


**LIVING  
with FEAR**

A POPULATION-BASED  
SURVEY ON ATTITUDES  
ABOUT PEACE, JUSTICE, AND  
SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN  
EASTERN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF CONGO

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**GENERAL OBJECTIVES**

- To give a voice to survivors of mass violence in the social reconstruction process
- Attitudes towards Peace, Justice and Social Reconstruction



# METHODOLOGY

## Eastern DRC

- 2,620 interviews
- North Kivu 1,081
- South Kivu 815
- Ituri District 724
  
- Open-Ended Questionnaire
  
- Locally trained Interviewers
  
- Respondents: Variety of Ethnicity, Age, Socio-Economic Groups




■ Selected collectivities and towns. One third (30) of the Collectivities and towns were randomly selected proportionate to population size. Within each collectivity, 25% of the groupements were randomly selected, then villages were randomly selected. For each collectivity, a minimum sample of 80 interviews were conducted.




# CURRENT SITUATION




Source: Vinck



## DISPLACEMENT



Source:  
MSF



## DISPLACEMENT

- 81% displaced at some point
- Frequent displacement:
  - Ituri: 2.5 times
  - South Kivu: 3.3 times
  - North Kivu: 3.7 times
- Generally Short Term
- Generally NOT in camps



## EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE

- 81% identify themselves as victims
- Over 2/3 lost wealth, access to basic needs
- About 50% faced
  - death threats
  - beatings
  - forced to carry loads, to work
- 1/3 abducted for a week or more.



## LAURENT NKUNDA



- Ex-RCD
- Tutsi

Source:  
Times Online



- CNDP
- FARDC + Government
- FDLR
- Mai Mai
- ...
  
- MONUC
- Angola, Rwanda, (Uganda)
- ICC



## SENSE OF SAFETY

<i>Sense of Safety (% of respondents who <u>felt safe or very safe</u> in the following situation)</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Go to nearest market (%)	38.0	73.7	73.2	58.9
Go to the field, fetch wood or water (%)	29.7	73.0	64.4	52.7
Go to nearest town / village (%)	28.7	69.1	60.8	50.1
Sleep at night (%)	20.5	67.7	72.1	49.5
Meet policemen (%)	<b>27.8</b>	<b>54.0</b>	<b>62.0</b>	<b>45.4</b>
Meet people from another ethnic group (%)	<b>27.2</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>60.6</b>	<b>45.3</b>
Meet strangers (%)	<b>18.1</b>	<b>53.3</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>39.4</b>
Walk at night in village (%)	<b>17.4</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>38.4</b>
Talk openly about your experience during the conflict (%)	<b>14.1</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>39.1</b>	<b>30.3</b>
Meet soldiers / armed groups (%)	<b>6.8</b>	<b>34.5</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>22.0</b>



## PROTECTION

<i>In your opinion, who protects you? (one answer)</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
National Congolese Army (%)	25.9	42.3	50.2	37.8
God / Jesus (%)	44.0	28.1	15.9	31.3
Police (%)	8.1	11.9	15.3	11.3
Nobody (%)	6.9	6.8	3.8	6.0
MONUC (%)	6.2	1.2	4.7	4.2
Central government, Kabila (%)	3.8	3.6	1.9	3.2
Family, friends (%)	2.1	4.8	1.4	2.7
Local government (%)	1.3	0.1	5.7	2.2
Other (%)	1.3	0.4	0.7	0.8
Militias, rebel groups (%)	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.5



## WHY NOW?

- Protest Against MONUC
- France neutralized
- US support for Rwanda
- US elections
- Chinese contracts with government
- Lack of progress since 2006 (Congolese elections)
- International Criminal Court

