Perceived Risk Factors Driving Youth Involvement in Violence in Eastern DRC: Situational Analysis and Programming Options
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## Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNH</td>
<td>Do No Harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARDC</td>
<td>Armed Forces of the DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KII</td>
<td>Key Informant Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L&amp;L</td>
<td>Listening and Learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUSCO</td>
<td>United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NK</td>
<td>North Kivu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPD</td>
<td>Noyau de Paix et de Dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNC</td>
<td>Congolese National Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search</td>
<td>Search for Common Ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender Based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SK</td>
<td>South Kivu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Infection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ToR</td>
<td>Terms of reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YLR</td>
<td>Youth Led Research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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DISCLAIMER

The present report was produced by Search for Common Ground to inform governments’ and donors’ youth engagement strategies in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The report carries the authors’ names and thus should be cited accordingly. It was prepared by Search for Common Ground and authored by Carlotta Fassiotti and Andrew Clark. To request further information please contact Carlotta Fassiotti at cfassiotti@sfcg.org or Andrew Clark at aclark@sfcg.org. This report is also available on Search For Common Ground’s website.

The research team would like to thank the youth researchers who were at the forefront of this research in the development of the methodology, the data collection, and the data analysis. Without their contributions, this document would not have been possible. The team would also like to acknowledge the support of Search for Common Ground’s Program Manager for Children and Youth, Rachel Walsh Taza, for her invaluable contributions to the development of the data collection methodology, the youth researchers’ training, and the review of the report. In addition, the team acknowledges Leonard Ndikiminwe, an external consultant, for his important work in preparing the data collection, the training of the youth, and the facilitation of the data collection and analysis with the youth in both North and South Kivu. The authors would also like to thank Melody Musser who lead the initial review and data analysis. Finally, the team would like to acknowledge Josue Kabanza, Marc Abdallah, Sylvie Bora, and Marcellin Mugashano for their support in the research preparation, the identification of the youth researchers, the training facilitation and the data collection, as well as Andrea Barboza for her support of youths’ restitution in Rutshuru and Sange.

Cover and layout design: Christine Ongjoco
Photos credits: Leonard Ndikiminwe
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Search for Common Ground (Search) conducted a youth-led research exercise between June and August 2019 in order to better understand the dynamics of youth participation in violence in North and South Kivu and to make recommendations for youth involvement programming in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It builds on a study conducted by Trauma Treatment International that involved ex-combatants, adults, and youth from communities in the same area. This study used a Youth-Led Research approach and all of the data collected and presented in this report are based on the perceptions of the respondents, including both youth and adult community members. The research focuses on three main gaps in the current literature, namely: (i) the perceived push factors for youth engagement into violence; (ii) the protective factors that prevent youth engagement in violence; and (iii) the significance of youth engagement in violence: perceived processes and effects.

Research was conducted in Rutshuru territory in North Kivu and in Sange district in South Kivu in July and August 2019. It reached a total of 848 respondents-- 404 females and 444 males. Under the supervision of a facilitator, the youth researchers carried out the preliminary data analysis, which the research team then triangulated.

First, it is important to highlight that the main target of the study was not, nor was it ever intended to be, youth categorized as “violent” (i.e., former and/or ex-combatants). Rather, the study focused on Rutshuru and Sange’s youth populations, as well as their adults. Therefore, the majority of responses collected are the perceptions of the inhabitants of the targeted communities regarding what drives certain youth to engage in violence, and are not based on factual events or on the responses of violent youth themselves. Nevertheless, the perceptions of community members living in the zones targeted by the study were important when seeking to understand the stereotypes and prejudices towards youth in Rutshuru and Sange, as well as the perceptions of their level and type of engagement in violence.

The research was structured along three primary lines of inquiry: the perceived push factors for youth engagement in violence; protective factors that prevent youth from engaging in violence; and the impact and patterns of youth engagement in violence. Additionally, before discussing these questions in great detail, respondents from focus group discussions and key informant interviews described the characteristics of violence in their communities.

North and South Kivu face acute levels of insecurity, instability, and intercommunal conflict, exposing youth to harassment by armed groups, criminal gangs, and members of state security forces. These transpire in the form of kidnappings, armed robbery, petty theft, illegal roadblocks, arbitrary detention, and cattle rustling. In South Kivu, cattle raiding was identified as a major source of violence, while in North Kivu violence driven by land conflicts was named as a key source of violence. In both the research zones, sexual violence, primarily against women and girls, was identified as the most prevalent form of violence. The research also found that different cyclical events, such as the May-September dry season as well as harvests periods and other economic trends can lead to spikes in violence throughout the year.

1 Search for Common Ground (2017). Youth-led Research
The research found that a wide range of political, socio-economic, social-psychological, and individual push factors contribute to youth participation in violence. The responses provided by respondents suggest that rather than a single push factor, numerous different factors influence whether or not youth engage in violence. Political push factors included exposure to insecurity, incidence of intercommunal conflict, impunity, and corruption. Respondents identified socio-economic push factors, such as access to economic opportunities and education. These were noted to be particularly salient when they correlated with existing horizontal inequalities tied to ethnicity or other identity markers. Social-psychological factors largely related to the perceptions that adults held towards youth, which can exacerbate socio-political alienation: many adults cast youth as alcoholic drug users. However, the traumatic impact caused by living in a state of chronic insecurity was also named. In general, youth responses tended to focus on systemic factors within their environment that prevented the fulfillment of basic needs, such as belonging, meaning, esteem, and agency. On the other hand, adults tended to attribute the decision to participate in violence to individual failures and behavioral deficiencies.

The participants in the study named three major types of protective factors that decrease youth engagement in violence: 1) actions/initiatives that aim to increase youth's participation in community life and decision making; 2) a strong foundation of formal and informal education; and 3) access to sustainable livelihoods. Mirroring the conversation on push factors, participants noted that no single protective factor can sufficiently ensure that youth do not engage in violence. Yet, an overwhelming number of participants noted that existing mechanisms are not effective at sustainably dissuading young people from engaging in violence. They noted that in many cases initiatives and programs that are meant to engage youth and promote youth participation fail to adequately promote their ownership and role from the beginning.

This research learned that even a relatively small portion of youth engaging in violence can have serious consequences on community life, as well as on relationships between youth and other community members. According to interviews in the community, the attitudes and perceptions of adults towards youth are often negative. While this is a result of the violence, it can also motivate other youth to engage in violence in the first place. Overall, a legacy of violence in the Eastern DRC, as well as traumatic experiences faced both by youth and communities at-large, has strained relationships between youth and the wider community, undoing much of the social fabric.2

In terms of how this violence affects the youth themselves, differences were detected among female and male youth. Young men are often perceived as the victims of physical violence, manipulation or harassment by authorities, whereas young women are perceived as the victims of GBV, which contributes to the perception that girls carry Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). Girls are also known to be the victims of early and forced marriage, in addition to socio-economic discrimination, especially in South Kivu.

Many respondents discussed the impact they see violence having on individuals, families and communities. In North and South Kivu, major consequences included imprisonment, injury, death, STIs, and other illness-
es, as well as persistent poverty and loss of respect within society. While in North Kivu the most frequently mentioned impact of violence was displacement or rural exodus, in South Kivu the impact of trauma and corresponding deteriorating mental health conditions were most frequently cited.

Search worked with youth researchers to generate a set of recommendations based on these findings in order to better orient policy and initiatives aimed at building peace and empowering youth.

**Key Stakeholders**

- **Partnering with existing, community-based structures.** Where possible, donors and international NGOs should aim to partner with existing, community-based structures dedicated to pursuing peace-building and other empowerment-related actions in their own communities.

- **Ensuring inclusive participation of all stakeholders.** Interventions that aim to empower youth and contribute to community engagement must be done in an inclusive way to ensure they do not exacerbate horizontal inequalities or dividers within communities.

- **Engaging key influencers.** Program interventions should aim to identify and engage the key influencers in the zone of operations. By engaging the people with the legitimacy and the moral authority, programs will be able to more effectively drive enduring positive youth engagement.

- **Targeting youth and parents.** The study found great discrepancies in the perception of adults towards youth and vice versa. Therefore, in aiming to empower youth, program interventions should also engage parents and adults to get them to allow youth a “seat at the table”. Only by reinforcing trust and cohesion between generations will youth be sustainably empowered.

**Key Programmatic Interventions**

- **Mainstreaming community-based trauma healing programs.** The effects of trauma were repeatedly raised by participants throughout the study. Given the extent to which populations in Eastern Congo have experienced violence and suffer from trauma, program interventions aimed at reinforcing social cohesion and empowerment should integrate psychosocial support into all projects, since it is likely that program stakeholders and beneficiaries have experience with trauma.

- **Cultivating intergenerational dialogue.** The divergent perceptions of youth and adults about the other repeatedly surfaced in the focus groups and key informant interviews. The divergent understanding of problems between youth and adults engender drastically different responses. Therefore, it is vital that program interventions cultivate meaningful intergenerational dialogue that facilitates a shared understanding and diagnosis of problems so that joint actions can be taken in a way that reinforces trust and strengthens relationships.

- **Promoting youth entrepreneurship and business skills.** Interventions should include vocational/skills training, as well as additional skills on business management and entrepreneurship, that can encourage youth to both think more creatively about identifying livelihood opportunities in the long term, as well as reinforce their self-esteem.
Advancing community-based reintegration of ex-combatants. Given the recurrent shortcomings of DDR in Eastern Congo, program interventions should go further in de-stigmatizing ex-combatants and repairing trust between them and communities. In addition to this and “traditional DDR” approaches, which provide economic and skill building opportunities, support should be provided on trauma healing, managing alcohol and drug abuse, and conflict transformation skills.

Key Approaches

- Ensuring Do No Harm and Conflict Sensitivity. Interventions should ensure a conflict sensitive approach by understanding all connectors and dividers within a given context.

- Mainstreaming gender inclusion. Program approaches should ensure that the specific needs of young women are taken into account and addressed within the project strategy.

- Preferring youth-led and designed programs. Youth should be at the center of youth empowerment interventions at all stages of program implementation. Youth-led and youth-designed interventions should be preferred over pre-established and pre-designed activities that only include youth among other participants. By ensuring a participatory design engaging young people, intervenors and donors can be more confident that the eventual program will respond to the true needs of youth. They will stand a better chance of being accepted by youth, thereby promoting enduring change and sustainability.

- Enhancing youth participation in decision making. Interventions should increase the participation of youth at the local, provincial, and national level in order to ensure that their perspectives are taken into account as part of important national conversations. Youth inclusion will also help young people be seen more favorably by other community stakeholders.
1. CONTEXT

Youth under 25 constitute 67% of the population of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (2014), which is slightly higher than the average in Sub-Saharan Africa (60%). This rapidly growing youth population has the potential to serve as an engine of social and economic growth; however, persistent conflicts and political stability have consistently stymied positive youth development and their access to basic services.

Many studies have been conducted on youth and violence; however, much of it has not sufficiently explained certain dynamics around the engagement of certain youth in violence, notably: (i) perceived push factors that lead youth to engaging in violence; (ii) protective factors that prevent youth from engaging in violence; and (iii) the significance of youth engagement in violence: perceived processes and effects.

2. METHODOLOGY

This section describes the methodological approach used and explains why Search chose to use this approach. It is followed by a presentation of the selected zones for research, a description of the process for implementing the chosen data collection tools, the period of the study, the data collection process, the data analysis, ethical considerations, the data collection team, and the study’s limitations.

2.1 APPROACH

Youth-led research (YLR) is a powerful tool for youth empowerment and engagement in their communities, contributing to a better understanding of the problems that exist there. Youth-led research is an approach that engages youth in decision making, strengthens their leadership skills, and improves their relationships with members of their community. Youth-led research positively impacts young people in a variety of ways, including by strengthening their relationships with the other community members. For this study, which is centered on youth and violence, the expectation was that the results collected, analyzed and generated by youth would shed light on the dynamics of youth participation in violence in Eastern DRC for numerous relevant actors: youth, their communities, and decision-makers.

