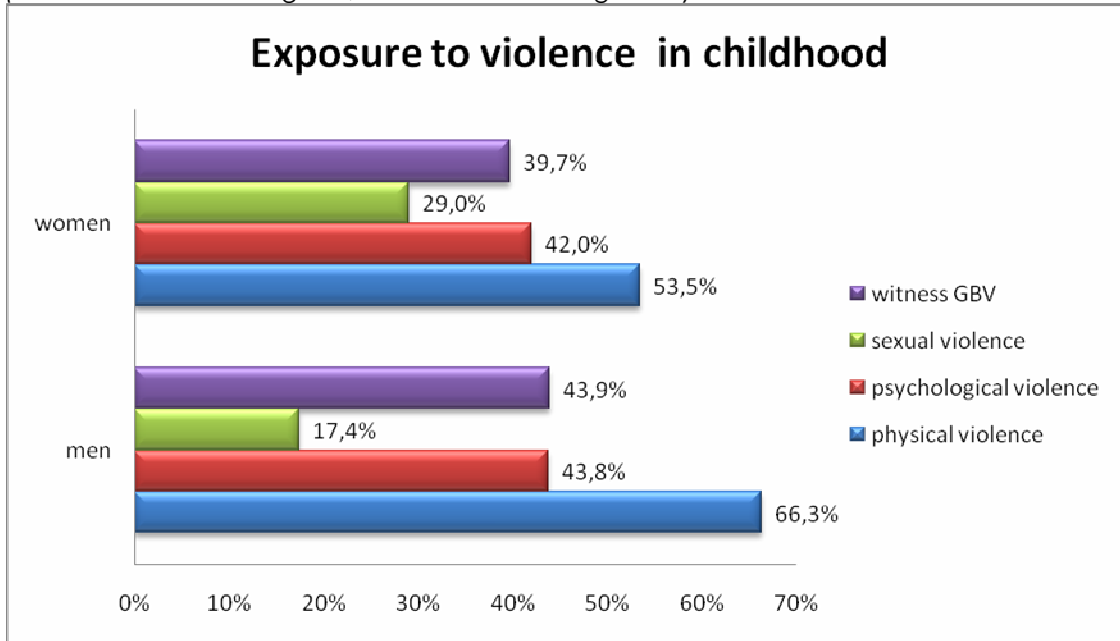
The data reveal that most participants have been involved with violence in different stages in life, as victims, bystanders, and/or perpetrators. The findings regarding experiences with violence are presented as childhood violence, partner violence and war/genocide-related violence.

Childhood Violence

The survey questions explored childhood experiences at home, in school, and in the neighborhood. The results show a high rate of violence exposure among all participants during childhood. More than half of all women and men reported acts of sexual, psychological or physical violence committed by parents, peers, or teachers. Graphic 3 (on page 30) presents the different forms of violence participants have experienced when they were children. Witnessing violence between parents is considered as a form of exposure to violence. The results show that 17.4% of males have experienced forms of sexual violence when they were a child. Sexual abuse is considered mostly as a problem that affects female victims, but these findings indicate that a significant number of men experienced sexual abuse.

School Violence: The acts of violence took place also in schools and in the neighborhood. Especially the abuse of power by teachers in using violence towards children is very high (67.3%). The results make known the differences in violence experienced by girls and boys, yet both sexes have suffered significantly at a young age of violence and power abuses by adults. Men reported exposure to violence in childhood a significant higher rate of physical violence than women, which may be explained by the more harsh education methods for boys used by parents and care takers. Graphic 4 (on page 30) portray the percentages of male participants in the survey who indicated to have suffered from teasing and violence committed by teachers in school.

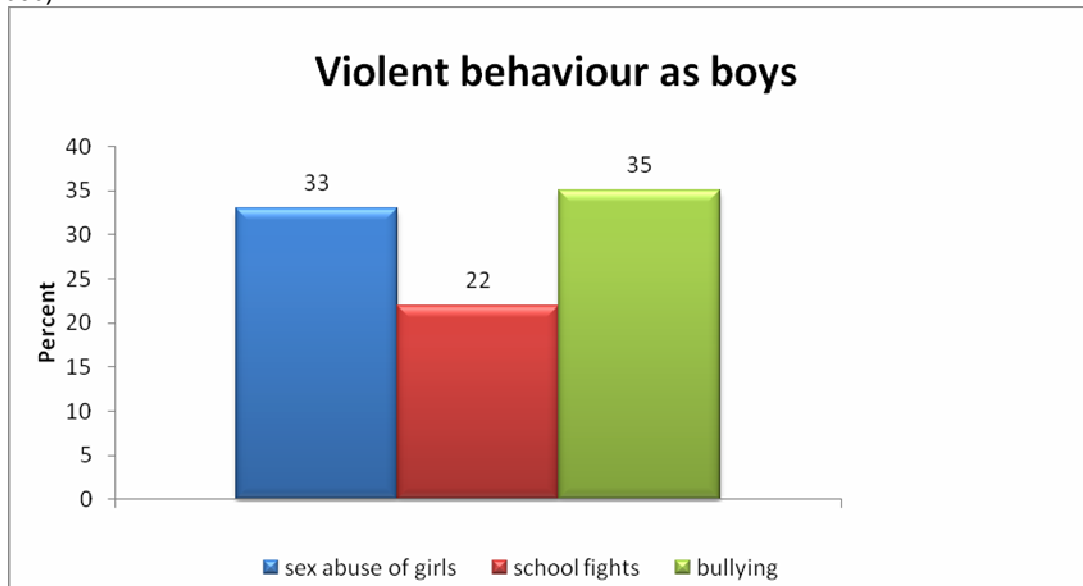
Graphic 3: Types of violence experienced as a child
(women n=1302; missing n=9; men n=2220; missing n= 81)



Graphic 4: Male experience of violence at school (n=2000; missing n=301)



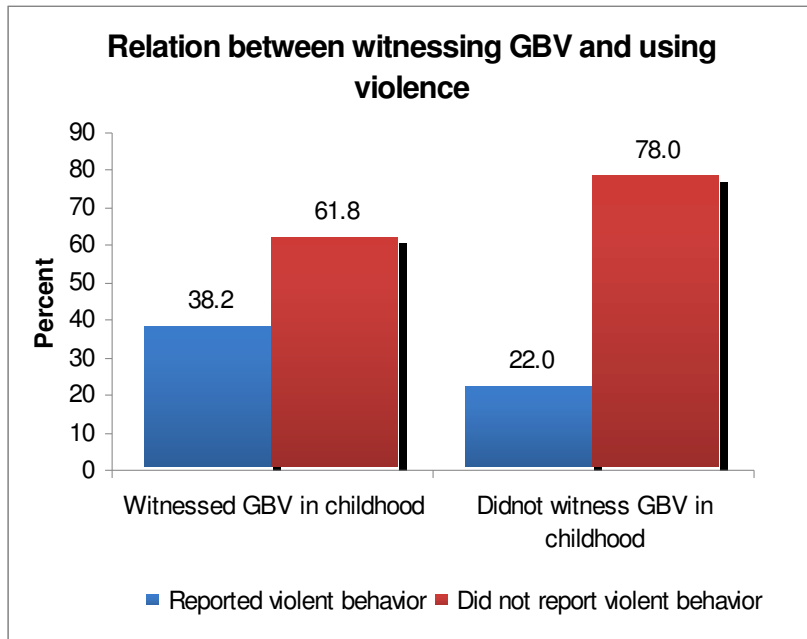
Graphic 5: Reported violent behavior of men when they were in school (n=1951; missing n=350)



The survey included questions about violent behavior of males when they were a boy (see graphic 5). The results underline a strikingly high rate of boys having sexually abused a girl when they were still in school. According to the answers by male participants, one of every three boys has forced once a girl to have sex when they were teenagers. This number corresponds with the number of women that reported to be sexually abused as a girl. The figures show that not all women and not all men have responded to the questions about their experiences with violence in childhood. The number missing among men is higher than women, indicating that men may have more difficulties in disclosing their experiences with violence.