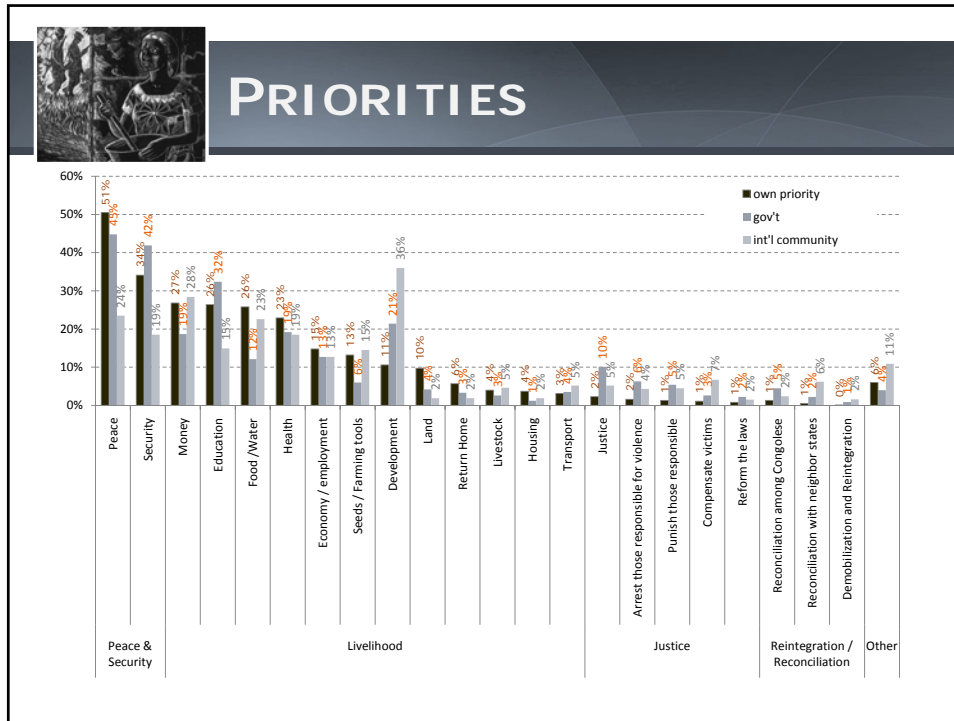


## ORIGINS OF CONFLICTS

<i>In your view, what are the origins of the conflicts in eastern DRC ?</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Conflicts over power (%)	<b>48.9</b>	<b>50.2</b>	<b>39.8</b>	<b>46.8</b>
Exploitation of natural resources (%)	39.0	42.2	26.7	36.6
Conflicts over land / access to land (%)	24.8	24.5	<b>60.1</b>	34.5
Ethnic divisions (%)	25.6	23.7	39.8	28.9
Ignorance of people (%)	13.0	12.5	11.9	12.5
Rwanda (%)	4.7	7.1	3.0	5.0
International community (%)	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.0
Problems with nationality (%)	<b>13.5</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>14.5</b>
Poverty (%)	10.7	13.1	12.2	11.9
Other (%)	7.9	8.1	6.1	7.4
Don't know (%)	2.9	3.1	1.7	2.6

## WHAT CAN BE DONE?





**HOW TO ACHIEVE PEACE**

	NORTH KIVU	SOUTH KIVU	ITURI	Total
There cannot be peace	2.0	2.7	1.3	2.0
Military Defeat of militias	15.9	18.3	18.2	17.3
Kill militia leaders	8.1	5.9	5.2	6.6
Beat other groups / ethnic groups	3.6	4.4	4.9	4.2
Separate groups / ethnic groups	5.8	4.8	9.7	6.5
Grant amnesties	8.3	7.2	16.3	10.1
Arrest those responsible for crimes	27.8	27.9	27.5	27.7
Put those responsible for crimes in jail	16.0	13.6	14.7	14.9
Share political power	7.2	11.0	10.8	9.4
Integrate armies, share military power	9.3	15.7	14.5	12.8
Dialog with militias	17.7	19.1	31.1	21.8
Dialog between ethnic groups	18.2	19.3	32.5	22.4
Chase away the bad spirits	3.1	5.3	7.4	4.9
Hold new elections	2.6	3.4	2.2	2.7
Reform, change the government	6.8	7.0	5.8	6.6
Establish truth	19.1	17.5	24.0	19.9
Compensate victims	5.4	5.8	7.1	6.0
Dismiss those responsible from their jobs	3.5	3.1	2.3	3.0
Other	34.1	28.3	19.1	28.2
Don't Know	1.9	1.1	0.7	1.3





## UNITY - REINTEGRATION

- 2/3 comfortable in most situation with other Ethnic Group
- 2/3 agree all ethnic groups can live together
- only 9% say their region should become independent

<i>Percentage of respondents <u>COMFORTABLE</u> in the following situations in the presence of former combatants?</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Living in same community, village	26.8	44.1	63.8	42.4
Living as close neighbors	28.1	44.1	66.7	43.8
Living as household members	22.1	40.3	56.2	37.2
Sharing a meal	29.7	56.0	62.9	47.1
Working with them	33.5	54.5	68.6	49.8
Going to the market	41.4	59.2	75.5	56.4
Sharing a drink	21.6	42.3	48.1	35.4
Going to the same church	51.4	65.8	81.6	64.3
Marrying a family member	23.7	36.7	48.4	34.6
Going to same school as you/your children	44.3	61.5	78.0	59.0