While youth-led research may also empower youth in becoming change agents themselves, the study’s principal focus remains informing donors about the perceptions of youth about their age-group’s engagement in violence.

---

5 WB literature review
2.2 RESEARCH ZONES

The provinces of North and South Kivu were the priority zones for the research. Search then selected sub-zones in each province around which to focus the research. The considerations for the final selection depended on security, accessibility, budget, and how well zones represented wider dynamics in the province. With this in mind, Search selected Rutshuru in North Kivu and Sange in South Kivu (target villages are further detailed in the table below). The villages were selected due to the incidence of recurrent conflicts in the zones and thus, their relevance to the research question. Additionally, Rutshuru was selected due to the dynamic nature of youth civil society which has in the recent past denounced interventions by NGOs and donors for various reasons. Sange was selected due to its status as a sort of microcosm of the wider Ruzizi Plain: it is representative of the ethnic dynamics and has also been the site of several conflicts in recent years. Furthermore, the Search staff has firm knowledge of the two places, based on current and past peacebuilding experiences. This allowed the Search staff to foresee and respond to certain security, logistical and operational challenges, including whether the population would accept being research participants.

The villages selected for the research in Rutshuru and Sange were identified through a participatory method with the selected youth researchers, based on 3 key criteria (security, accessibility, and the heterogeneity of residents). They are presented in the table below:

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VILLAGES SELECTED</th>
<th>YOUTH RESEARCHERS DEPLOYED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>06/7/2019</td>
<td>Kiwanja</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katoro</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kibututu</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/7/2019</td>
<td>Kinyandonyi</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08/7/2019</td>
<td>Kiringa</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rustshuru Centre</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/7/2019</td>
<td>Rubare</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/7/2019</td>
<td>Rumangabo</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katale</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/7/2019</td>
<td>Kabaya</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/7/2019</td>
<td>Tanda</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rutsiro</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/7/2019</td>
<td>Tamugenga</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/7/2019</td>
<td>Kabindi</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tshengerero</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/7/2019</td>
<td>Bunagana</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL: 16</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 2: Villages selected for research in the Sange (Uvira territory, South Kivu)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VILLAGES SELECTED</th>
<th>YOUTH RESEARCHERS DEPLOYED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29/7/2019</td>
<td>Mutalule</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katekam</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/7/2019</td>
<td>Kiyanyunda</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bwiza</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/7/2019</td>
<td>Ndunda</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01/8/2019</td>
<td>Kajembo</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kibogoye</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02/8/2019</td>
<td>Runingu</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biriba</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kabunamo</td>
<td>1 group of 2 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03/8/2019</td>
<td>Nyakabere I</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyakabere II</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05/8/2019</td>
<td>Rusabagi</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kigurwe</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06/8/2019</td>
<td>Kinanira</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cebeka</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07/8/2019</td>
<td>Rutanga</td>
<td>All 12 pairs deployed there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08/8/2019</td>
<td>Musenyi I</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Musenyi II</td>
<td>1 group of 3 pairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09/8/2019</td>
<td></td>
<td>Participatory data analysis with the youth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL: 19**
2.3 IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

For the implementation of this research, the first activity concerned the identification of youth researchers and thereby the creation of conducive conditions for successful research (June 2019). The Search focal points in North and South Kivu carried out field visits in Rutshuru and Sange to speak to local authorities and communities to communicate openly about the research and to foster acceptance of the youth-led research by authorities and communities. For example, the team visited the chiefdom of Bwisha in Rutshuru territory in North Kivu and the community chief of Sange town in South Kivu. In order to select the youth researchers, Search defined selection criteria and the terms of reference (ToR) that were published and posted in Rutshuru and Sange administrative buildings for 15 days. The selection of youth was based on their interest in youth engagement in decision-making around peacebuilding and other factors, such as age, language skills, and residence in the target localities. These criteria were intentionally inclusive of candidates who may have had limited access to education. Through an open and competitive process that ensured inclusiveness of sex and ethnicity, 12 youth researchers in each North Kivu and South Kivu were selected following the review of applications and interview process. In each location, 6 young men and 6 young women were selected.\(^8\)

\(^8\) See annex 1 for the full ToR.
\(^9\) The biographies of the selected youth researchers for this study can be found in annex 4.
The research team spent five days in the youth researchers’ training to develop the data collection methodology and tools and provide youth researchers with the skills and knowledge required to implement the research. The development of the methodology and tools followed a participatory approach. The training was also an opportunity for the youth researchers to get to know each other and build trust, collaboration, and positive relationships with each other.

![Youth researchers team in South Kivu](image)

### 2.4 DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

The research methodology was developed from interactive exchanges between the trainers and the youth researchers and the final methodology entailed a purely qualitative research approach, which was deemed appropriate given the scope of the research and the topic being investigated. Specifically, three main tools were used, namely:

1. **Focus Group Discussions (FGD):** FGDs were chosen in order to hear all opinions and to foster active discussions around specific subjects. They allow one to hear perceptions of the target population, giving them the opportunity to share insights and to identify challenges and solutions based on their own personal experience of violence affecting youth in Eastern DRC. The FDGs, which were made up by 8 volunteers, were homogenous, based on sex and age, which allowed participants to freely express their ideas. The discussions were structured around an interview grid based on the different study themes. In North Kivu, a total of 6 FGDs were carried out in 5 villages. In South Kivu, a total of 6 FGDs were carried out in 4 villages. The focus groups were formed as follows:

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10 The full data collection tools can be found in annex 2.
2. **Key Informant Interviews (KII):** interviews with key actors were conducted in order to gain an overview of their perspectives on the problem of violence affecting youth. The key actors were selected for the important role they play in the community, the links they have with youth, and their knowledge of the setting. A discussion guide for the KII was drafted by the youth in order to orient discussions with these actors. In both North and South Kivu, the targeted key actors were from the same structures, with the exception of the *Noyau de Paix et de Dialogue (NPD)* representatives in North Kivu, who were replaced in South Kivu by school administrators for their role in youth education, following a participatory decision by the youth. 33 KIIIs were carried out in North Kivu and 24 in South Kivu for a total of 57 KIIIs. The key actors in the two provinces were the following:

- 1 representative of the Congolese National Police (PNC)
- 1 local authority
- 1 religious leader
- 1 representative of NPD (NK)/school administrator (SK)
- 1 youth leader
- 1 economic actor

3. **Listening and Learning (L&L) approach to individual interviews:** L&L is an innovative research method where youth researchers have a leading role, while still receiving supervision and advice from adults. This method centers on conversations that help capture individual perspectives and experiences. It also consists of a peer exchange experience. A corresponding discussion guide was developed, which can be found in the annexes. Interviews using the L&L approach were carried out in selected villages, with a total of 159 in North Kivu and 216 in South Kivu. In each location the following respondents were targeted:

- 2 young women
- 2 young men
- 1 adult man
- 1 adult woman

The total number of people reached is represented in the two tables below, disaggregated by the type of tool (table 3) and category of respondent (table 4).

---

Table 3: Number of people reached by type of data collection and by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITES</th>
<th>FGDS</th>
<th>KIIS</th>
<th>L&amp;L</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Kivu</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kivu</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Number of people reached disaggregated by age group and by sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITES</th>
<th>YOUTH FROM 15 TO 24 YEARS OLD</th>
<th>ADULTS 25 YEARS AND OLDER</th>
<th>QUOTAS REACHED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Kivu</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kivu</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 TIMELINE

The training activities and the data collection took place from July 2-7, 2019, in Rutshuru territory in North Kivu and from July 23 to August 9, 2019, in Sange town in South Kivu.

2.6 DATA COLLECTION

The 12 youth researchers in each province were divided into 6 pairs, each made up of one man and one woman. The facilitators created pairs, trying to ensure heterogeneity based on certain key factors for the success of the research, such as: language skills (apart from French and Swahili), experience in data collection and/or carrying out interviews, ethnicity, village of origin and their capacity to relate to and ask questions to people that they did not know before the study. The training also planned training sessions in pairs, so that the youth could become familiar with their partners, the data collection tools, and the process of asking questions and taking notes. In each province, the 12 youth researchers were divided into two groups made up of three pairs each and accompanied by an adult supervisor from the research team. The data was collected by the youth themselves by taking notes. In order to ensure the quality of the data collected and a sound understanding of the data for a good analysis, post-data collection debriefing sessions were organized at the end of each day.
2.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis included a debriefing at the end of each data collection day. These brainstorming sessions allowed the team to share and discuss the data collected and carry out a participatory preliminary analysis with the youth. These debriefings also allowed youth researchers to talk about good and bad experiences and challenges encountered in order to identify solutions to overcome these challenges and improve the quality of the work the following day. A database containing all of the day’s data collected was created in Excel where all the qualitative data was compiled. Moreover, the 10 days of data collection in each province were completed with a participatory analysis session with the youth. The research team then triangulated the analyses from different sessions with the data entered in the Excel template. The research team identified the trends around the lines of the survey developed by identifying themes, constructing a hypothesis and clarifying links based on codes previously established and applied to different texts.

2.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Confidentiality of the information gathered was guaranteed during all of the research. While the youth researchers collected data by taking notes, the notes did not contain information that could identify or associate specific respondents to answers. The notes included only age range, sex, place of residence and ethnicity, if and when respondents did not mind sharing that information. Certain data could be sensitive, therefore all potential ethical concerns were taken into account before the start of the collection, including the security of youth researchers and the respondents, and ensuring that informed consent was given by all the participants. No information shared during the interviews was divulged to anyone outside the
research team. The research placed great importance on confidentiality in order to minimize risks for the respondents, which came with a guarantee of anonymity in all steps of the research process, including data collection and dissemination of the results.

The youth researchers were made aware of the necessity of avoiding any research process that could harm respondents or the youth researchers themselves and/or expose them to risks of intimidation, discrimination or physical harm. The research team also ensured that the tools were pre-tested and adapted to the context and that the youth researchers were trained on the research content and they felt comfortable interacting with the selected community members.

During the training, an information session was provided on the possibility of exposure to trauma, possible reactions that the youth researchers could encounter, and ways to identify and manage them. During this session, it was useful for youth to reflect on their own history or their own exposure to cases of trauma. Certain youth could consider not participating in the research if their personal history of trauma made their participation in the research uncomfortable. All of the youth researchers reflected on ways to maintain their own resilience in cases where they might hear people speak about traumatic experiences, and in particular how to prepare oneself to hear about traumatic experiences, how to face exposure to trauma, and how to maintain ethical behavior throughout the research process.

Still within the framework of the training, it ended up being important to establish a clear procedure for youth researchers on how to react if respondents were to request help or report violent crimes or security problems during the interviews. Contact information for local service providers and competent local authorities for potential reference was compiled and made available to the youth researchers, which they could then distribute as needed. A procedure was put in place to help the youth researchers feel prepared in cases where they might hear about abuse or other security problems. This also helped protect the confidentiality of interviewees who could be stigmatized if their reports were divulged in an irresponsible manner. In both Rutshuru and Sange, supervision teams identified experienced psychology and health professionals. In order to ensure that potential harm was avoided, the research team ensured that its behavior and that of the selected youth researchers aligned with the principles of Do No Harm (DNH): respect, accountability, fairness and transparency. In order to ensure respect for interviewees, the youth researchers were trained on the importance of patience, on how to stop an interview or skip over questions if the respondent became uncomfortable, rather than trying to finish all planned interview questions. To increase acceptance and to ensure that the youth researchers or participants were not exposed to any threat or violence, the research team took into account the following aspects: if the interview participants did not feel safe taking part in the interviews, or that it could lead to risks for the researchers or the participants, they had instructions to stop; before mobilizing participants and beginning the data collection, the research team had to meet with the local traditional and administrative authorities in order to communicate the goal of the research and the presence of youth researchers in their locality, to better understand the level of security in the zone and the risks that youth could be exposed to, and to receive official authorization as a courtesy required by the local authorities; for all respondents under 18 years old, the research team ensured that their parents gave the informed consent of their children to participate.
The sensitive nature of the data collection required measures to ensure the protection of youth researchers from intimidation, discrimination, and physical harm. Search ensured that each team leader (of subgroups of youth researchers) was provided with a telephone and credit to make calls in cases of emergencies. Additionally, we ensured that all teams had access to a vehicle and driver, either of Search or a rental, throughout the data collection. Search also provided all researchers with badges identifying them as researchers affiliated with Search for Common Ground. Lastly, the training incorporated modules on managing stress and trauma, given the risks associated with exposure to stress and trauma.