Influence of witnessing father beating mother on violence towards women by men: Comparative analysis showed that men who witnessed GBV as a child tend to become more often GBV perpetrators than men that never witnessed GBV as a child. The percentage of men who witnessed their father beating their mother is 44.9% and from this group of men 38.2% ($p < 0.05$) has become violent towards partners as an adult. Men who never witnessed their father beating their mother have less chance to become violent as an adult than men who saw their mother being beaten. The percentage among this group is 22.0 (see graphic 6 on page 32). The difference of 16.8% indicates the impact of witnessing GBV as a child on violent behavior in adulthood. Children learn from seeing and tend to repeat negative and violent behavior in their own life.

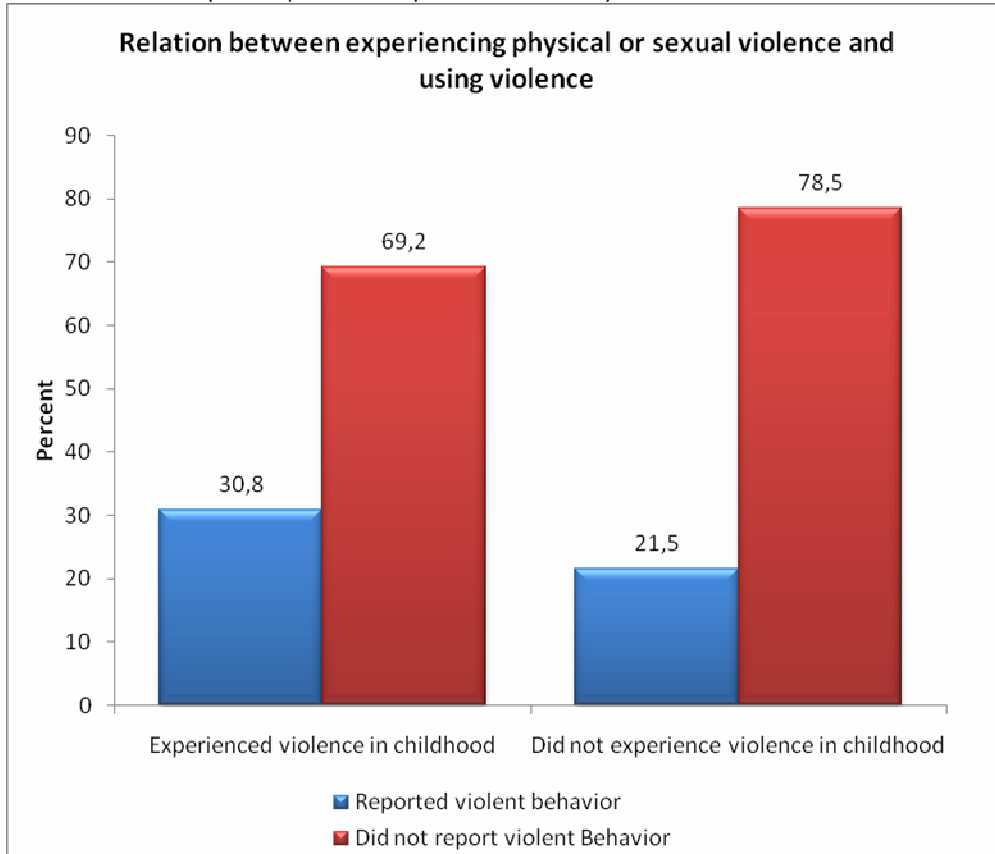
Graphic 6: Men reported more violent in partner relations when they witnessed GBV during childhood (Chi-Square test: $p=0.000/n=1994$)



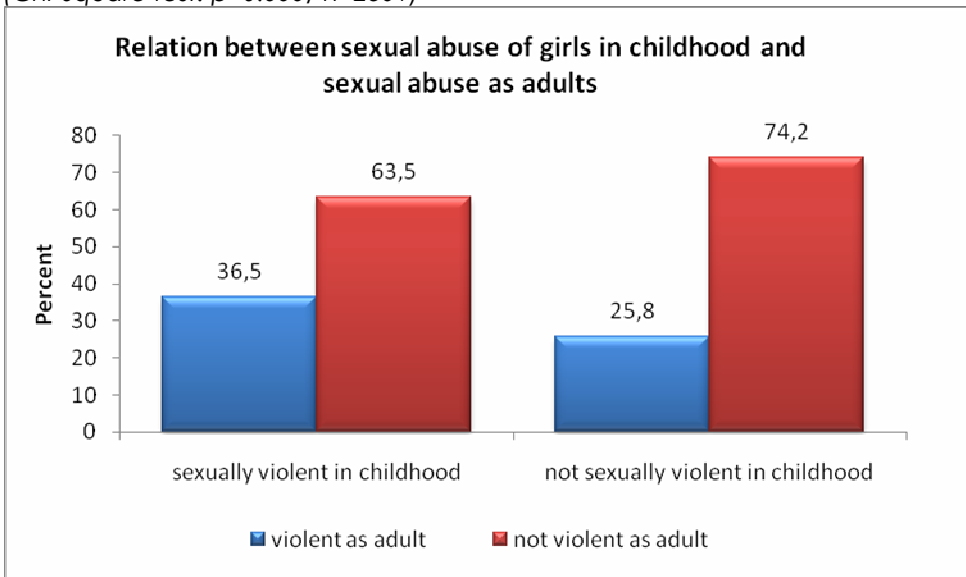
Influence of sexual or physical childhood experiences on male's VAW: The comparative analysis showed that men who experienced sexual or physical violence in childhood have more chance to become violent against their partners. The percentage of men that experienced violence as a child and used violence against a partner is 30.8%, while the group that became violent without these childhood experiences is 21.5% (see graphic 7 on page 33).

Graphic 8 (on page 33) shows the relation between sexual abusive behavior of boys and violent behavior against partners: 36.5% of males, who forced girls into sexual relations when they were in school, inflicted also violence against partners in adulthood. The percentage of males that are violent towards women while never having forced girls to have sex as a boy is 25.8%. The difference of 10.7% between the two groups indicates that the use of forced sex by males at a young age increases the likeliness of violent behavior towards women as adults. The high incidence of sexual abuse by boys may indicate that forcing a girl to have sex is part of the socialization process of boys towards manhood in their daily life.

Graphic 7: Male childhood violence experiences increase the risk to become violent towards women (Chi-Square test: $p=0.000/n=2301$)



Graphic 8: Sexual abuse of girls by boys is related to VAW (Chi-Square test: $p=0.000/n=2301$)



Based on these findings it is concluded that the abuse of power by teachers, peers, and parents render children with negative modelling in dealing with power differences. They learn in a very early stage of life that power is abused through violent acts. Punishment and power abuse seem to be commonly-used strategies to claim respect and children copy this behavior in their life. These examples contribute to violence among children, where boys dominate over girls.

Partner Violence

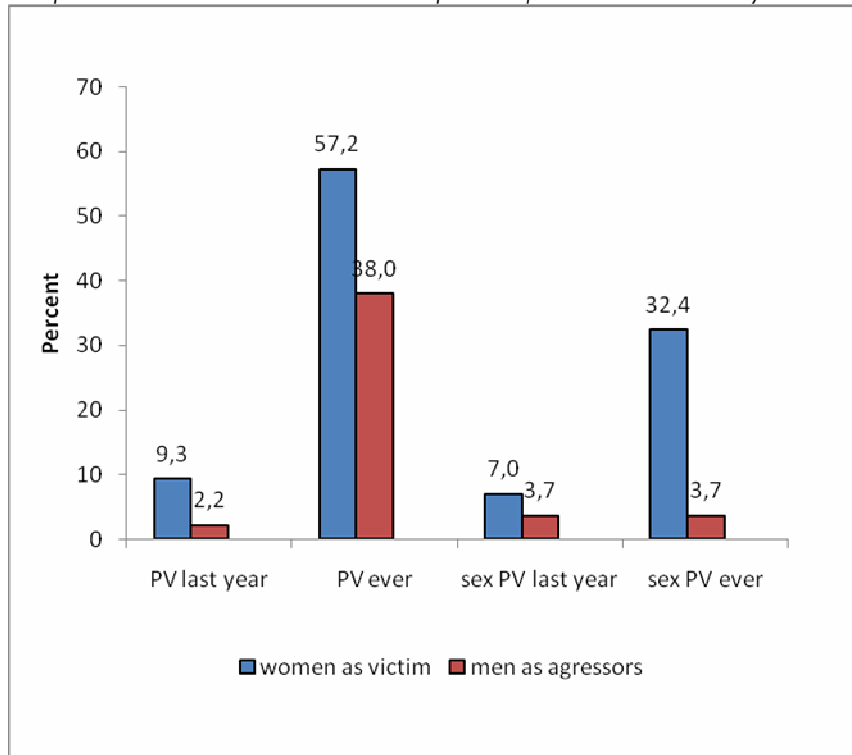
More than half of all women (57.2%) responded to having experienced GBV forms committed by a partner. The most common types of partner violence are slapping (30.3%) and forced sex (32.4%). Punching, pushing, throwing things and hitting with objects are types of violence that are reported between 21% and 16% of the women, while 3.7% of women indicated to be threatened with a weapon. The answers by men do not correspond to these outcomes. Only 38.0% of men say they have ever used partner violence. A small minority of 3.7% of men indicate ever having forced partners to have sex, while 32.4% of women responded to be forced by partners.