## ACCOUNTABILITY

Accountability is important

Accountability is necessary for peace

<i>What would you like to see happen to those who committed war crimes?</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Punish them (%)	71.0	68.5	66.5	68.9
Put them in jail (%)	33.2	32.9	35.8	33.8
See them in trials / court (%)	24.4	19.3	33.8	25.3
Kill them (%)	19.4	20.0	19.5	19.6
Have them compensate victims (%)	16.6	17.3	18.4	17.3
They should ask for forgiveness (%)	7.9	9.7	10.8	9.3
They should confess their crimes (%)	8.8	9.0	5.5	7.9
Demobilize them (%)	8.8	7.4	7.1	7.9
They should be forgiven (%)	6.1	7.0	8.7	7.1
Give them amnesty (%)	3.9	5.0	9.0	5.7
Reintegrate them in the community (%)	2.7	4.0	8.2	4.6
They should go back to their country (%)	3.3	3.1	0.7	2.5
Other (%)	2.8	2.8	1.4	2.4



## ACCOUNTABILITY

<i>Who should be held accountable?</i>	North Kivu	South Kivu	<i>Ituri</i>	<i>Total</i>
Militia leaders (%)	54.5	54.0	60.5	56.0
Militias (%)	44.7	42.9	43.8	43.9
Rwanda/ Rwandan government (%)	42.0	35.1	29.5	36.4
Uganda/ government (%)	23.0	22.2	23.6	22.9
Government in Kinshasa (%)	12.0	15.2	27.9	17.4
National Army (FARDC) (%)	12.0	14.0	12.1	12.7
The community (%)	3.4	3.8	4.0	3.7
"Those who committed violence" (%)	4.0	3.7	0.7	3.0
Police / Security agents (%)	2.4	2.3	3.0	2.6
MONUC, international community (%)	2.7	2.2	1.7	2.3
No one (%)	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
Ethnic group (%)	1.8	2.5	0.4	1.6
Other (%)	5.4	3.8	1.0	3.7



## TRIALS

	North Kivu	South Kivu	<i>Ituri</i>	<i>Total</i>
Would you forgive war criminals if it is the only way to have peace? (% yes)	67.1	72.5	65.2	68.3
Would you forgive those who directly attacked you if it was the only way to have peace? (% yes)	67.5	70.8	64.0	67.6
2 choices				
Peace with trials (%)	60.9	57.7	68.3	61.9
Or				
Peace with forgiveness (%)	39.1	42.3	31.7	38.1
4 choices				
National trials (%)	48.4	42.5	41.6	44.7
Or				
International trials in DRC (%)	37.4	39.2	44.6	39.9
Or				
International trials abroad (%)	6.1	7.3	9.0	7.3
Or				
No trials (%)	8.1	8.1	4.8	8.1
Should the international community help local courts?	81.3	83.1	80.8	81.9



## ICC

- 28% have heard of Lubanga Trial
- 27% have heard about ICC
- Among them 1/3 believe ICC is not neutral
- 12% knew how to access the ICC
- 67% willing to participate



## TRUTH

	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Is it important to know the truth about what happened in eastern ? (% yes)	87.8	88.3	88.4	88.1
<i>How can the truth be established?</i>				
Enquiry by judicial system (%)	50.6	55.3	65.1	56.1
Let people talk freely (%)	28.3	29.3	39.2	31.6
Have a truth/inquiry commission (%)	22.0	23.6	28.6	24.3
Independent, free media (%)	23.8	23.7	25.3	24.2
Write a book (%)	13.7	11.8	9.0	11.8
Dialogue, reconciliation (%)	1.4	1.1	0.6	1.1
Don't know (%)	2.2	2.0	1.2	1.9
Other (%)	10.8	11.4	4.8	9.4

60% willing to participate

- Fear
- Useless



## CONCLUSIONS

- What is in the Interests of Victims?
- Range of opinions and attitudes
- 'one size fits all' not possible, no single answer
- Consultation and ownership are key
- Multiple responses, including socio-economic development programs, psycho-social support and justice



## GOVERNMENT

- Security Sector Reform (SSR)
  - Must address foreign combatants
  - “Justice-sensitive” SSR
    - Census and identification
    - Vetting
    - reforms against ongoing impunity
    - pay salaries / fight corruption
    - Structural



## GOVERNMENT

- Engage in meaningful dialogue with CNDP
- Stop collaboration with FDLR
- Longer term:
  - Nationality
  - Land reform
  - Corruption
  - Accountability ...



## MONUC

- Extend mandate
- Implement mandate
- Engage in dialogue with the population
- Investigate sources and channels of funding
- Hold personnel accountable



## RWANDA

- Engage in meaningful talk to facilitate
  - Return of FDLR
  - Disarmament of CNDP



## INT'L COMMUNITY

- Pressure on Rwanda and DRC
- Special case of U.S.
  - Obama – Biden
- Accountability



## ICC - RECOMMENDATIONS

- ICC must improve outreach campaign
- ICC should revisit the option of holding in situ trials in the DRC
- ICC vs. population's concerns