2.9 LIMITS

The data collection faced some resistance in certain villages in both North and South Kivu where some respondents, immersed in extreme poverty, appeared to be available to participate only if a certain sum of money, called “transportation fees,” was distributed to them. The majority of community members participated in interviews on account of their good will towards the research team, while others, even though no one made such promises, were motivated by the hope of seeing change in their locality through donors and NGOs support, which could skew the responses given.

The intercommunity tensions in certain zones posed challenges to gathering the participants safely into the FGDs. They also made it difficult to respect the principles of participant protection. For example, in the Kabunambo village an intercommunity conflict caused a major delay in the data collection because the representatives of the two predominant ethnic groups were opposed to the organization of a heterogeneous FGD and prevented the members of their groups from participating. It required a long mediation process, supported by the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC), to find common ground and identify a safe place where each community felt comfortable to freely express themselves.

The impracticality and inaccessibility of certain roads created major limits that did not allow data collection in some villages initially planned, like Tanda in Rutshuru territory.

In North and South Kivu, certain villages were excluded because of their high level of insecurity, even though youth from those villages-- Kanyabayonga, Mutanda, Tongo, Bambu, Bukombo, Bishusha Kihondo in the chiefdom of Bwito-- figured to be more involved in violence.

3. KEY FINDINGS

This chapter presents the results of this study according to the objectives and lines of investigation presented below. The findings are divided into three main sections: (i) the perceived push factors for youth engagement into violence; (ii) the protective factors to prevent youth engagement in violence; and (iii) the significance of youth engagement in violence: perceived processes and effects.
3.1 Definitions and Characteristics of Violence in the Kivus

The provinces of North and South Kivu face acute levels of insecurity, instability, and intercommunity conflict. Between the two Kivus, there are more than 140 active armed groups, 4.5 million IDPs, and 130,000 refugees in neighboring countries. Taking these numbers in isolation, the situation constitutes one of the longest and most severe humanitarian crises in the world. At an individual and societal level, the situation in Eastern Congo has profound impacts on the lives of the population, particularly its youth population who often bear the brunt of violence. Youth in North and South Kivu are frequently exposed to harassment and abuse by armed groups, criminal gangs, and members of state security forces. This harassment often takes the form of kidnappings, armed robbery, petty theft, illegal roadblocks, arbitrary detention, and cattle rustling. Between 2007 and 2019, insecurity in Eastern Congo resulted in 4,513 fatalities in North Kivu and 2,228 in South Kivu.

These numbers obscure the day-to-day violence experienced by civilians in the Kivus, which do not necessarily lead to fatalities but which nevertheless profoundly impacts the lives of millions. Individual definitions of what constitutes violence were collected through the focus group discussions and key informant interviews in the two target zones. Responses ranged from specific examples, such as “it is sexual violence, it is rape,” “it is physical aggression,” etc. to broader, more conceptual definitions: “violence is [the act of] depriving someone of their rights” or “…doing harm upon someone without their consent”. In both North and South Kivu, the general response was that violence is any non-consensual act committed against another person, or any human rights violations. In noting the specific examples of violence, it should be underscored that the majority of respondents focused on physical violence, rather than forms of structural violence, even though they were mentioned as push factors for youth participation in violence at other points in the research.

The focus group discussions and key informant interviews revealed a wide range of economic, physical, and social violence. In both locations, the most cited forms of violence were sexual violence, kidnapping, and intimidation and corruption (see below). In South Kivu, respondents also reported cattle raiding as a major type of violence, while in North Kivu, violence related to land conflicts was also invoked. The communities in both Rutshuru and Sange perceive youth to be major instigators/participants in violence. Additionally, women were much more likely to mention sexual violence as common types of violence, while young men more often pointed towards kidnapping, theft, and cattle rustling.

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12 World Bank Literature Review
13 ACLED data for DRC (2007 to 2019), World Bank team calculations in Literature Review
14 ACLED data for DRC (2007 to 2019), World Bank team calculations in Literature Review
15 KII conducted in Kiwanja-Katoro-Kibututu from 6 to 16 July 2019.
16 FGD conducted in Rubare from 6 to 16 July 2019.
17 KIIs and FGDs in all the villages from 29 July to 8 August 2019.
Different cyclical events, as well as the time of year overall, were often raised by participants as factors in determining the predictability of violence. The May-September dry season is a period when violence between farmers and herders surges due to water scarcity and livestock intruding into farmers’ fields.\textsuperscript{18} Higher levels of hunger during this period can also provoke violent theft.\textsuperscript{19} Additionally, the dry season coincides with a long school vacation, which is another factor many respondents indicated as having a positive (i.e. increasing) effect on incidence of violence. One interviewee in Musenyi I and II (South Kivu) reported that the long vacation is “a time when youth are not supervised and have few activities to occupy themselves with…it is also a period when parents are looking for money to pay for their children to return to school at the start of the academic year.”\textsuperscript{20} Lastly, participants in the focus group discussions and key informant interviews asserted that cases of sexual violence and rape committed by youth spike during these months.

Economic trends and cycles also influence the incidence, as well as the type of violence. Harvest periods and market days tend to coincide with an increase in theft, as well as illegal taxation. In South Kivu, women stated that they often experience acts of pillaging and theft on their way to markets to sell goods. The predictability of moving goods to the market provides opportunities for would-be criminals to act. Respondents in North Kivu noted that armed groups also collect illegal taxes from farmers on various agricultural crops. While this was not expanded upon in the data collection, such illegal taxation likely correlates more highly with the harvest of cash crops, such as coffee, due to their marketing and export value. Respondents also asserted that during harvest periods, incidence of sexual violence increases due to women working longer hours in the fields.\textsuperscript{21}

Social factors impacting the incidence of violence includes the arrival of the festive season and specific dynamics related to the military. During the end-of-year celebrations, respondents cited an increase in vio-

\begin{itemize}
\item Sexual violence
\item Kidnapping
\item Intimidation and corruption
\item Cattle raids
\item Theft and armed robbery
\item Torture
\item Pillaging
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item Sexual violence
\item Kidnapping
\item Intimidation and corruption
\item Theft and armed robbery
\item Land conflict
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{18} KIIs and FGDs in Ndunda, Mutaule-Katekama, Nyakabare I and II, Kajembo-Kibogoye, and Runingu-Biriba-Kibunamo from 29 July to 8 August 2019.
\textsuperscript{19} KIIs and FGDs in all the villages from 6 July to 8 August 2019.
\textsuperscript{20} KIIs and FGDs in all the villages from 8 to 16 July 2019.
\textsuperscript{21} KII and FGD in Kinyandonyi 7 July 2019, KII in Kiwanja, Katoro and Kibututu 6 July 2019.
lent theft as youth seek money for items such as clothes, drinks, and gifts. The redeployment of military units was cited by a number of participants as being a driver of violence. Additionally, a cross section of respondents in Sange perceive a correlation between the payment of FARDC salaries and the incidence of violence. As soldiers receive their salaries, violence tends to increase because they spend it on alcohol and commit violent behavior.

3.2 PERCEIVED PUSH FACTORS FOR YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN VIOLENCE

One of the primary aims of the study was to understand, from the perspective of adults and youth in North and South Kivu, what drives certain youth to engage in violence. The focus group discussions and key informant interviews described a range of political, socio-economic, and social-psychological push factors that contribute to an individual choosing to partake in violence. The range of responses and push factors suggest that rather than there being a single dominant factor, the final decision to commit violence is the result of a complex interaction between different push factors. One of the main themes that emerged was that among all the push factors what lies beneath the decision to partake in violence was the loss of hope and agency. Moreover, political, socio-economic, and social-psychological push factors often interact with horizontal inequalities between ethnic communities, in which certain communities are perceived to have more access than others. This often breeds a mixture of resentment, exclusion, and hopelessness, as people conclude that their situation is bad and there is no way out.

Adult and youth perspectives on push factors varied significantly. Youth tended to highlight systemic factors within their external environment which either affirm or deny needs. On the other hand, adults typically attributed youth participation in violence to individual failings or to the failure of a system of sanctioning. Many adults saw there being a lack of coercive factors, such as punishment for wrongdoings. They also commented on the failure of parents to socially educate their children. Such divergent diagnoses have grave implications on policy and, when combined with the factors described below, become a vicious cycle of reaction-sanction-reaction. These dynamics are discussed in greater detail below.

**Political Push Factors**

Political push factors are insecurity-related issues, such as violent criminality and intercommunity conflict, as well as questions around governance, the allocation of power, and decision-making process. As appropriate, references will be made in the following paragraphs about how particular issues relate to or feed into other push factors as well.

Youth’s exposure to insecurity, as well as the prevalence of intercommunal conflict, were cited by respondents as a major contributing factor to some youth’s decision to engage in violence. The lack of faith in the justice system, as well as the inability of authorities to enact meaningful security sector reform, encourage youth (as well as adults) to seek extralegal pathways for securing justice and ensuring the security of their community. In Sange, key informant interviews and focus groups spoke of the role of the Mutarule
Massacre in contributing to youth participation in violence. With little faith that justice will be restored to victims and their families, as well as a lack of faith in the ability of the UN and Congolese state to ensure security, young people – particularly men – face pressure to join community self-defense groups that carry out violence themselves. In the context of intercommunal conflict, some youth respondents suggested that parents sometimes pressure their children to engage in violence. For example, in North Kivu, respondents noted cases where parents, whose farmland has been destroyed by herds of cattle, instructed their children to kill the herders and their herds. This often provokes a counter-strike in the name of self-defense, which can lead to a deadly spiral of conflict and violence if not mitigated. Additionally, many adults suggested that continued, long-term exposure to insecurity in their communities and in the family has played a role in allowing violence to become an acceptable cultural norm.

Suspected collaboration between FARDC and armed groups, as well as the poor response of the former to insecurity involving foreign armed groups in the DRC, was named by adult men and women as a push factor for young men to join local defense militias. In response to armed groups from Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, young men join or form Mai-Mai groups to provide protection for their communities. In South Kivu, some respondents spoke about the presence of Burundian armed groups, noting that some young women provide them information or cook for them for financial gain. In other cases, they (Burundian armed groups) have been noted to collaborate with local groups, such as Mai-Mai Yakatumba.

More broadly, impunity and government authorities’ inability to provide justice to victims were cited as push factors for some youth to participate in violence. Youth participants in focus group discussions and key informant interviews described their frustration when people were accused and imprisoned under suspicion of having committed a crime, only to be released after having paid a bribe. This can contribute to an atmosphere in which people believe the only way to secure justice is to institute mob justice against suspected criminals. In Sange, respondents provided the example of a young man who was lynched by a mob after having been accused of sexually assaulting a young girl.

Young male respondents linked deeply rooted, systemic corruption to the participation of young men in violence. A practice commonly seen in Eastern Congo is roadblocks set up by the FARDC or PNC to do inspections of vehicles and motorists. During these stops, police and soldiers may harass motorists and passengers, demand the payment of illegal taxes and fines, or confiscate items such as phones, jewelry, and food. Participants linked such practices, along with corrupt local administration and authorities, as sources of discontent that erodes the legitimacy of the state and can push young people towards joining an armed group or other criminal network. They may do so either in self-defense or in order to benefit from the system themselves, since there seem to be few other options.