Table 4: Distribution of reported prevalent violence by men and women

| Partner violence | As reported by women as victim (n=1311) | As reported by men as perpetrator (n=2301) |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| Last year | 9.3% | 2.2% |
| Ever | 57.2% | 38.0% |
| Forced partner sex | As reported by women as victim (n=1311) | As reported by men as perpetrator (n=2301) |
| Last year | 7.0% | 3.7% |
| Ever | 32.4% | 3.7% |

The difference in answers of women and men is illustrated in graphic 9 on page 35. The apparent contradiction may be related to the fact that men are not aware of the harm in slapping or forcing their female partners to have sex or they are less likely to be completely honest about their abusive behaviors. These explanations are confirmed by other findings that men need more sex and hold a right to having sex with their partners whenever they want. Slapping is considered as a natural way of men to control and correct their wife's disrespect. In one of the focus group discussions a man said: "A man should tolerate a wife's bad behavior two times, but then he has to react and beat her. This may change the behavior of his wife" (married man, 45 years old, Bugesera).

Graphic 9: Percent distribution of reported partner violence by men and women



Frequencies of violence in different districts: The responses of men that use violence against their partners have been analyzed at different provinces and districts. The data reveal that VAW acts occur in all regions of the country with some differences in frequencies as illustrated in table 5 on page 36. The first column shows the frequencies of VAW acts committed by men. The highest prevalence is in Kigali province, Kicukiro district (46%). The frequencies in the other two urban districts of Kigali City do not differ very much from districts in rural areas. Rural districts like Gakenke, Bugesara, and Musanze show frequencies of 40%, indicating that differences between rural and urban areas are small.

The second column shows the percentages of men that have ever committed rape. These results have to be read within the context of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi; it is estimated that 250,000 to 500,000 women and girls were raped during this genocide. The data disclose that rape occurred in almost all districts.

Table 5: VAW and rape by men per district

| | VAW by men (n=2301) | Rape committed | Number of participants per district |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| EASTERN PROVINCE | | | |
| Bugesera | 40.3% | 12.5% | 72 |
| Gatsibo | 15.3% | 6.8% | 59 |
| Kayonza | 26.1% | 5.8% | 69 |
| Kirehe | 25.5% | 3.6% | 55 |
| Ngoma | 26.0% | 13.7% | 73 |
| Nyagatare | 31.7% | 3.2% | 63 |
| Rwamagana | 28.3% | 10.4% | 106 |
| KIGALI PROVINCE | | | |
| Gasabo | 33.3% | 13.9% | 36 |
| Kicukiro | 47.6% | 28.6% | 42 |
| Nyarugenge | 20.5% | 8.3% | 44 |
| NORTHERN PROVINCE | | | |
| Burera | 31.8% | 6.1% | 66 |
| Gakenke | 40.0% | 12.9% | 85 |
| Gicumbi | 30.5% | 5.1% | 59 |
| Musanze | 40.0% | 13.8% | 80 |
| Rulindo | 27.4% | 11.9% | 84 |
| SOUTHERN PROVINCE | | | |
| Gisagara | 32.0% | 0% | 75 |
| Huye | 27.7% | 3.1% | 65 |
| Kamonyi | 31.9% | 11.6% | 69 |
| Muhanga | 24.4% | 16.7% | 78 |
| Nyamagabe | 27.9% | 6.6% | 34 |
| Nyanza | 17.1% | 3.9% | 76 |
| Nyaruguru | 36.5% | 8.3% | 96 |
| Ruhango | 15.3% | 14.1% | 85 |
| WESTERN PROVINCE | | | |
| Karongi | 34.4% | 9.8% | 82 |
| Ngororero | 27.7% | 9.6% | 83 |
| Nyabihu | 31.2% | 19.5% | 77 |
| Nyamasheke | 22.4% | 1.9% | 107 |
| Rubavu | 27.2% | 14.8% | 81 |
| Rusizi | 23.7% | 8.1% | 135 |
| Rutsiro | 28.6% | 2.6% | 77 |

Opinions and perceptions about VAW in partner relations: 70% of men and women agree with statements on acceptance and tolerance of partner violence. "Women have to accept and keep silent about the maltreatments in order to keep the family together" (married woman, 40 years old, Gicumbi). A woman in one of the focus groups explained how she deals with pain caused by partner violence: "When I am beaten up by my husband, I feel like a watch that has stopped. I lose time as I faint away. But at a certain

moment, like a watch that starts running again, I come back and I say, my husband is right, I should respect him" (married woman, 30 years old, Bugesera). This woman has managed to ignore her feelings of injustice and pain, so as to cope with the violence while focusing on her family.

Some data indicate that men may feel ashamed about their acts and deny their responsibility in committing harm to their wives. The fact that only 38% of men admitted to violence towards a partner may be related to their reluctance to disclose violent behavior to the interviewer. In the focus group discussions one man explained: "*Rwandan men are not great in saying what they did wrong, they prefer to lie and keep their truth inside" (data collector, 32 years old, Kigali). Other data collectors observed some discrepancies when they visited different houses in the same village. For example, it happened regularly that a male participant declared that he never used violence while other participants in the same village referred to him as somebody who used violence against his wife.*

Discussions in all focus groups revealed a moral rejection of the use of violence. However, women and men confirmed that, in specific cases, the use of VAW is justified. According to women and men in the mixed focus groups, 'immoral behavior' of women is the cause of all trouble and demands male interventions, as head of the family, with punishment. In focus groups with women only, all participants spoke against violence without exceptions, but they explained that acceptance of partner violence is a way to survive.

It is concluded that VAW in partner relations is based on deeply ingrained perceptions in society about gender inequality. Although women agree with their submissive role, they consider the beatings and forced sex as harmful violent acts. Men seem to be less aware of the harm and injustice of their acts and justify their behavior with their male family role. The self-perceptions of men are associated strongly with power and control over women.

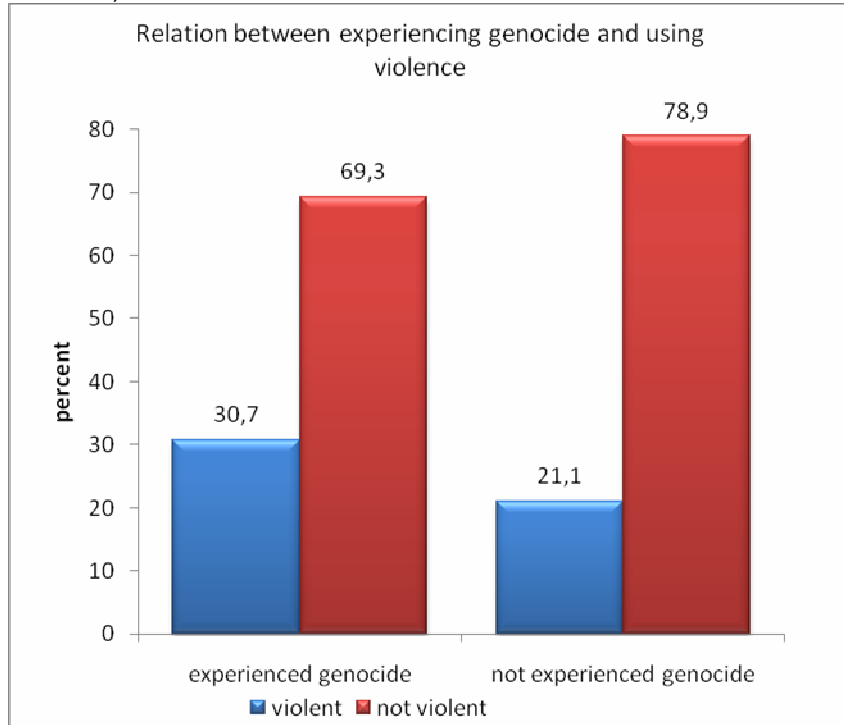
War/Genocide-related Violence

Graphic 10 (on page 38) illustrates the relation between experiences during genocide and the use of VAW after the genocide. The cross-analyses indicate that men who went through war and/or genocide tend to become violent against their partners more frequently than men who did not have these experiences.

Most participants (80%) in the study have passed through experiences of war related to violence and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. To protect the integrity and safety of all participants, there has not been an examination into the details of their experiences. However, knowledge about the facts of the enormous violence that took over the country in 1994 may suggest that

many participants witnessed and experienced forms of violence that have affected them seriously.

Graphic 10: Relation between experiencing war/genocide and VAW by men (Chi-square test: $p=0.000/n=2301$)



The violence and destruction during genocide has caused immense suffering and loss. These experiences have affected people's perceptions about humanity and about themselves. One male informant explained: *"My eyes have witnessed things that should remain out of scope of human experiences, but now the images are inside me and many of us, that changed the way we see the world"* (unmarried man, 40 years old, Kigali).

The violent experiences have caused traumatic stress that is visible in the way people deal with loss of relatives and friends, and in the way they deal with loss of trust in humanity. Participants in the focus group discussions referred indirectly to the influence of these internal conflicts several times: *"Sometimes men have inside conflicts. It is as if somebody knocks at the door and suddenly the door opens and the violence enters"* (married man, 50 years old, Bugesera).

In this research context, it is important to recognize how traumatic loss may have influenced and affected the self-esteem as well as the self-perceptions

of men who are considered traditionally as defenders of their country and their families.

Therefore, the impact of exposure of this type of violence on men's violent behavior can not be neglected. Further research would be needed to explore the relation between those experiences and the coping strategies of women and men to regulate aggression, frustration, anger and control over fear/vulnerability.

3.3 Gender Attitudes

Socio-economic Differences: Income and Education

The findings showed inequality between genders in socio-economic conditions. Most women and men gain money with formal and informal work activities; however, the mean income per month of women (12.409 RWF) is half of the mean income of men (24.870 RWF). Of all the female participants, 44.5% earn less than 4000 RWF per month, while 17% of men earn less than 4000 RWF. The striking differences in socio-economic conditions between genders revealed also the role of poverty and dependency of women to men in partner relationships.

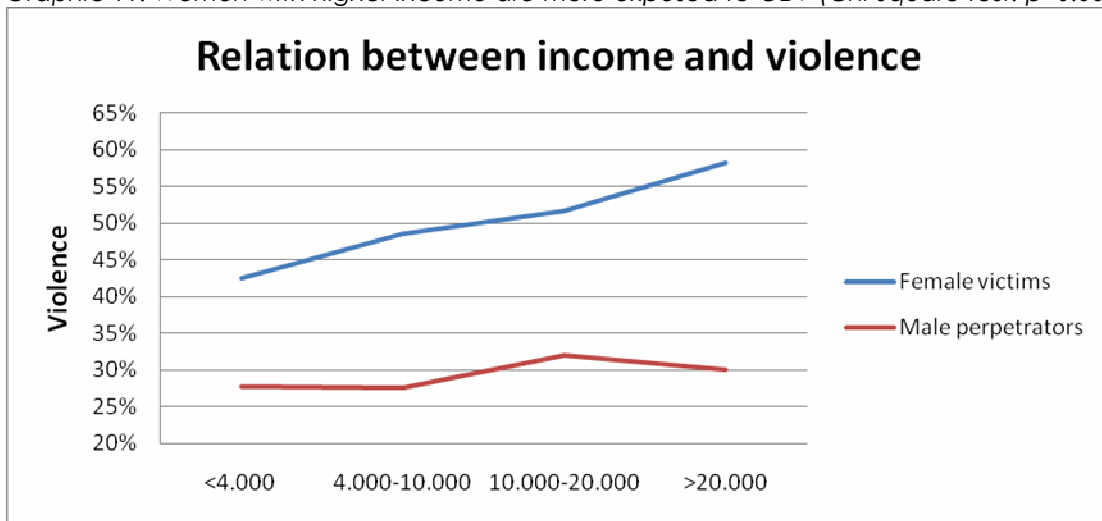
The field findings confirm that poverty and lack of means to run the household and family have a considerable impact on partner relations. A community member in the focus group explained the roots of conflict caused by poverty: *"Poverty provokes conflict. In a family with many children, the children have needs. The woman pressures the husband to bring means that will benefit the children, but the husband has no work and means to provide this support. He may make his wife to shut her mouth by beating her"* (married man, 45 years old, Huye). Another female participant responded: *"Where do I have to go when I bring my husband to prison? I still have to bring him food while he is not bringing anything to the house. I better keep silent about the problems in the house"* (married woman, 46 years old, Bugesera).

The refusal of male partners to share family income with women and the control of male partners over their wife's income is considered as economical violence and a GBV form. In cross-analysis between violence and income levels, it was found that VAW tends to intensify when women's income increases. On the other hand, a relation between the income of men and their use of violence was not found, implying that in every income level men committing violence is present. The difference is illustrated in graphic 11 (on page 40) and reflects the answers of women that have become a victim of violence and men who responded to having used VAW. The blue line shows that women with more income are more often exposed to violence of partners. These findings reflect the impact of deeply ingrained perceptions about power relations between genders and the struggling of men to deal

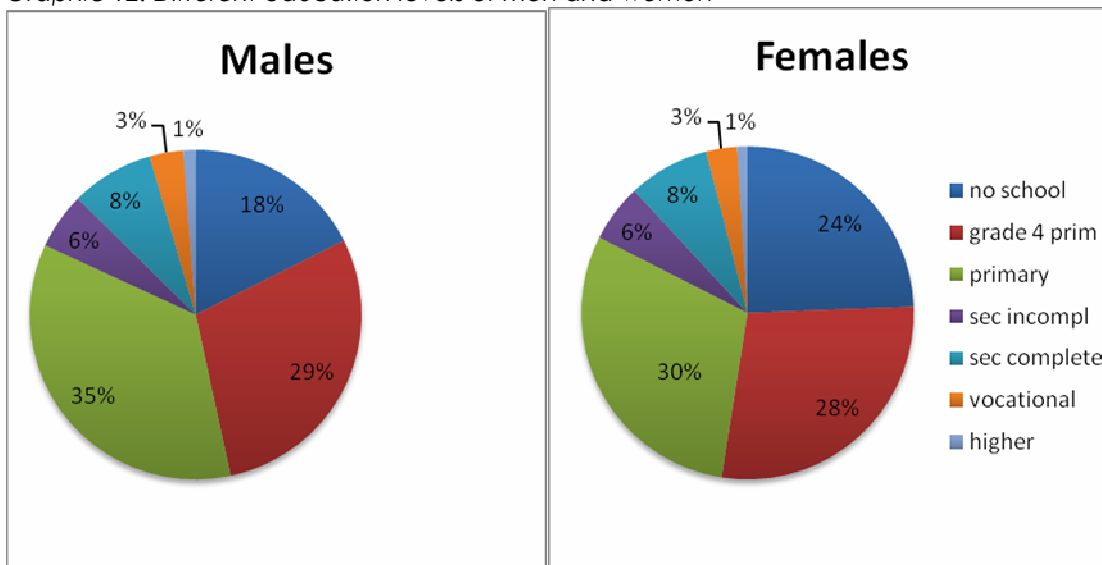
with changing gender roles in society. The dominant perception that domestic work and care-taking of children are women's tasks imply that women who are employed elsewhere will not be able to fulfil all presumed duties in the eyes of their husbands. Although her work and income may be praised in the public sphere, the power balances between partners may seriously be challenged and fuel conflicts within the private area.