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25 KIs and FGDs in all the villages from 6 July to 8 August 2019.
Finally, youth – both men and women – found the exclusion of young being a key factor that pushes some youth towards violence. The youth respondents asserted that they are regularly excluded from local community consultation meetings, such as those organized by economic operators, development-oriented NGOs, as well as those organized by local authorities on issues-related matters. Even when it comes to issues directly impacting youth, youth are often left on the sidelines with no options to share their perspectives.

**Socio-Economic Push Factors**

In addition to the political push factors mentioned above, socio-economic push factors relating to economic advancement also play a major role in determining whether youth decide to participate in violence. The lack of socio-economic opportunities was primarily mentioned in relation to perceived horizontal inequalities where members of certain ethnic groups have easier access to resources and opportunities like education, employment, land, or natural resources. When people perceive discrimination and inequalities to exist, they are more easily mobilized to violence.  

Youth unemployment in North and South Kivu is higher than the national average. The lack of economic opportunities was one of the most frequently cited drivers of youth participation in violence, with 36% of participants in North Kivu and 38% of those in South Kivu saying that it plays an important role. Focus group discussion participants expressed frustration with the perceived discrimination of NGOs in their hiring practices. Many believe that NGOs hire mostly from provincial capitals, such as Bukavu or Goma. This generates grievance that can be easily tapped into by political and/or armed group leaders in recruiting members. The role of horizontal inequalities in this dynamic has been captured elsewhere. According to mostly male participants, youth engage in violence because while they are unable to meet their basic needs, they observe others using violence to secure their economic needs.

Access to education was identified by respondents, especially in South Kivu, as a push factor for youth engagement in violence. Despite laws that require all children to attend primary school and the state to provide free education, in reality, access to education is limited. According to a literature review conducted by the World Bank, 44% of children between 6-17 years old in North Kivu and 32% in South Kivu are out of school. Key informant interviews and focus group discussions revealed that gender and ethnic-based discrimination is also experienced by girls and members of certain ethnic groups. This combination, a lack of access to education and perceived horizontal inequalities between communities or among certain members of communities, increases the likelihood that it can become a push factor for violence.

27 WB literature review
30 World Bank Literature Review
Young girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys because of they have greater household workloads and face discrimination, including early and forced marriage. According to girls who participated in the research, girls' schooling is not seen as a priority since families believe that young girls will become pregnant soon anyways, and thus will not be able to follow through with their studies. Therefore, they prefer to educate the male children. As a result, they are forced to stay home and perform chores and take care of younger siblings, sometimes going to work in the fields. Respondents in multiple key informant interviews identified the non-education of girls as a type of violence against girls, which might drive them to participate in violence. Certain ethnic groups have also been historically excluded from equal access to education, such as the Banyamulenge in the Ruzizi Plain.

**Social-Psychological Factors**

Various social-psychological factors, including perceptions of youth by adults and the effects of past trauma, was repeatedly cited throughout the key informant interviews and focus group discussions. While these were often mentioned alongside the other push factors highlighted above, it is worth examining them on their own, since transforming them will be key for long-term progress.

Youth frequently cited the negative attitudes of adults and society at-large towards them as a key push factor for engaging in violence. According to one youth respondent: “if we are treated as criminals, as violent parasites of society driving disorder, then who cares what they (adults) say...I'd rather just do something bad to at least give them something to talk about.” These negative perceptions help to create a negative, self-fulfilling prophecy which creates a vicious feedback loop: if youth are treated as criminals (as described by the respondent above) and then act out as a response to this treatment, then this further confirms the initial perception that adults have towards youth which may provoke harsher, coercive responses by adults and/or policy makers, which will consequently provoke further violent responses. This is reflected in adults’ views that sanctions and coercive responses are the “protective” factors that limit youth participation in violence (discussed in further detail below).

The stress of living in a chronic state of insecurity, combined with a lack of trust in state institutions meant to guarantee security and deliver justice, is perceived as a push factor by both youth and adults alike. In many cases, the proximate causes of the stress (criminality, intercommunal violence, kidnapping, poverty, etc.) create rational responses—in response to intercommunal violence, youth of one group join a community self-defense militia since the state security forces are not perceived to be playing their role. However, this inversely makes the problem of generalized insecurity even worse, prompting spirals of violence, thereby increasing stress and causing additional trauma. Additionally, the lack of psycho-social support to victims of violence results in untreated and unresolved trauma which can further aggravate feelings of hopelessness.

31 A 2012 UNESCO report stated that only about 63 percent of female youth 15 years and older in the DRC were literate compared to approximately 88 percent of male youth. [https://borgenproject.org/girls-education-in-the-democratic-republic-of-congo/](https://borgenproject.org/girls-education-in-the-democratic-republic-of-congo/).
32 KIs in Kiwanja, Katoro and Kibututu on 6 July 2019 KIs and FGDs in all the villages from 29 July to 8 August 2019.
34 FGD, Male youth, SK
35 World Bank Literature Review
and lack of agency. Participants in focus group discussions highlighted that trauma is shared within families or communities or passed from generation-to-generation, it can impact contemporary violence. In other words, when stories of past violence inflicted on a family or community are told to later generations, it can manifest a deep-seated desire for revenge. In South Kivu, respondents pointed to cases where members of security forces have been accused of sexually assaulting women, including young girls. When word of the sexual violence spreads, youth and adult men pursue vigilante justice in order to avenge the harm done to a member of their family or community. Such events often result in tit-for-tat, steadily escalating spirals of violence and conflict.

Stigmatization in various contexts was identified by respondents as pushing some people to commit violence for both the first time and others to recommit violence. The stigmatization of ex-combatants, along with the failure of DDR programs, prevents them from being able to successfully reintegrate into the community. Ex-combatants who have demobilized through socio-economic reintegration programs only to find themselves with little support and ostracized by the community are prone to recidivism. In such a scenario, with their livelihood constrained and the only links for meaningful bonding resting with their former comrades and commanders, many ex-combatants are tempted to rejoin their former armed groups. Combined with the fact that many of these ex-combatants likely suffer from trauma themselves, it should not be a surprise that they are drawn to rejoin armed groups and thus participate in violence once again.

Stigmatization resulting from sexual violence was also described in the focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The trauma caused by sexual violence affects not only the victim of the violence, but also the family and wider community. Respondents described the shame experienced by the family of a survivor of rape – especially if she becomes pregnant – which can lead to ostracization of the woman and the family. In South Kivu, respondents reported that after cases of rape, when the victim becomes pregnant, she is often abandoned and forced to care for the child on her own without the means to support herself or her child. This is particularly acute in cases when the victim never had access to an education, or when her education is cut short due to the rape. Directly, this can make these women vulnerable to partaking in

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violence themselves, from serving as spies for armed groups or engaging in petty criminality. Indirectly, the stigmatization faced by victims of rape can contribute to the transferring of violence to future generations: a woman who is abandoned and forced to bear the child of her rapist has significant unresolved trauma and little means to sustain herself, which may lead her to taking out her frustrations on her child physically. She also might be unable to support the child’s healthcare or schooling.

Cognitive dissonance may also play a role in contributing to youth participation in violence. An example cited by participants was of (mostly) young men who have been lured into committing violence with the false promise of economic gain or political influence. Oftentimes, these youth harbor a pre-existing sense of alienation, due to financial strain and/or social and political marginalization. According to respondents, once they realize the promises were false, they feel further alienated and may contribute to their participation in future violence. This creates a dissonance within the individual which can only be “resolved” through a reorientation of their moral “compass.” Due to the promise of financial, social, or political gain, they put aside their pre-existing beliefs which tell them that something. However, once they come to the realization that this was for naught, it creates a psychological contradiction that must be resolved. Either they come to terms with what they have done and then course correct, or they act more violent, as their belief system gradually begins to accept violence as a legitimate course of action.

Adult respondents frequently raised socialization and the lack of supervision – and the lack of familial education specifically – as a push factor for youth engagement in violence. Overall, 13.5% of respondents in North Kivu and 17% in South Kivu pointed to deficiencies in social/family education as a key push factor. This includes social education around the use of drugs and alcohol, as well as the normalization of violence within the family/community. For their part, youth often accused adults of being irresponsible and unable to ensure the needs of their children in terms of clothing, education, and land, which in turn leads them down violent paths. Some adult respondents reported that despite their efforts to supervise their children, they have not managed to prevent them from joining armed groups or committing other acts of violence. The inability of some parents to provide for social/family education for their children may once again be linked to trauma. Exposure to violence and insecurity can cause mental health conditions that make it difficult for parents to care for their children and teach them the tools they need to thrive. Additionally, adults who have survived violence have been known to pass messages of hate towards the group from which the perpetrator of violence hails. Other mental and physical stresses related to poverty, such as being incapable of sufficiently feeding yourself and your family, may interfere with a parent’s capacity to provide supervision and the emotional education required for child development.

Adult respondents frequently cited peer pressure and the negative influence by powerful or influential adults as push factors for youth participation in violence. Adults pointed to youth’s “thirst for power”

37 WB literature review
39 KIIs on 2 August 2019 in Runingu, Biriba and Kibunamo.
40 KIIs on 2 August 2019 in Runingu, Biriba and Kibunamo.
and false promises of political clout or integration into state security forces as push factors. Such explanations do not critically examine the needs that such cases respond to, that is, the need for belonging, esteem, and agency.

**Individual Factors**

Many adult responses pointed to individual and behavioral explanations as to why certain youth engage in violence. 6% of adult respondents in North Kivu and 10% in South Kivu cited alcohol or drug use as the primary push factor for youth’s engagement in violence. Adults in focus group discussions stated that many young people spend “most of their time in bars with their peers drinking alcohol and using drugs.” According to adults, these youth are “lazy and unwilling to work or (are) looking for (a) fast opportunity to become rich without having to work hard.” Such sentiments resonate with a 2015 study with former combatants in Eastern DRC by Hecker and Haer (2015) that found that drug use predicted the number of violent acts committed by an armed group. Furthermore, drug use is frequently encouraged in armed groups as a means of acquiring status. While drug use may be correlated to acts of and participation in violence, more critical analysis should focus on the many unfulfilled needs that lie at the heart of such destructive coping mechanisms.

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41 FGD in Chengerero on 15 July 2019 and KII in Kiwanja on 6 July 2019.  
42 WB literature review  
43 World Bank Literature Review
3.3 PROTECTIVE FACTORS TO PREVENT YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN VIOLENCE

The study also aimed to identify the protective factors that discourage youth from engaging in violence. Participants in focus group discussions and key informant interviews were asked to identify the reasons behind most youth not engaging in violence. Youth respondents tended to identify affirmative protective factors – those that reinforce and allow one to fulfill one's needs in terms of belonging, meaning, and agency – whereas adult respondents tended to focus on prohibitive factors – those that focus on sanctioning, punishment, and fear of coercion. Similar to the push factors described above, when discussing protective factors, respondents tended to mention multiple factors, suggesting a complex interaction between different factors that either push youth towards violence or pull them away from it.

**Affirmative Factors**

Affirmative factors that “pull” youth away from a path of violence are those that empower youth and reaffirm their needs like belonging, meaning, esteem, and agency. Three major sub-categories emerged from the focus group discussions and key informant interviews: 1) actions/initiatives that aim to increase youth's participation in community life and decision making; 2) a strong foundation of formal and informal education; and 3) access to sustainable livelihoods.

Youth participation in decision making and community life was identified as one of the key factors in discouraging youth participation in violence. In both North and South Kivu, key informant interviews and focus group discussion respondents pointed to various forms of youth participation and engagement in community life and decision making. Specifically, youth respondents pointed towards initiatives by local civil society organizations, as well as international NGOs, that aim to address youths’ social marginalization. Such activities include awareness-raising activities that can have a broad reach in discouraging participation in violence, as well as intergenerational and intercommunal dialogue that promotes tolerance and empathy. Respondents highlighted the role these activities have in creating alternative pathways for youth participation and ensuring that youth perspectives are heard and taken into account. Additionally, such platforms can also help reduce the influence of negative actors and spoilers. These initiatives are particularly effective when they are led and designed by youth as it ensures that their true needs and perspectives are considered. Furthermore, this helps cultivate a sense of meaning, ownership, belonging, and agency among the participating youth.

Access to formal and informal education was also identified, primarily by youth respondents as another important protective factor. The types of education identified included formal (i.e., schooling) education, familial and social education, as well as religious education. Participants identified access to formal education as a major factor that can deter youth from engaging in violence. Civic education taught in schools introduces ideas around peace, social cohesion, and the value of diversity to youth. Education can help instill knowledge, attitudes, and skills that encourage peace, which can have a multiplier effect through personal and social networks. As one young male in Rusabagi, South Kivu, explained, “if it were not for my

44 See Annex 3 for a list of local associations identified by respondents that are perceived to serve as a mechanism to discourage youth from participating in violence.
studies, I would be a Mai-Mai fighter. Now that I understand the benefit of education, I devote all my time to my studies.” Conversely, where horizontal inequalities exist – i.e., discrimination based on socio-economic status, ethnicity, or sex – the relative deprivation can fuel conflict and push factor youth towards violence.

Informal education in the form of socialization/family education and religious education were identified by many youth and adults in North and South Kivu. Social, or familial education, primarily takes place in the home and is often the first form of education given by parents or other family members to children. It concerns lessons in morality and instilling social norms that promote respect for others and positive models for resolving conflict. Youth and adults often mentioned the lack of social education as a reason that some youth participate in violence. Religious education and the associated institutions were also among the most frequently mentioned protective factors for youth. Religious leaders are perceived as important actors in guiding youth. The religious leaders who were interviewed described the education they provide as being one centered on tolerance, social cohesion, forgiveness, integrity and peaceful cohabitation. This perception may be prevalent due to the fact that religion provides guidelines for youth on how to live in general. It also organizes different activities for children and youth, which offer a sense of belonging to a safe community that they trust. Additionally, religious institutions in the DRC are widespread, reaching areas in which NGOs may rarely intervene. They also often have youth-led initiatives and groups.

Youth and adult participants in focus group discussions and key informant interviews frequently mentioned access to economic opportunities as a vital protective factor against youth engagement in violence. According to respondents, if youth feel like they are able to exercise control over their livelihoods and future, this strengthens their sense of agency and esteem, providing them with hope for the future. This can help counter feelings of hopelessness which some actors use to manipulate young people into committing/engaging in violence. Youth specifically mentioned the Virunga Sarl Hydroelectric Plant in Matebe (North Kivu) and the PREMIDIS Sarl Brewery (South Kivu) as economic actors playing a positive role. Despite this positive role that economic opportunities can play, respondents noted that creation of job opportunities alone is not sufficient in deterring youth from violence. Instead, economic opportunities must be part of a broader response that aims to mainstream youth participation and perspectives in decision making, reduce their marginalization and stigmatization, and confront horizontal inequalities that can drive conflict.

Much of the discourse surrounding youth participation in violence narrowly focuses on unemployment. However, the findings from the research suggest that a combination of political, social, and economic factors must merge to support and reaffirm young people's need for belonging, agency, meaning, and esteem. Throughout these various affirmative protective factors, there are common traits, like providing alternative pathways for addressing grievances, creating platforms where youth voices can be heard and acted upon, and valuing youth perspectives as equal stakeholders in community life.

45 KIIs and FGDs in Katekama on 29 July 2019, in Runingu, Biriba, Kabunamo on 2 August and in Kibogoye on 8 August.
Prohibitive Factors

Adult respondents in the key informant interviews and focus group discussions were much more likely to name prohibitive protection factors – i.e., those that were about sanctioning or applying coercive measures to constrain youth participation in violence – rather than the affirmative protective factors mentioned above. Adults identified punishment via the formal justice system or mob justice that could lead to torture or death as an important factor in preventing youth engagement in violence. As such, they (primarily adult respondents) believe that reporting violence to local authorities and the Congolese National Police (PNC) is an effective violence prevention measure. Other adult participants find that when youth see or hear cases of mob justice, of youth or adults caught committing acts of violence and criminality being burned alive, lynched, or sent to prison, they are likely to take heed and refrain from committing violence themselves. In South Kivu, adult respondents in focus group discussions and key informant interviews identified the PNC as key actors in ensuring youth abstention from violence through coercive measures such as strict application of the law. Harsh security responses are therefore likely to be suggested by adult decision-makers to reduce violence. Yet, as mentioned by youth respondents, violence has not decreased with this security strategy.

Despite the protective measures – both affirmative and prohibitive – mentioned above, an alarming number of participants stated that the current mechanisms are not working to meaningfully and constructively engage young people and dissuade them from violence. In many cases, this is due to problems in design as well as poor targeting of initiatives aimed at responding to youth needs. In many cases, strategies and initiatives are not developed with youth directly, but rather with community leaders, governments, or with donors and then presented as a fait accompli that is to be “delivered” to youth to empower them. Additionally, when programs intended to empower youth are designed by adults, as can be seen in the divergent diagnoses of push and protective factors above, the strategy often does not respond to the true situation of the youth they aim to empower. As a result, initiatives aimed at empowering young people are in fact often irrelevant to their actual needs and actively disempower them as recipients of the project, rather than as central stakeholders. They can also exacerbate the horizontal inequalities that lie just below the surface. The interviewed youth expressed a desire to have a greater role in deciding what type of programs are implemented in their communities as well as a greater say in how they are executed. Lastly, young women respondents felt that the discourse around youth engagement focuses on coercive measures to prevent young men from participating in violence rather than also trying to empower young women and respond to their needs.

3.4 Patterns and Effects of Youth Engagement in Violence

The final line of inquiry sought to expose patterns of violence as well as the impact that violence has on both victims, perpetrators, and the wider community. According to respondents in the focus group discussions and key informant interviews, men and women often participate in and are affected by violence in distinct patterns. Responses about the impact that violence has on individuals and community ranged from the individual level to much more macro level dynamics.
Patterns of Youth Participation in Violence

Participants in focus group discussions and key informant interviews noted that many perpetrators of violence had also been victims of violence. Additionally, those who have participated in violence are also much more likely to later become a victim of violence as well. In both cases, this is largely related to the stigmatization faced by both perpetrators and victims of violence. Violent youth are categorized as arrogant and hypocritical drug addicts and alcoholics, which prompts their exclusion from meetings focused on economic and social development initiatives. They may also be left out of community meetings focused on security, thereby further alienating them within the community. Such perceptions are the result of violence, but they can also further perpetuate cycles of violence. For example, in cases where ex-combatants are unable to reintegrate into communities due to stigmatization, they are much more likely to return to the bush and continue participating in violence. Other youth – particularly young men – who have been accused of engaging in violence are often subject to arbitrary justice at the hands of informal justice mechanisms, which can result in feelings of resentment towards the community.

In terms of patterns of participation in sexual violence, most respondents perceive that fewer young women engage in that than men. Moreover, girls and women are typically the victims of such violence. However, a number or respondents said that young men and women engage equally in violence, but in different ways, noting that “young men openly externalize their violent acts whereas girls hide in the shadows”. In terms of type of violence, respondents stated that young men were more likely to be active members of armed groups and to commit other acts of violence, such as armed robbery, sexual violence, intimidation, roadblocks, public abuse, and kidnapping. Young women, on the other hand, were said to engage in violence by spying for armed groups, hiding criminals, and delivering messages on behalf of armed groups. Some women are thought to provide information on life in villages, including strategies to secure their villages. Others may share the addresses of wealthy community members who may be able to pay a ransom. Petty theft and abortion (as a deeply religious country, many Congolese view abortion as violence) were also named as ways in which young women participate in violence.

Impact of Violence on Youth and Communities

Responses from the focus group discussions and key informant interviews suggested that the impact of youth participation in violence is far reaching, affecting individuals, families, and entire communities. When interrogated about the consequences of violence, many respondents identified direct physical or punitive repercussions, imprisonment, death, injury, sexually transmitted disease, and other infections.

Trauma and stigmatization were identified as a significant impact of violence at both the individual and family level. Respondents in Tamugena (North Kivu) noted cases of suicide resulting from unresolved trauma and stress due to persistent insecurity. Trauma impacts every aspect of community life and in the relational

46 Focus Group Discussion 7 July 2019 in Kinyandonyi.
47 Considering the high rates of GBV against women in the DRC, over 1,000 cases in 2018, it is probable that at least some of the women referred to are seeking the abortion of a pregnancy as a result of rape. United Nations (2019). Sexual Violence in Conflict: Democratic Republic of Congo. Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict. Retrieved from: https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/countries/democratic-republic-of-the-congo/
culture of Eastern DRC, an individual's experience of trauma becomes in many ways a shared experience with the family and the community. Respondents spoke about the shame that violence brings to a family, as victims – a daughter being raped and becoming pregnant – or as perpetrators – a child committing acts of violence against other members of the community. In either situation, the family is often ostracized by the community. Furthermore, trauma is a key factor in youth re-engaging in cycles of violence. For instance, trauma related to rape will have an impact on both the victim and the community to which the victim belongs. Respondents in South Kivu reported that often after rape, further trauma is triggered if the victim becomes pregnant and bares a child she did not want, further marginalizing her in the community. Their traumatic experience of both being abandoned and having to care for a child on their own, toppled by their socio-economic situation, leads to the perpetuation of abuse and lack of support of their children's schooling and education. Collectively, these factors contribute to further youth engagement in violence.

Strained relationships within communities was cited as another major impact of youth participation in violence. According to interviews conducted within communities, the attitudes and perception of adults toward youth are generally negative and when cases of violence involving youth occur, this generally reinforces pre-existing notions about young people. Finally, macro-level impacts, such as the perpetuation of cycles of poverty, displacement, and rural exodus/urbanization were also noted, particularly in North Kivu.

The participants also recalled ways in which men and women are affected by violence as victims. Young men are often perceived to be victims of physical violence, manipulation, or harassment by authorities, while young women and girls are perceived to be at risk of becoming victims of gender and sexual based violence and the accompanying effects of trauma and STIs. A 2013 WB report found that of a random sample in Eastern DRC, 40 percent of women and 24 percent of men have been victims of SGBV. Girls are also perceived as the victims of early and forced marriage, as over a third of girls in North Kivu and nearly half of girls in South Kivu are married by age 18. Respondents also noted that young women are victims of socio-economic discrimination, including exclusion from education and inheritance rights. Several concerning perceptions regarding the sexual agency of young women were raised as well. While young women are most often perceived as the victims of sexual violence, some respondents also mentioned that young women manipulate young men into marrying them for their financial gain, for example by purposefully becoming pregnant. Additionally, the form of violence committed by young women mentioned most frequently, particularly in South Kivu, was in reference to a lack of modesty in dress. This is a common perception used to justify sexual violence against women and should be carefully taken into account if a large portion of the population perceives young women to be engaging in violence by the way they dress.

48 WB Literature Review
49 http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/795261468258873034/pdf/860550WP0Box380LOGiCA0SGBV0DRC0Kivu.pdf
50 WB literature review
4. CONCLUSIONS

The findings in the preceding pages help frame – if not completely understand – the complex interaction between push and pull factors that contribute to whether or not a young person will engage in violence. The rich responses from participants in focus group discussions and key informant interviews revealed that there is no single, overarching explanation as to why some youth engage in acts of violence while others abstain. Instead, there is a range of political, socio-economic, social-psychological, and individual factors – all operating in tandem – which either push youth towards, or pull them away from committing violence. Many explanations point towards an interaction between a dysfunctional system that does not facilitate the fulfillment of basic needs and individuals attempting to navigate that system. Throughout the responses, youth repeatedly alluded to needs related to belonging, meaning, respect, esteem, and agency. The youth respondents tended to elaborate on which parts of the system work – or do not work – for them. Meanwhile, adults tended to focus on individual behavior traits of youth engaged in violence.