The inequality between opportunities of women and men is demonstrated by slight differences in education levels. Women have lower levels of education than men. More than half of all respondents of the survey confirmed that men should earn more and have higher education than women.

Graphic 11: Women with higher income are more exposed to GBV (Chi Square test: $p=0.001$)



Graphic 12: Different education levels of men and women



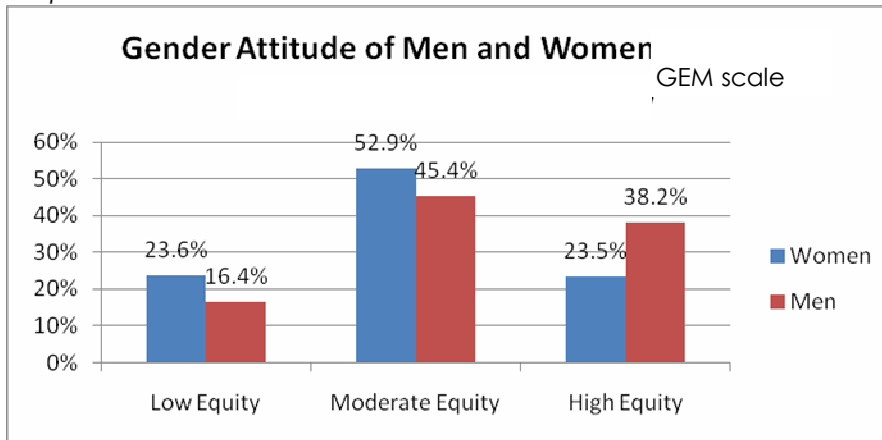
Perceptions and Attitudes: Gender Roles and Equality

The questionnaire includes a set of questions that compare the support of women and men to gender equitable norms. These questions are part of the GEM scale that is developed to measure support to norms of gender equality. The GEM scale includes statements about gender roles in society and the relations between women and men. The below table illustrates a set of statements in the GEM scale.

Table 6: GEM scale statements

| GEM SCALE ITEMS | Men (n=2301) | Women (n=1311) |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Totally Agree | Totally Agree |
| GENDER ROLES | | |
| A woman's most important role is to take care of her home. | 72.8% | 81.8% |
| Changing diapers, giving kids a bath, feeding the kids are mother's responsibilities. | 44.2% | 78.3% |
| It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant. | 31.6% | 50.6% |
| A man should have the final word about decision in his home. | 52.8% | 65.0% |
| A wife has to respect her husband and accept everything. | 45.4% | 53.5% |
| Woman should be lower educated than man. | 12.4% | 7.7% |
| GENDERED SOCIAL PRACTICES | | |
| A woman who does not prepare her body does not respect her husband. | 16.4% | 17.0% |
| A woman who did not do <i>gukuna</i> can never give pleasure to her husband. | 30.2% | 37.9% |
| MASCULINITIES | | |
| Men are always ready to have sex. | 38.9% | 63.4% |
| To be a man you need to be tough. | 14.3% | 13.8% |
| Men should be embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection. | 51.0% | 48.0% |
| A man is less of man if he earns less than his wife. | 21.2% | 14.0% |
| VIOLENCE | | |
| A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together. | 43.7% | 54.4% |
| A wife who earns more than her husband provokes violent. | 32.0% | 28.0% |

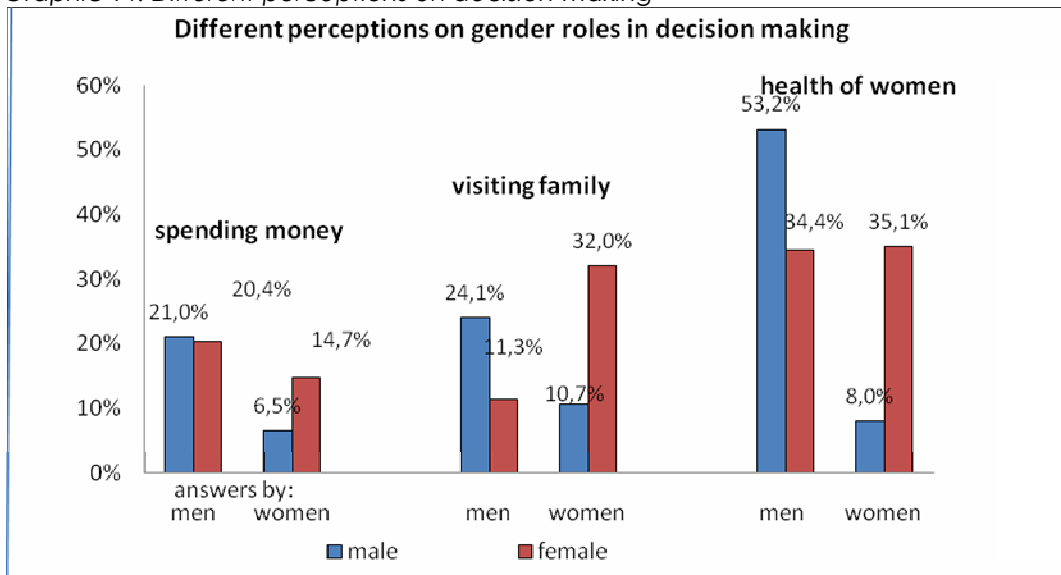
Graphic 13: Gender attitudes in GEM scale



The results show that men scored higher than women, which implies that men give higher support to gender equitable norms (table 6 and graphic 13). Men seem to perceive themselves as more equal in relation to women than women validate the relation with men. These findings may indicate that men are more aware of the importance of gender equality though other data show that men's responses contradict gender equality norms.

The findings contradict answers given by men to questions about their role in household decision-making, in terms of spending money, contributing family time and making health decisions for women and children. In opposite to men's perspectives who see themselves as the main decision-makers, women's answers point out that women make more decisions than men think their female partners do. These contradictions in opinions about decision-making are illustrated below in graphic 14.

Graphic 14: Different perceptions on decision-making



Power Relations: Gender Inequality and Sexual Relations

Opposite perceptions about partner relations between men and women are demonstrated in the way both genders value their sexual relations: men are more satisfied with the quality and frequency of sexual relations than women. Almost 90% of men are satisfied with sexual relations against only 60% of women. We can surmise that many men are content with current unequal balance of power in domestic relations. These differences may be explained by other findings, being that women experience violence and sexual force in their relations more often than men say they have committed.

The dissimilarity in experiences of women and men could be explained by different factors. In the first place men may not be aware of the impact of their behavior on women regarding the use of violence and abuse of power. The GBV-related campaigns and gender policies may have reached more women than men. Women recognize acts of beating and forced sex are forms of violence. Another factor may be related to the fact that men do not like to disclose their responsibility in acts of abuse and violence. Some men may present themselves as more gender friendly than found in daily life reality. Women experience their husband's acts and behavior as harmful and show discontent about the quality of partner relations. Nevertheless, they still consider men as the head of family who should dominate over women.

Table 7 reflects the opinions of women and men about power relations and confirms that power is at the male's side. The items in the graphic are recoded data (syntax), categorized by statements addressing power, sexual relations and violence. The percentages show the answers of women and men who partially and fully agreed with statements about violence and power differences.

Table 7: Power differences between men and women

| Power relations and sexual relations | Women's answers (n=1311) | Men's answers (n=2301) |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Men always are ready to have sex and do not talk about it but just do it. | 95.6% | 82.5% |
| Wife has to be submissive (accept everything). | 53.5% | 45.5% |
| VAW is needed to control a wife and women sometimes deserve to be beaten. | 70.6% | 59.4% |
| Women should prepare her body (gukuna) to respect the husband and give him pleasure. | 53.1% | 45.8% |
| Men have to earn more than women and women that earn more will provoke violence. | 50.8% | 57.4% |

The perceptions about the power differences and the role of men are determined obviously by social expectations of the male role as “head of family”. These expectations confirm masculinity perceptions that men have to dominate and control women as well the perception that sexual relations have to be controlled and dominated by the needs (and nature) of men.