Most youth do not participate in violence. Yet the perception of youth as violent thieves and drug addicts remains ingrained in the minds of many community members, which further marginalizes all youth. Combined with horizontal inequalities based on socio-economic status, sex, and ethnicity, this marginalization feeds a sense of hopelessness and drives exclusion. Hard security approaches as advocated by adults and as often pursued in official policy contribute to further stigmatization and fuel feelings of resentment and mistrust towards institutions that are meant to build confidence in society.

The impact of trauma and the capacity of individuals, families, and communities to respond to it were raised throughout the research. The lack of psychosocial support available to youth and other victims of violence helps perpetuate cycles of conflict, violence, and abuse. While interventions focused exclusively on trauma are necessary, community-based psychosocial support approaches should also be mainstreamed into all intervention sectors given the extensive nature of trauma in North and South Kivu.

As exhibited in the section on protective factors, existing mechanisms are not sufficient to respond to the needs of youth. Therefore, they are not positioned to reduce youth engagement in violence in a sustainable way. According to youth stakeholders, the failure of existing mechanisms is largely due to the lack of consultation with youth stakeholders and the marginalization of youth perspectives in policy making from the community level in Sange and Rutshuru all the way to the national and international level. That the policy prescriptions generated by adults, who largely attribute youth participation in violence to individual failures and behavioral deviance rather than the systemic factors, has not yet worked should not come as a surprise. There are many young people in Eastern Congo already doing – or eager to do – innovative peacebuilding initiatives, as well as other initiatives aimed at developing their community. These young people should be supported and reinforced.

In the following section are recommendations on how best to move forward.
5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Search worked with the youth researchers to generate a set of recommendations based on the above findings in order to better orient policy and initiatives aimed at building peace and empowering youth. In particular, we have aimed to focus on protective factors that can be reinforced across and used by key stakeholders.

**Key Stakeholders**

- **Partnering with existing, community-based structures.** Where possible, donors and international NGOs should aim to partner with existing, community-based structures dedicated to pursuing peace-building and other empowerment-related actions in their own communities. Such structures have already been identified, such as Local Peace and Development Committees, as well as various community associations in both North and South Kivu. They should be mapped out more thoroughly and assessed according to their strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities. The role of international actors should accompany and reinforce the capacity of these actors. By engaging existing structures, international actors will be able to increase initiatives’ buy-in and promote enduring change.

- **Ensuring inclusive participation of all stakeholders.** Interventions that aim to empower youth and contribute to community engagement must be done in an inclusive way as to ensure they do not exacerbate horizontal inequalities or dividers within communities. As such, inclusivity should be preferred over equality and equal representation to ensure that minorities and other marginalized groups have “room at the table” and that their concerns and needs are integrated into programs. Programs could ensure this by running an initial mapping assessment aimed at identifying specific groups and their interests so activities and the program strategy can be tailored to their needs. During implementation, careful attention should be given to ensuring that key criteria beyond age and sex are used to select program participants, such as ethnicity, status as an IDP/refugee, etc.

- **Engaging key influencers.** Program interventions should aim to identify and engage the key influencers in the zone of operations. In both Rutshuru and Sange, the study highlighted the positive role that religious leaders can play in constructively engaging young people and the wider community due to their moral authority and legitimacy. These influencers change from zone to zone and can ebb-and-flow depending on particular conflict dynamics at the time. Therefore, care should be given to include this analysis during the program design phase. By engaging the people with legitimacy and moral authority, programs will be able to more effectively drive enduring positive youth engagement.

- **Targeting youth and parents.** The study found great discrepancies in the perception of adults towards youth and vice versa. Therefore, it is important that, in aiming to empower youth, program interventions should also engage their parents and adults in order to get them to allow youth a “seat at the table”. Only by reinforcing the trust and cohesion between generations can youth be sustainably empowered.
**Key Programmatic Interventions**

- **Mainstreaming community-based trauma healing programs.** The effects of trauma were repeatedly raised by participants throughout the study. Given the extent to which populations in Eastern Congo have experienced violence and suffer from trauma, program interventions aimed at reinforcing social cohesion and empowerment should integrate psychosocial support into all projects since it is likely that program stakeholders and beneficiaries have experienced trauma. Rather than merely having a psychologist available to support participants when they are engaged in activities, projects should train community leaders and youth in psychosocial support to build capacity within the community that will prove valuable long after the program intervention has ended.

- **Cultivating intergenerational dialogue.** The divergent perceptions of youth and adults about one another surfaced throughout the focus groups and key informant interviews. The divergent understanding of problems between youth and adults engender drastically different responses. Furthermore, beyond discreet dialogue activities, other activities aiming to reinforce trust between adults and youth should be promoted. Based off of activities aimed at creating platforms for joint diagnosis and action, adult-youth relationships will be reinforced on the basis of mutual trust and respect. Such positive examples could be used for advocacy and serve as a positive model for engagement elsewhere via media programs and other mass-media intervention strategies.

- **Promoting youth entrepreneurship and business skills.** Oftentimes, public work projects provide short-term, temporary jobs to youth (or ex-combatants) which they complete and are then left in the same situation as they were in before. Instead, interventions should include vocational/skills training and additional skills on business management and entrepreneurship. This may encourage youth to think more creatively about identifying livelihood opportunities in the long term, as well as reinforcing their self-esteem.

- **Advancing community-based reintegration of ex-combatants.** Given the recurrent shortcomings of DDR in Eastern Congo, program interventions should go further in de-stigmatizing ex-combatants and repairing trust between them and communities. In addition to this and “traditional DDR” approaches, which provide economic and skill building opportunities, support should be provided on trauma healing, managing alcohol and drug abuse, and conflict transformation skills. Activities that promote dialogue and encourage joint problem solving on common interests and needs can create a powerful link between ex-combatants and receiving communities.

**Key Approaches**

- **Ensuring Do No Harm and Conflict Sensitivity.** Interventions should ensure a conflict sensitive approach by understanding all connectors and dividers within a given context. As part of the discourse around youth engagement in violence, interventions should not only focus on violent youth but should also ensure an inclusive cross section of young people that is reflective of the demographics of the zone. Interventions should proactively address horizontal inequalities and aim to target them within their intervention strategy.
○ **Mainstreaming gender inclusion.** Young women highlighted weaknesses in existing youth empowerment programming. Rather than treating all youth, they tend to only aim to treat young men who are perceived as potential threats to peace and security. Program approaches should ensure that the specific needs of young women are taken into account and addressed within the project strategy. Intervenors should consider commissioning/conducting an initial gender needs assessment aimed at collecting key information about the needs of and barriers faced by young women. The findings from this study should be used to guide and develop the project’s implementation strategy.

○ **Preferring youth-led and designed programs.** Youth should be at the center of youth empowerment interventions from the beginning until the end. Youth-led and youth-designed interventions should be preferred over pre-established and pre-designed activities that only include youth as participants. By ensuring a participatory design engaging young people, intervenors and donors can be more confident that the eventual program will respond to the true needs of youth and thus be accepted by youth, thereby promoting enduring change and sustainability. Please see [here](#) for an example of positive, youth-led interventions. Furthermore, rather than delivering something to young people, the intervention should focus on building the capacity of children and youth to advocate for their own needs and prevent violence against their peers by putting them at the center of the intervention strategy.

○ **Enhancing youth participation in decision making.** Interventions should increase the participation of youth at the local, provincial, and national level to ensure their perspectives are taken into account as part of important national conversation. They should also make sure that they are legitimized in the eyes of other stakeholders as equal partners in society. This involves providing young people with skills and platforms to advocate for their rights, enhance their decision making power, and identify constructive pathways to reinforcing social cohesion in their community. Additionally, adults should be targeted in awareness raising and social behavior change communication activities in order to transform their perceptions and attitudes so that they will cede space so that young people can have a role.
ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR YOUTH RESEARCHERS

Search for Common Ground/Search

YLR Research in DRC

APPEL À CANDIDATURES POUR DES CONSULTANTS ENQUÊTEURS/SUPERVISEURS DE TERRAIN PROVINCES NORD ET SUD KIVU

L’Organisation

Search For Common Ground (Search) est une organisation internationale à but non lucratif qui promote la résolution pacifique des conflits. Avec son siège à Washington DC, et un bureau Européen à Bruxelles, Belgique, Search a pour mission de transformer la manière dont les individus, organisations et gouvernements adressing les conflits – loin des approches de confrontation vers des solutions coopératives.

Search en République Démocratique du Congo

Search est présent en RDC depuis 2001, avec des bureaux à Bukavu, Goma, Kalemie, Kinshasa et de sous bureaux au à Bunia, Beni, Gbadolite et Kananga.

Tout en maintenant son impartialité, Search travaille avec toutes les parties afin de les guider et d’améliorer leur capacité à transformer les conflits d’une manière collaborative et non-violente. Search a également des partenariats avec des organisations locales, dont les partenaires médias qui diffusent des émissions radio et télé éducatives, divertissantes et appréciés par des millions d’auditeurs. Au-delà de la production de programmes, Search utilise des outils innovants pour la transformation des conflits, tels quels: les activités sportives et les activités culturelles de rapprochement, le théâtre participatif, le cinéma mobile, les bandes dessinées, et organise aussi des formations sur la transformation des conflits.

La recherche menée par les jeunes au Nord et Sud Kivu

Search est dans la phase de signature d’un accord avec la Banque Mondiale, qui prévoit la réalisation d’une recherche menée par les jeunes au Nord et Sud Kivu. Dans le cadre de cette recherche, Search souhait recruter 24 jeunes enquêteurs qui seront employés dans la collecte et analyse participative des données dans le cadre de cette recherche menée par les jeunes dans les provinces du Nord et Sud Kivu.

Il s’agit au total de 12 consultants-enquêteurs au Nord Kivu et 12 consultants-enquêteurs au Sud Kivu, qui participerons à une formation de 5 jours respectivement à Rutshuru et Sange et une collecte des données sur les terrains de 10 jours. Suite à la collecte des données, les consultants sélectionnés seront aussi appelés à se disponibiliser selon le besoin pour appuyer la révision des données collectées et ils seront censés participer à la remise des résultats de la recherche.

Lieux concernés par cette offre :

L’offre est ouverte pour les provinces du Nord et Sud Kivu, spécifiquement Rutshuru et Sange.
Description des tâches :

Les consultants-enquêteurs de terrain auront pour tâche:

- Participer à 5 jours de formation sur les processus de recherche, la collecte des données et l'éthique dans la recherche;
- Sous la supervision du Consultant Principal et de l'expert dans la qualité de la recherche, participer dans la conception et développement des outils de collecte et d'analyse de données;
- Sous la supervision du Consultant Principal et de l'expert dans la qualité de la recherche, participer au pré test des outils et fournir des feedbacks pour leur amélioration et finalisation;
- Sous la supervision du Consultant Principal et/ou du facilitateur de la recherche, participer activement à la collecte des données sur le terrain;
- Sous la supervision du Consultant Principal et/ou du facilitateur de la recherche, participer activement au débriefing quotidien suite à la collecte des données et à leur nettoyage;
- Sous la supervision du Consultant Principal et/ou du facilitateur de la recherche participer à l'analyse participative des données collectées;
- Contribuer à la rédaction du rapport préliminaire de la recherche en contribuant à l'analyse et l'explication des résultats.

Les consultants-enquêteurs seront déployés sur le terrain dans les différents endroits ci-haut mentionnées. Les consultants-enquêteurs travailleront sous la supervision directe du consultant international et des facilitateurs à la recherche de l’équipe Search.