Changing power relations and responses to change: The prevailing perceptions about gender relations in a society are shaped over generations, but many societies, including Rwanda, have gone through many changes in the last two decades. The promotion of gender equality policies in Rwanda has resulted in the adoption of a law against GBV. The survey included questions about the knowledge and opinions of this new law. The findings illustrate that the changes have reached almost all participants. In this study's context, the participants' responses are an indicator of reactions to change in power relations promoted in gender policies.

Most participants (85%) are informed about the Government of the Republic of Rwanda's new gender policy that addresses promotion of gender equality through the property law and through the law against GBV. However, their opinion about the law against violence is predominantly negative. Almost all women and men consider this law as too harsh for men (95%); a very small percentage (men: 3.6% and women: 5.1%) see the law as helpful for women.

These findings have been discussed in two focus group discussions. A male participant states: *“The government made a law that only protects women and takes away the power of men. Women feel empowered because she has the law at her side”* (married man, 49 years old, Bugesera). Many participants share the idea that women have interpreted the law in a wrong way and that this contributes to conflicts between partners. A female representative of social affairs explained: *“The new law protects the rights of women. But Rwandan women interpreted the law badly. They think that these laws take away our habits and they think that they are equal to men. The equality in sharing tasks and responsibilities has resulted in losing our values. This is the source of violence”* (married women, 32 years old, Huye).

The loss of values is found in a perceived lack of respect from women to the husband, using provoking language, leaving the house without the permission of the husband and neglecting her household duties. According to the informants, women's behavior provokes violence of the husband. Women are seen as the main source of trouble. Several men and women in the groups declare that the law has contributed to an increase of violence against men. The study has no data about the evidence of violence against men, but qualitative data show fears and rumours about violent women. These opinions are illustrated by a statement from a pastor: *“Before, women*

had no rights on nothing. But now, with the new law, she has right on everything. There are women who profit from this by violating men, because they think that they are liberated to do everything they want with the husband. The women can kill the men, so men are afraid now. The government has to take measures to protect the men" (married man, 52 years old, Bugesera).

A female participant continues: *"Now women go immediately to the police. The reinforcement of women gives them the courage to beat their husbands" (widow, 44 years old, Bugesera).* All participants in two groups agreed with the fact that the law fuels conflicts at a household level due to changes in power relations. Obviously, nobody considered the law against GBV as applicable for men. A male community leader: *"I understand the law well. But no man will bring his complaints to the police and tell him that his wife beats him. The police will laugh and make jokes about him. They say: How is it possible that you, a man, can be beaten up by a woman? "* (married man, 48 years old, Huye).

On page 46, table 8 provides the data of the incidence of VAW in the districts and the opinions about the law against GBV in the same districts as indicated by men. The findings show that, despite the high incidence of VAW, the opinions about the law are predominantly negative.

Table 8: Percentage of men reporting VAW as well as knowledge and perception about a GBV law by different geographical locations in Rwanda

| | VAW (n=2301) | RAPE last year (n=2301) | KNOWLEGDE ABOUT GBV LAW (n=2301) | GBV law makes it too easy for women to bring a violence charge to police (n=2301) |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| EASTERN PROVINCE | | | | |
| Bugesera | 40.3% | 11.1% | 87.5% | 87.5% |
| Gatsibo | 15.3% | 1.7% | 91.5% | 83.1% |
| Kayonza | 26.1% | 5.8% | 78.3% | 80.9% |
| Kirehe | 25.5% | 3.6% | 80.0% | 83.6% |
| Ngoma | 26.0% | 9.6% | 84.9% | 78.1% |
| Nyagatare | 31.7% | 1.6% | 76.2% | 77.8% |
| Rwamagana | 28.3% | 8.5% | 81.0% | 71.7% |
| KIGALI PROVINCE | | | | |
| Gasabo | 33.3% | 11.1% | 91.7% | 80.6% |
| Kicukiro | 47.6% | 9.5% | 95.1% | 92.7% |
| Nyarugenge | 20.5% | 9.1% | 88.6% | 79.5% |
| NORTHERN PROVINCE | | | | |
| Burera | 31.8% | 4.5% | 93.8% | 87.9% |
| Gakenke | 40.0% | 8.2% | 89.4% | 81.7% |
| Gicumbi | 30.5% | 1.7% | 91.5% | 88.1% |
| Musanze | 40.0% | 12.5% | 83.8% | 76.3% |
| Rulindo | 27.4% | 6.0% | 89.3% | 79.3% |
| SOUTHERN PROVINCE | | | | |
| Gisagara | 32.0% | 0% | 68.0% | 60.8% |
| Huye | 27.7% | 1.5% | 74.1% | 74.1% |
| Kamonyi | 31.9% | 5.8% | 76.8% | 82.6% |
| Muhanga | 24.4% | 14.1% | 76.3% | 75.0% |
| Nyamagabe | 27.9% | 4.9% | 95.1% | 89.3% |
| Nyanza | 17.1% | 3.9% | 71.6% | 71.6% |
| Nyaruguru | 36.5% | 8.3% | 88.6% | 79.5% |
| Ruhango | 15.3% | 11.8% | 51.9% | 67.6% |
| WESTERN PROVINCE | | | | |
| Karongi | 34.4% | 8.5% | 100% | 92.7% |
| Ngororero | 27.7% | 8.4% | 69.9% | 72.3% |
| Nyabihu | 31.2% | 14.3% | 86.8% | 73.0% |
| Nyamasheke | 22.4% | 1.9% | 75.7% | 86.0% |
| Rubavu | 27.2% | 13.6% | 74.1% | 68.4% |
| Rusizi | 23.7% | 5.2% | 84.4% | 83.0% |
| Rutsiro | 28.6% | 2.6% | 98.7% | 93.5% |

The survey included questions that explored the knowledge and the opinions about the law against GBV. Most men (65.2%) think that the law is not protecting women enough and 31.1% of males think the law will increase stigma of women that suffer from GBV. The overall data show that women

and men see the law as problematic. Among all interviewed women 72.6% consider the GBV law as 'not protective enough' and 39.6% sees the law as a measure that increases stigmatization and suffering of women exposed to GBV.

The dynamics of response to implementation of gender policies are likely to cause conflicts and/or tensions between genders when the policies are not well understood. The data does not specify significant differences between rural areas and the urban areas since nearly all participants' responses are the same. Thus, the information about gender policies has reached many people, although the interpretations may be different.

Key informants of gender policy-makers in the government recognize the reactions from the field. They explain the reactions as rebalancing powers, because men want women to bring money, but they do not want women to take over power. However, most policy-makers think that these kinds of reactions only represent a small minority of the population that did not understand the law in a proper way. In addition, gender specialists working in NGOs tend to see the application of gender policies as positive.

Most key informants see the reactions of men as a positive sign, as men start to realize that they have no natural powers but privileges and power that is constructed in society. Some of the NGO representatives think that a more strict and harsh punishment for men will help to stop the use of VAW, while others recognize that more actions are needed at the grassroots levels. Listening to the opinions and experiences from the participants in this study, we conclude that the responses at community and household levels have to be taken seriously. The many positive efforts to implement gender policies show unexpected dynamics at grassroots levels that demand attention in the design of future programs to tackle VAW.

3.4 Socio-Cultural Norms and Values

Norms and values are constructed and transmitted in a particular society. These norms and values are passed over to generations and will change/adapt in an ongoing process within a culture. Cultures change over time and are not static entities. The transmission of norms and values over generations takes place in families, churches, educational institutions, etc. The socio-cultural practices regarding family life and marriage have been traditionally important in the transmission of norms and values. The survey included some questions about traditional socio-cultural practices in order to see in how much certain traditional norms and values are still being transmitted.

Socio-cultural Practices

A study (MIGEPROF/UNFPA, 2002) in the beliefs, attitudes and socio-cultural practices in Rwanda demonstrated that the socio-cultural practices of Dowry, Gukuna, Rapt and Kweza are practiced still in the country. The MIGEPROF/UNFPA report mentioned that most people encourage the paying of bride wealth that is considered as protection of the family honor. The practice of Gukuna (lengthening of female smaller lips) is practiced still by a majority of women. The practice of Rapt (taking a girl by force to marry) and the practice of Kweza (women obliged to have sexual intercourse with a male relative from the in-law family, after the death of her husband, as an unavoidable step in the process of closing the mourning period) are becoming more rare, though identified still in some rural districts.