Exigences et qualifications requises:

La personne à sélectionner pour la conduite de cette recherche menée par les jeunes devra impérativement :

- Être de nationalité congolaise;
- Être âgé(e) de 15 ans au moins et 24 ans au plus au moment du dépôt de la candidature;
- Résider dans les endroits d’affectation (Rutshuru et Sange);
- Être entièrement disponible pendant toute la durée de la recherche : 5 jours de formation + 10 jours de collecte + 1 journée de séance d’analyse des données + 1 journée de session de remise des résultats;
- Être engagés dans des construction de la paix à Sange ou Rushuru et/ou montrer un fort intérêt dans l'engagement de la jeunesse dans la prise de décision autour de processus de construction de la paix;
  - Être sérieux, intègre et dynamique dans la réalisation des tâches;
  - Avoir une capacité de travail en équipe et bonnes relations interpersonnelles;
  - Maîtriser parfaite de la langue française.

Au total, 6 jeunes filles et 6 jeunes hommes seront sélectionnées (les candidatures féminines sont fortement encouragées) dans chaque endroit.
Candidature :

Chaque candidature doit comprendre: une lettre de motivation; un curriculum vitae (CV) à jour; les coordonnées de 3 personnes pouvant attester vos qualifications; un numéro de téléphone de contact; ainsi qu'une copie de la carte d'électeur.

Pour les mineurs de 18 ans, la candidature devra être supportée par l'autorisation signées des parents ou tuteurs.


La date limite de dépôt des candidatures est fixée au 21 Juin 2019. Passé ce délai, aucune candidature ne sera acceptée. Seules les personnes retenues seront contactées.

La candidature est à envoyer en dur au bureau Mercy Corp/Search e au bureau Search Kamanyola et radio partenaire de Search à Sange.

ANNEX 2: DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

Guide d’entretien pour les Focus Groupes

Remarque: Cet outil est destiné à être utilisé lors des discussions en groupes restreints. L'équipe doit assurer aux participants que toutes les informations communiquées dans le cadre de la discussion resteront confidentielles; quand la/le secrétaire prend des notes, il/elle ne recueille aucune information permettant d'identifier des individus ou d'associer des personnes aux réponses fournies. Certaines de ces questions sont délicates. Vous devez envisager tous les problèmes d'éthique potentiels avant d'initier la discussion, en tenant compte de la sécurité des personnes interrogées, en veillant à ce que tous les participants acceptent de ne pas divulguer hors du groupe les informations échangées dans le cadre de la discussion, et en obtenant le consentement éclairé des participants. Le groupe doit être homogène (être par exemple composé de jeunes femmes seulement et/ou de jeunes garçons), et ne doit pas comporter plus de 8 participants. Par ailleurs, la discussion ne doit pas durer plus d'une heure et demie.

Pour favoriser l’acceptation de ces discussions et veiller à ce que les participants ne soient pas suspectés, menacés ou mis en péril par le fait de participer au focus groupe, pensez à suivre les conseils suivants:

1. Si vous pensez qu’il n’est pas sûr de mener cette discussion, ou qu’elle pourrait exposer les participants ou vous-même à des risques, n’entreprenez rien.

2. Avant de mobiliser les participants, rencontrez les dirigeants communautaires et/ou les autorités locales afin de leur expliquer le but de la visite d’étude, et la présence de l’équipe chargée de l’étude au sein de la communauté.

3. Si possible, associez un certain nombre de dirigeantes locales, officielles et informelles, au processus de mobilisation des participants.

4. Assurez-vous de ne pas poser de questions trop spécifiques dans le but d’identifier les auteurs d’actes de violence (c’est-à-dire un groupe armé spécifique, une victime spécifique, etc.).

Objectif : Établir un niveau de confiance entre vous et les participants et de stimuler une participation active par tout le monde. C’est une liste de possibles questions que vous pouvez poser pour lancer la conversation → ces questions sont conçues comme support pour la conversation.
Consentement éclairé pour les Focus Groupes

Introduction avant la discussion

Cher Monsieur, Chère Madame,

Bonjour. Mon nom est ________________. Nous menons une étude pour le compte de Search for Common Ground/ Centre Loko-lé, une organisation internationale non gouvernementale qui travaille dans la transformation des conflits. Search mène une collecte des données afin de comprendre les liens entre les jeunes et la violence. Nous aimerions vous poser une série de questions afin d’avoir une compréhension sur ces deux sujets.

J’ai quelques règles de base avant de commencer :

- **Veuillez mettre vos portables en modalité silencieuse**: C’est vraiment distrayant pour moi de faire sonner le téléphone pendant le groupe et c’est difficile pour moi de me concentrer sur ce que vous dites.

- **Je veux entendre tout le monde**: Si je remarque que vous êtes silencieux(euses), je vais faire appel à vous. De plus, j’ai beaucoup de choses à couvrir et je sais à quel point votre temps est précieux.

- **Pour tout couvrir**: Je devrais peut-être vous interrompre et passer au sujet suivant, ou bien vous assurer que quelqu’un d’autre aura la chance de parler dans le court laps de temps où nous sommes ensemble.

- **Pour que je puisse prendre de bonnes notes, parlez un(e) à la fois**: C’est juste pour que je puisse rédiger un rapport une fois que nous avons terminé, et c’est vraiment difficile d’écouter les voix de tous en même temps.

- **Essayez également d’éviter les conversations en marge**: Parmi les choses les plus intéressantes que vous ayez à dire, vous risquez de murmurer à votre voisin.

La participation à ce groupe de discussion est volontaire et si vous ne voulez pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions, n’hésitez pas à nous le faire savoir. Il n’y aura pas de compensation pour cette activité. Vos réponses seront gardées confidentielles. Vos noms ne seront pas enregistrés. Les résultats de ces discussions seront relevés dans un rapport, et les données seront restituées vers la communauté pour assurer que les participants restent informés et peuvent participer aux recommandations identifiées.

Notre discussion/entretien durera environ une heure. Nous vous remercions d’avance pour votre participation. Avant de commencer avez-vous des questions?

Voulez-vous y participer ?

Consentement reçu ? Si oui, poursuivre. Si certains participants semblent mal à l’aise, leur permettre de quitter la discussion.

PARTIE I: INFORMATION SUR LE BINOME

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PARTIE II: INFORMATION SUR LES PARTICIPANTS AU FOCUS GROUPE

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Qu'est-ce que c'est la violence pour vous?
2. Sur la base de ce que vous venez de décrire, y-a-t-il de cas de violence dans notre territoire?
3. Y aurait-il des jeunes engagés dans ces épisodes violents dans notre communauté?
4. Quels sont les causes qui poussent les jeunes à s'engager dans la violence ?
5. Quels sont les facteurs qui amènent les jeunes à s'abstenir de la violence?
6. Y a-t-il une différence dans la façon dont les jeunes filles et garçons s'engagent dans la violence?
7. Y-a-t-il une différence dans la façon dont les jeunes filles et garçons sont victimes de violence?
8. Quelles sont les conséquences de l'engagement des jeunes dans la violence tant à leur niveau, qu'au niveau de la famille et de la communauté?
9. Est-ce que les parents, les autorités ou des autres personnes peuvent aussi influencer les jeunes à s'engager dans la violence? Expliquez s'il vous plaît.
10. Est-ce les parents, les autorités ou autres personnes peuvent aussi influencer les jeunes à s'abstenir de la violence? Expliquez s'il vous plaît.
11. Quelles sont les mécanismes existants afin de supporter les jeunes à s'abstenir de la violence et à supporter les jeunes engagés dans la violence à s'en sortir?
12. Est-ce que ces mécanismes sont suffisants ou y a-t-il des réponses différentes à mettre en œuvre et qu'est-ce que recommanderiez-vous pour améliorer ces mécanismes?

Guide d’entretien pour les Entretiens avec les Acteurs Clefs
Remarque: Cet outil est destiné à être utilisé lors des Entretiens avec les Acteurs Clefs. L’équipe doit assurer au participant que toutes les informations communiquées dans le cadre de la discussion resteront confidentielles; quand le/la secrétaire prend des notes, il/elle ne recueille aucune information permettant d’identifier des individus ou d’associer des personnes aux réponses fournies. Certaines de ces questions sont délicates. Vous devez envisager tous les problèmes d’éthique potentiels avant d’initier la discussion, en tenant compte de la sécurité des personnes interrogées et en obtenant le consentement éclairé des participants. Par ailleurs, la discussion ne doit pas durer plus d’une heure.

Pour favoriser l’acceptation de cette discussion et veiller à ce que le participant ne soit pas suspecté, menacé ou mis en péril par le fait de participer à votre entretien. Pensez à suivre les conseils suivants:

1. Si vous pensez qu’il n’est pas sûr de mener cette discussion, ou qu’elle pourrait exposer le participant ou vous-même à des risques, n’entreprenez rien.

2. Avant de mobiliser les participants, rencontrez les dirigeants communautaires et/ou les autorités locales afin de leur expliquer le but de la visite d’étude, et la présence de l’équipe chargée de l’étude au sein de la communauté.

3. Si possible, associez un certain nombre de dirigeantes locales, officielles et informelles, au processus de mobilisation des participants.

4. Assurez-vous de ne pas poser de questions trop spécifiques dans le but d’identifier les auteurs d’actes de violence (c’est-à-dire un groupe armé spécifique, une victime spécifique, etc.).

Objectif: Établir un niveau de confiance entre vous et le participant et de stimuler une participation active. C’est une liste de possibles questions que vous pouvez poser pour lancer la conversation — ces questions sont conçues comme support pour la conversation.

**Introduction avant la discussion/entretien**

Cher Monsieur, Chère Madame,

Bonjour. Mon nom est ________________. Nous menons une étude pour le compte de Search for Common Ground/ Centre Lokolé, une organisation internationale non gouvernementale qui travaille dans la transformation des conflits. Search mène une collecte des données afin de comprendre les liens entre les jeunes et la violence. Nous aimerions vous poser une série de questions afin d’avoir une compréhension sur ces deux sujets.

Avant de commencer nous situions clarifier que pour tout couvrir je devrais peut-être vous interrompre et passer au sujet suivant.

La participation à cet entretien est volontaire et si vous ne voulez pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions, n’hésitez pas à nous le faire savoir. Vos réponses seront gardées confidentielles. Votre nom ne sera pas enregistré. Les résultats de ces discussions seront relevés dans un rapport, et les données seront restituées vers la communauté pour assurer que les participants restent informés et peuvent participer aux recommandations identifiées.

Notre discussion/entretien durera environ une heure. Il n’y aura pas de compensation pour cette activité.

*Nous vous remercions d’avance pour votre participation. Avant de commencer, avez-vous des questions?*  
*Voulez-vous y participer?*  
*Consentement reçu ? Si oui, poursuivre. Si le répondant semblent mal à l’aise, passez au répondant suivant.*
PARTIE I: INFORMATION SUR LE BINOME

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PARTIE II: INFORMATION SUR L’INFORMATEUR CLEF

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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Y a-t-il des jeunes qui s’impliquent dans la violence au niveau communautaire?
2. Selon vous, quels sont les facteurs qui poussent certains jeunes à s’impliquer dans la violence? Y-a-t-il une différence entre les jeunes garçons et les jeunes filles?
3. Pourquoi les autres jeunes s’abstiennent de la violence? Y-a-t-il une différence entre les jeunes garçons et les jeunes filles?
4. Quels sont les effets de cette violence sur les jeunes eux-mêmes, sur la famille, sur la communauté?
5. Vous en tant que leader, quelle est votre perception par rapport à l’engagement des jeunes dans la violence?
6. Pouvez-vous expliquer comment les violences faites par les jeunes se manifestent? Y-a-t-il une différence entre celles faits par les jeunes garçons et celles faites par les jeunes filles?
7. Y aurait-il des cas de violence faites par les jeunes qui vous auraient été rapportés?
8. Quelle a été votre réaction face à cette situation?
9. Y a-t-il des mécanismes en place pour gérer/prévenir la violence et surtout celle impliquant les jeunes?
10. Que recommanderiez-vous pour améliorer la situation actuelle?
Questionnaire pour les Entretiens Individuels

Remarque: Cet outil est destiné à être utilisé lors des Entretiens Individuels. L’équipe doit assurer au participant que toutes les informations communiquées dans le cadre de la discussion resteront confidentielles; quand la/le secrétaire prend des notes, il/elle ne recueille aucune information permettant d’identifier des individus ou d’associer des personnes aux réponses fournies. Certaines de ces questions sont délicates. Vous devez envisager tous les problèmes d’éthique potentiels avant d’initier la discussion, en tenant compte de la sécurité des personnes interrogées et en obtenant le consentement éclairé des participants. Par ailleurs, la discussion ne doit pas durer plus d’une heure et demi.