The results in our research data confirm these findings and show that 89.7% women and 25.8% of men practiced one or more of the mentioned practices. More than half of the participants consider the social-cultural practices as important in their life.

Table 9: Practice and opinions about socio-cultural practices

| Socio-cultural practices | Men | Women |
|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Important | 51.9% | 66.0 % |
| Practiced in life | 25.8% | 89.7% |
| Should be abolished | 9.6% | 28.7% |
| No opinion | 38.5% | 5.3% |

The table shows that women are more outspoken in their opinions than men. Almost one third of the women think the practices should be abolished, while only 9.6% of men are of this opinion. These differences may be an indication that women suffer from negative and harmful consequences of these practices.

The opinions about Gukuna were discussed in female focus groups. Although most women practiced this, they consider it mainly as an act of respect towards the husband since the preparation of her body gives him more sexual pleasure. Discussions revealed that no preparation is planned for young boys to work on their body for sexual pleasure of their future wives. The other practices have not been explored in focus groups, but the conclusions of the MIGEPROF/UNFPA report definitely show that the practices are based on unequal gender relations that include harmful elements.

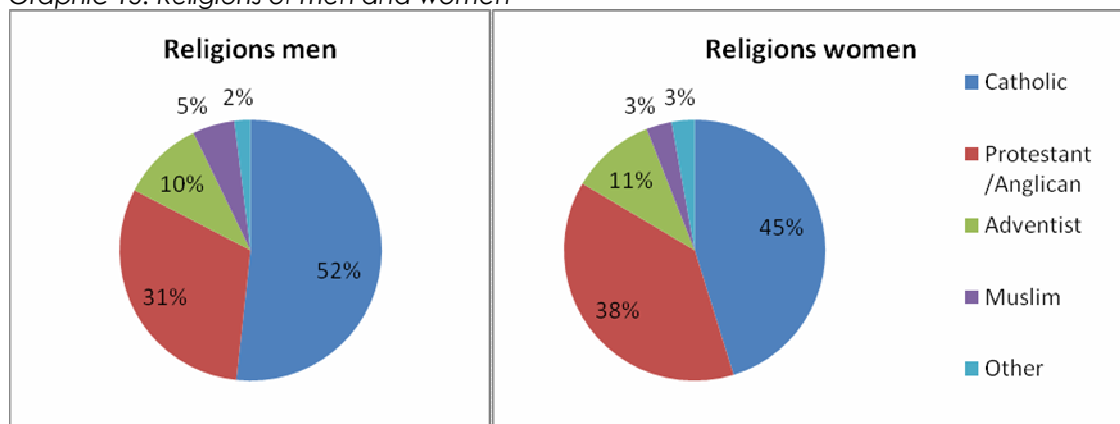
Religions

Churches are important institutions in transmission and construction of social norms and values. Rwanda is a country with many different churches and almost all people go to a church. Graphic 15 (on page 49) shows that almost all Rwandans consider themselves as religious.

Nearly all participants regularly visit a church or a mosque. Most participants are Catholics, Anglicans, or Protestants. A smaller number are Muslims or Adventists. The social norms and values transmitted by religions have a considerable impact on the prevailing moral attitudes and opinions about 'doing good and wrong' as well as perceptions about gender relations. In the focus group discussions, several illustrations of perceptions were found that derive from interpretations of the Bible. A male community leader: *"The Bible says that women can not be the same as men because they are made of the bone of Adam. They are made to complete the men"* (married man, 47 years old, Bugesera).

In all focus group discussions, similar statements were heard that were used to justify gender inequality and explain gender roles as made by nature and God, and not socially constructed in society. Thus, the gender roles taught by churches and/or socio-cultural practices play an important role in construction of masculinity perceptions.

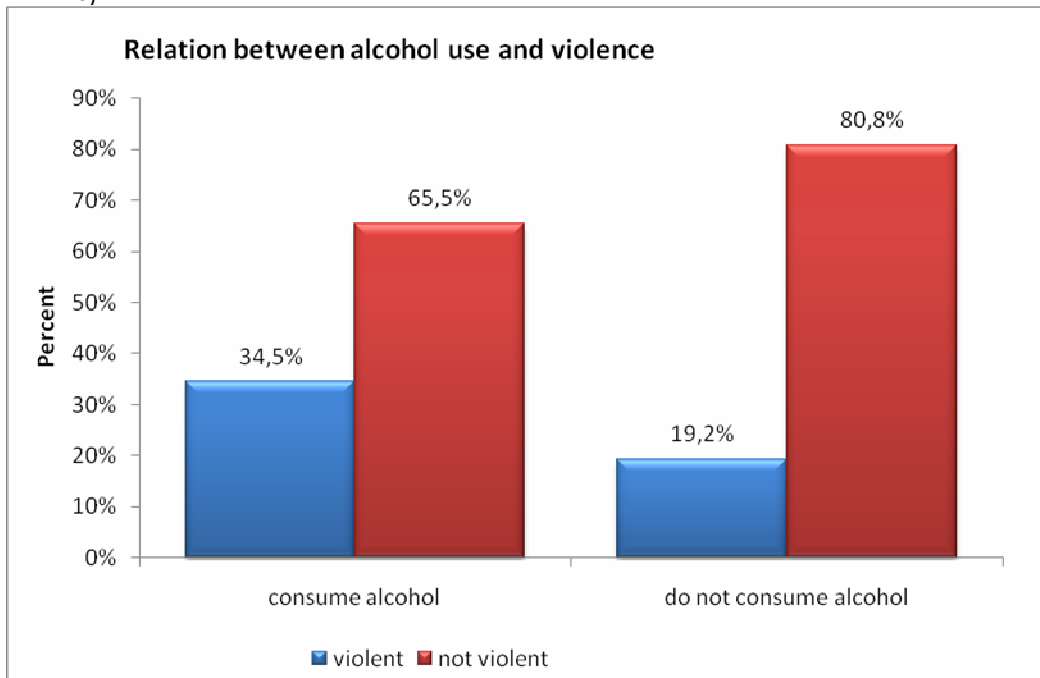
Graphic 15: Religions of men and women



Risk behavior and alcohol consumption: The transmission of social values and norms takes place in formal and informal institutions as described above. In how far these values and norms are practiced in daily life is reflected in people's actions. For the purpose of this study, male risks behavior in sexual practices and substance abuse were examined. Many people see alcohol and drug abuse as an important cause of violence. In addition, sex with sex workers or other 'girl friends' is often seen as the main source of conflicts. The data showed that 15.0% of male respondents sometimes or often have sex with a sex worker. The exchange of sex for goods takes place in 18.2% of all male respondents. More than half of all males consume alcohol, especially in the age group above 35 years old (70%), but only 16.7% say they drink more than three times a week. The comparative analysis indicated that consumption of alcohol is correlated with violent behavior of men towards women.

In summary, it is assumed that the risk behaviors play a role in VAW. However, the abuse of alcohol has to be seen as one of the causes that can lead to violent acts towards women, due to loss of control induced by alcohol. The fact that the violence is directed towards women is related to GBV roots in unequal power relations. Therefore, the high prevalence rates of GBV can not be ascribed to high alcohol consumption only, but have to be considered as an expression of power inequality between men and women.

Graphic 16: Alcohol consumption in relation to partner violence (Chi-square test: $p=0.000$; $n=2216$)



3.5 Masculinity Perceptions

Roots of Negative Masculinity

The stereotypes of masculinity perceptions that consider men as defenders of their country and family honor as well as procreators of life and family can be easily identified in Rwanda. The data show that almost all participants agree that men need to be tough, need more sex and are always ready for sex. They are the head of the family. As defined by the Bible and nature, their role as protectors and bosses of the family will automatically give them the right to control and dominate their wife. Subsequently, this task implicates that women have to be submissive and accept their female roles as complementary with men.

GBV is part of normal life and although everybody agrees that VAW does not belong to Rwandan culture, the acts of beating and forced sex are considered as warnings and punishments of women who do not fulfil their role in a proper way. The cultural norms and values as transmitted by traditions dominate still the prevailing perceptions and are opposite to new policies and the modernization of society. The changes in society after the genocide and the introduction of a gender policy which promotes gender equality are perceived as undermining the role of men and giving power to women.

Roots of Positive Masculinity

The willingness of male participants to contribute to the study show that men are motivated positively to be involved in solving the problems they face in daily life with spouses. They like to tell their side of the problems and give their suggestions on how to improve their partner relations. One informant explained: *"My responsibility is to look after my wife not as an object but as a human being. I want to be her model and even when she provokes my anger, I have to show her that I can control my anger. She will be proud of me as a husband who is capable to control anger and she will also control hers"* (married man, 54 years old, Bugesera).

Men seem to be aware of the immorality of violent behavior, although they may have some problems reflecting on their own acts. The answers show that most men will intervene when they witness a VAW case, confirming their awareness that violence is immoral and unjust. The earlier mentioned factors of exposure to violence in life and the immense experiences of powerlessness and vulnerability should be taken into consideration in the way men handle feelings of frustration and insecurity caused by negatively affected self-esteem.

Chapter IV**CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Conclusions

Positive masculinity of Rwandan men may be undermined by men's involvement with violence in childhood and during conflict.

The rapid changes in society after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi resulted in new roles and perspectives for women. Men's masculinity perceptions as defenders and leaders of families are affected by changes. The social expectations of male's role as heads of family, defenders of country and procreators of life contradicts with the daily reality where women run households, earn money and have rights, confirmed by new laws and gender policies.

The process of modernization in society is encouraged by progressive gender policies of the Government of the Republic of Rwanda. However, the process of change goes along with power imbalances in gender relations at grassroots levels and within households. Transmission of socio-cultural norms and values by schools, churches and socio-cultural practices in families are accelerated less in the process of modernization of society and may fuel conflicts at household levels.

The findings make known that the roles of men and women are defined by power differences between genders. The role of women as care takers of children, cooks, and cleaners in the house go along with submissiveness towards the control and dominance of the men. Men are seen as the head of families with privileged positions in sexual relations and economic opportunities. Nevertheless, the changes in society have created new realities for women and men. Many women became head of the households after losing their partners during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi or due to the fact that their husbands spent many years in prison. Men had to face their loss of power, due to experiences in war and genocide as well as changes in gender policies.

The progressive gender policies of the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and many efforts of other actors to promote gender equality have a visible impact on the opinions and experiences of Rwandan women and men. Nevertheless, the new realities and policies have not resulted in linear changes on people's perceptions towards progressive gender equality norms. The process of change takes place with resistance, power imbalances and conflicts at household levels. Men can not be assumed to understand the purpose of gender equality policies, particularly, men who perceive themselves as struggling in finding socially and economically a place in life, unless they are engaged in the process.

In order to guide this process of changing power relations and prevent an increase of GBV, men and boys as well as women and girls should be involved actively. The process of change demands a public space where traditional perceptions may be discussed, evaluated and modified. The churches, community structures and formal educational institutions have an important role to play in opening space for new perspectives on gender relations. The public services have an important role to facilitate support and care for families struggling with conflicts. The criminalization of abuse and violence has to remain one basic response to GBV, but interventions that encourage people to change their minds and attitudes by dialogue, education and support may have a considerable impact on creating peace in mind and peace at home.

Recommendations

The study revealed the impact of men's exposure to violence that has affected their self esteem and masculinity perceptions, in particular, their subsequent use of violence against their female partners. Further studies into the impact of exposure and involvement of violence on male's perceptions on masculinity are needed to get a better understanding of their violent behavior towards women.

Based on the findings that show the gap between changes in society and the socio-cultural norms and values in society, a bottom up strategy is indicated. Community-based programs and the practical operation of policies at the local level have to support as well as guide women and men into changing attitudes involving the health, education, justice, and economical development sectors.

Awareness trainings, psychosocial support programs and campaigns have to be developed with a special focus on male environments like the police and army. The promotion of positive masculinity and involvement of men and boys in changing attitudes towards women should connect to positive identity construction and include positive messages. The following strategies have been discussed with different stakeholders in a validation workshop of the study findings in Kigali on 14 September 2010.

HEALTH

- ✓ Community-based, psychosocial support programs that mediate in conflicts at home between partners with a focus on victim care, safety network building, and trainings from a gender equal perspective (e.g. good neighbors model from Mozambique) shows that changes in coping styles of women have a positive impact on men's attitudes towards GBV (Slegel 2009).

- ✓ Trainings for health professionals in identification of problems caused by GBV, communication skills that support victims in disclosing abuse and mediation skills that include promotion of equitable views on masculinity.
- ✓ Health promotion campaigns to highlight the symptoms, signs and GBV consequences. The campaigns should disseminate information on specific places where people (e.g. families, women, men) may find psychosocial support and guidance to find alternative ways in coping with conflicts. The messages should include hope and address men's responsibilities and capabilities to change. These approaches may target cases of conflicts in a preventive stage, which do not have to be resolved at police offices.
- ✓ Increase numbers of men serving as health educators and providers.
- ✓ Implementation of One Stop centers throughout the country and improvement of the quality of service delivery by training the staff.
- ✓ GBV campaigns with a focus on pregnant women, unwanted pregnancies and teenage pregnancies.

EDUCATION

The results indicated a high prevalence of power abuse and violence in schools and demand serious interventions with all institutions of formal education, starting with pre-primary through university. Families and churches are important socialization sites of informal education that have to be addressed also.

Schools and Universities

- ✓ Development of school programs and education materials for diverse age groups of children on gender issues including GBV.
- ✓ Psychosocial support and helpdesks in schools and universities that facilitate disclosure of abuse and GBV.
- ✓ Training for teachers in role modelling of positive masculinity and femininity.
- ✓ Creating teachers and parent committees for purposes of bringing together teachers, parents, students, and stakeholders to address issues of gender and GBV.
- ✓ Putting in place gender-sensitive sanitation facilities.

- ✓ Increased numbers of men engaged in gender awareness education.
- ✓ Teacher training in non-violent child guidance and policies that hold teachers accountable when they use violence.
- ✓ Targeting children and young adolescents in awareness-raising campaigns.

Churches, Families and Communities

- ✓ Training of church leaders and establishment of church-related programs that promote and guide a process of change in perceptions about gender equality. The churches have an important role to play in the eradication of GBV through statements rejecting the use of VAW.
- ✓ Training of community leaders and carrying out of campaigns at community levels that tackle aspects and practices (e.g., violation of women's rights).
- ✓ Implementation of community-based, psycho-social support groups that give a semi-public space to problems that men and women face in daily life. The model of community-based sociotherapy (Byumba and Nyamata) provides women and men a safe environment to discuss the problems and find solutions together. The disclosure of problems in the community groups resulted in increased social cohesion in communities and prevents isolation and stigmatization of victims and (ex) perpetrators (Richters et al 2010).

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND JUSTICE SECTOR

Acknowledgement of social distress of men caused by unemployment and other traumatic experiences needs to be integrated in strategies that aim to involve men in promoting gender equality. Men should be involved actively in the promotion of women's rights on work and good education. Positive female and male leadership at work, school, churches, and home have to be demonstrated and highlighted in campaigns, TV spots, and radio messages. Access to work and income of women have to be encouraged while economical violence has to be explained as injustice towards women. Men acting as role models may be used to bring these messages across.

Justice

- ✓ Explanations of the GBV law in publications on TV and radio that includes positive messages.
- ✓ Targeting married couples in disseminating the GBV law.

- ✓ Dissemination of the laws at grassroots levels by social activists trained in the communities. These activists may use accessible methods like theater role plays at strategic places within communities and give space for debate. Other accessible methods like the dissemination of cartoons and open debates on radio/TV may be used to deal with mistrust in understandings about the GBV law.
- ✓ Training police, army and legal professionals in psychological aspects of GBV.
- ✓ Creating networks of public services between police, health, social affairs and psychosocial support organizations in order to make support for victims and families affected by GBV accessible at community levels.
- ✓ Reinforcement and expansion of existing services for GBV victims.
- ✓ Legal assistance service to GBV victims within RWAMREC.

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