Pour favoriser l’acceptation de cette discussion et veiller à ce que le participant ne soit pas suspecté, menacé ou mis en péril par le fait de participer à votre entretien. Pensez à suivre les conseils suivants:

1. Si vous pensez qu’il n’est pas sûr de mener cette discussion, ou qu’elle pourrait exposer le participant ou vous-même à des risques, n’entreprenez rien.

2. Avant de mobiliser les participants, rencontrez les dirigeants communautaires et/ou les autorités locales afin de leur expliquer le but de la visite d’étude, et la présence de l’équipe chargée de l’étude au sein de la communauté.

3. Si possible, associez un certain nombre de dirigeantes locales, officielles et informelles, au processus de mobilisation des participants.

4. Assurez-vous de ne pas poser de questions trop spécifiques dans le but d’identifier les auteurs d’actes de violence (c’est-à-dire un groupe armé spécifique, une victime spécifique, etc.).

Objectif: Il est important d’établir un niveau de confiance entre vous et le participant. C’est une liste des questions à poser, essayez de clarifier les mots qui peuvent ne pas être bien compris.

Introduction avant la discussion/entretien

Cher Monsieur, Chère Madame,

Bonjour. Mon nom est ____________. Nous menons une étude pour le compte de Search for Common Ground/ Centre Lo- kolé, une organisation internationale non gouvernementale qui travaille dans la transformation des conflits. Search mène une collecte des données afin de comprendre les liens entre les jeunes et la violence. Nous aimerions vous poser une série de questions afin d’avoir une compréhension sur ces deux sujets.

Avant de commencer nous situations clarifier que pour tout couvrir je devrais peut-être vous interrompre et passer au sujet suivant.

La participation à cet entretien est volontaire et si vous ne voulez pas répondre à une ou plusieurs questions, n’hésitez pas à nous le faire savoir. Vos réponses seront gardées confidentielles. Votre nom ne sera pas enregistré. Les résultats de ces discussions seront relevés dans un rapport, et les données seront restituées vers la communauté pour assurer que les participants restent informés et peuvent participer aux recommandations identifiées.

Notre discussion/entretien durera environ une heure. Il n’y aura pas de compensation pour cette activité.

Nous vous remercions d’avance pour votre participation. Avant de commencer, avez-vous des questions?

Voulez-vous y participer?

Consentement reçu ? Si oui, poursuivre. Si le répondant semblent mal à l’aise, passez au répondant suivant.
PARTIE I: INFORMATION SUR LE BINOME

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PARTIE II. INFORMATION SUR LA PERSONNE ENQUETEE

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<td>(6) Autres, préciser</td>
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QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Qu’est-ce que c’est la violence, selon vous?
2. Sur la base de ce que vous venez de décrire, y a-t-il des cas de violence dans notre zone ou dans les villages voisins?
3. Est-ce que les jeunes de notre milieu ou des villages voisins sont engagés ou s’abstiennent dans cette violence?
4. Selon vous, qu’est ce qui fait que les jeunes s’abstiennent à s’engager dans la violence? Y-a-t-il des différences entre les jeunes filles et les jeunes garçons?
5. Selon vous, quels sont les facteurs qui poussent les jeunes à s’engager dans la violence? Y-a-t-il des différences entre les jeunes filles et les jeunes garçons?
6. De quelles manières les jeunes s’engagent dans la violence? Y-a-t-il des différences entre les jeunes filles et les jeunes garçons?
7. Quels comportements affichent les jeunes engagés dans la violence au niveau de notre communauté? Y-a-t-il des différences entre les jeunes filles et les jeunes garçons?

8. Quels sont les effets de l'engagement des jeunes dans la violence dans notre communauté?

9. Qui sont les tireurs de ficelles de l'engagement des jeunes dans la violence?

10. A qui profitent la violence des jeunes?

11. Concernant les jeunes engagés dans la violence, à quelle fréquence s'engagent-ils dans la violence sur une échelle de 1 à 5, ou 1 c'est très rarement et 5 c'est toujours?
   - Très rarement
   - Quelque fois
   - Souvent
   - Assez souvent
   - Toujours

12. Quelles sont les violences commises par les filles et celles commises par les garçons?

13. Quelles sont les violences dirigées vers les filles et celles dirigées vers les garçons?

14. Quelles sont les mécanismes existants afin de supporter les jeunes à s'abstenir de la violence et ceux qui supportent les jeunes engagés dans la violence à s'en sortir?

15. Est-ce que ces mécanismes sont suffisants ou y a-t-il des réponses différentes à mettre en œuvre et qu'est-ce que recommanderiez-vous pour améliorer ces mécanismes?

**Consentement éclairé pour les Parents des mineurs**

*Consentement éclairé des parents*

Avant de commencer toute activité avec les mineurs, le consentement des parents est obligatoire. Avant de commencer l'activité, l'équipe de recherche doit s'assurer de se présenter avec les parents, spécifier le but de l'activité et les modalités et recueillir leur consentement éclairé:

*Cher Monsieur, Chère Madame,*

*Bonjour. Mon nom est __________. Nous menons une étude pour le compte de Search for Common Ground/ Centre Lokolé, une organisation internationale non gouvernementale qui travaille dans la transformation des conflits. Search mène une collecte des données afin de comprendre les liens entre les jeunes et la violence.*

*Nous vous demandons une permission pour que vos enfants puissent participer à cette collecte des données et nous pensons que vos enfants trouveront le sujet intéressant, ce qui leur donnera l'occasion contribuer à notre compréhension sur le sujet. Il n'y aura pas de compensation pour cette activité avec votre/vos enfant(s).*
Tout ce que vos enfants feront et diront restera confidentiel et nous ne collecterons aucune information qui pourrait être utilisée pour les identifier. Nous prendrons des notes pendant qu’ils répondent et interagissent pour nous permettre d’analyser les données de leurs réponses. Cependant, leurs réponses seront gardées confidentielles et anonymes et leurs noms ne seront pas enregistrés. Les résultats de ces discussions seront relevés dans un rapport, et les données seront restituées vers la communauté pour assurer que les participants restent informés et peuvent participer aux recommandations identifiées.

Cette activité durera environ 1 heure. Avant de commencer, avez-vous des questions à poser ?

Consentement reçu ? Si oui, poursuivre avec le consentement du mineur aussi. Si certains parents semblent mal à l’aise, n’interviewez pas leur(s) enfant(s) et passez au jeune successif (ou à son parent si mineur).

ANNEX 3: LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

LIST OF LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS NAMED AS PROTECTIVE FACTORS

NORTH KIVU:
ADEKI (Association des démobiliser pour développement de Kisiga)
ADPDH
AGARU (Association groupant les agiculteurs de RUTHURU)
AIDES
ANR
APPLICOP (Association paysane pour la lute contre pauvreté)
ASMADI (Association de Mamans pour Développement intégrale)
AVEC (Association Villageoise d’épargne et des credits)
CIYOTA (Cobourwas international youth to transform Africa)
TAD (Tous pour l’Action et Développement)
ICCN
JEMETRA (Jeune en mission évangélique pour la transformation des nations en disciple)
KAPERE
MANU (Mwanaume akin a usalama)
MIDEFEOPS (Occuper les filles en couture couture)
MUSO
MUWAKA (mu ungano wa wavuvi wa katale)
ANNEX 4: RESEARCH TEAM

The research team was made up of 12 youth researchers in North Kivu and 12 youth researchers in South Kivu. These youth worked under the direct supervision of the consultant supervisor assisted by the Search staff in North and South Kivu. This team worked under the direction and technical support of the Research Quality Advisor, Carlotta Fassiotti.

The other members of the team, their roles and responsibilities are described in the table below:

*Table 5: Research Team*

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<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>ROLE</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Clark</td>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Ensure the management and support of the research process and ensure the timely achievement of the expected results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlotta Fassiotti</td>
<td>Research quality advisor</td>
<td>Advise on the quality of the research, the research-action process, research ethics and data quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel Wash Taza</td>
<td>Child and youth expert</td>
<td>Advise on child and youth protection and youth led research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard Ndikimwe</td>
<td>Consultant supervisor</td>
<td>Supervise and facilitate data collection and data analysis in the field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marc Addallah &amp; Josué Mugabo Kabanza</td>
<td>Focal points for Search in North Kivu</td>
<td>Identify research sites, recruit youth researchers, contact stakeholders, support data collection and logistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvie Bora Rubenga &amp; Marcellin Mugashano</td>
<td>Focal points for Search in South Kivu</td>
<td>Identify research sites, recruit youth researchers, contact stakeholders, support data collection and logistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melody Musser</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>In charge of the review of the data analysis and report writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Barboza</td>
<td>Research Associate</td>
<td>Responsible for remittance of the findings of the final report to the youth researchers for review, validation and to develop recommendations</td>
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ANNEX 5: SPOILERS

Based on the responses collected, a small number of spoilers create significant challenges to the efforts done to reduce violence in these areas. Those manipulators are often addressed as *tireurs de fichelles* by the respondents and are perceived - by adults and youths alike - as those who are responsible for pushing young people into violence. These spoilers can be categorized into the following:

- **Politico-administrative authorities and political actors** were mentioned by the overarching majority of adults and youth in North and South Kivu. They are perceived to divide and manipulate youth, using them to commit acts of violence for personal political interests, particularly during the election cycle. Among the violent acts mentioned which youth are pushed to undertake by political actors were: building roadblocks and attacking other communities or members of other ethnic groups;

- **Local leaders, traditional chiefs and elders** who reinforce tribal-ethnic divisions and encourage young people to join community self-defense groups to protect their identity group and exclude other tribal-ethnic groups. Those were mentioned by the majority of respondents in South Kivu, adults and youth alike. They teach youth stories of traumatic events of violence and discrimination experienced by the group, driving feelings of revenge and inciting acts of violence. An example mentioned in North Kivu were the tribal-ethnic chiefs who are reported to reinforce segregation among different ethnic groups and motivating young people of their same ethnicities to join community self-defense groups to protect their rights. As for South Kivu, the incident which happened in Kabunambo during the data collection, explained in the limitations section, exemplifies to what extent ethnic divisions are present in the community, especially among the Bafuliro and the Barundi;

- **Security forces**, namely the FARDC and PNC, are reported to support some youth in acts of violence, sometimes even by giving them weapons and official uniforms, as well as allowing impunity for youth. At certain times this contributes to creating a sense of self-vengeance and justice, contributing to mob justice. Security forces were mentioned by the vast majority of respondents in South Kivu and by a minority of respondents in North Kivu;

- **Armed groups** who recruit youth by promising money and status or force them to join. Mentioned by the majority of respondents in North Kivu by adults and youths;

- **Business people** and other economic actors taking advantage of the overall lack of security and governance sometimes use youth to steal from wealthy actors. This was mentioned by the overarching majority of respondents in South Kivu, youth and adults alike. One case mentioned repeatedly was the example of cattle raids between herder communities, where cattle owners incite youth to rustle other people’s livestock or to destroy farmers’ fields;

- **Parents** who, instead of providing adequate support and guidance to their children, directly or indirectly encourage their children to engage in violence, including armed robbery, kidnapping, roadblocks or even killings, for the family's financial benefit. Families also impose cultural norms to young women, which make them prone to run away from their families and engage in violence. Among the examples mostly mentioned, there were: young women being forced into marriage of a brother-in-law (if their sister dies), early marriage, and the inability for girls to inherit goods or land. These spoilers were mentioned by the vast majority of key informants interviewed in both North and South Kivu, including youth in South Kivu and some youth respondents in North Kivu.