

Abstract

Continuous ethnic-related conflicts and ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo had led every military group involved to recruit soldiers as many as possible in order to maintain its power and domination against other groups. In the DRC, approximately ten thousand CAAFAG were recruited with force. Despite both boys and girls having the same possibility of being recruited by the military groups, boys are still more preferable to be in the front line because of the gender bias that still occurs throughout the country. This paper aims to analyze the impact of the stereotype of masculinity on the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG that still prevails in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The data used in this research were collected through document analysis and interviews that would later be analyzed with the process-tracing method. Drawing from the concepts of the toxic culture of masculinity and personal security, this paper argues that the widespread recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in DRC is influenced by the deep-rooted stereotype of masculinity. It forces Congolese boys to embody toxic masculine traits, such as tough, emotionally-detached, and violent. This paper finds that the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DRC is affected by the internalized toxic culture of masculinity among Congolese people that also endanger the Congolese children's personal security.

Keywords: *recruitment and exploitation, CAAFAG, toxic culture of masculinity, personal security, Democratic Republic of Congo*

Abstrak

Konflik antar etnis yang berkelanjutan serta perang saudara yang berlarut-larut di wilayah Republik Demokratik Kongo mendorong setiap kelompok militer yang terlibat untuk merekrut anggota baru sebanyak mungkin guna mempertahankan wilayah kekuasaan serta dominasinya atas kelompok-kelompok militer lain. Di Republik Demokratik Kongo, hampir sepuluh ribu anak direkrut secara paksa untuk menjadi anggota pasukan militer. Meskipun baik anak laki-laki maupun anak perempuan memiliki peluang yang sama untuk direkrut, anak laki-laki tetap menjadi preferensi utama bagi para kelompok militer untuk ditempatkan di garis depan pertempuran. Hal ini disebabkan oleh masih kuatnya bias gender di sepejuru wilayah tersebut. Tulisan ini akan menganalisa pengaruh dari stereotip maskulinitas terhadap aksi perekrutan dan eksploitasi tentara anak yang terjadi di wilayah RDK. Data yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini didapat menggunakan teknik pengumpulan data analisis dokumen dan wawancara yang kemudian dianalisa menggunakan metode *process-tracing*. Menggunakan konsep *toxic culture of masculinity* dan *personal security*, tulisan ini berargumen bahwa maraknya aksi perekrutan tentara anak di wilayah RDK dipengaruhi oleh stereotip maskulinitas yang masih tertanam kuat dan dipercayai oleh masyarakatnya. Anak-anak di RDK dipaksa untuk bersikap 'maskulin', seperti tangguh, tidak memiliki hubungan emosional, dan kasar. Tulisan ini menemukan bahwa perekrutan dan eksploitasi tentara anak di RDK dipengaruhi oleh budaya *toxic masculinity* yang tertanam kuat di masyarakat Kongo, serta di saat bersamaan juga mengancam keamanan personal milik anak-anak Kongo.

Kata kunci: perekrutan dan eksploitasi, tentara anak, budaya *toxic masculinity*, keamanan personal, Republik Demokratik Kongo

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

For the past decades, Zaire, now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), has been the battlefield for on-going armed conflicts. Although the civil wars have officially ended in 2002 as all parties involved signed the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement, violence and hostilities still continue throughout the country with the involvement of more or less twenty-five armed groups and armed forces (Reyntjes, 2009, pp. 144-46). As of March 2020, there are more than five million people displaced inside DRC and more than one million refugees and asylum seekers in the DRC and other African countries (UNHCR, 2020). This prolonged conflict has also affected the lives of Congolese children, as nearly seven million children aged 5 to 17 are out of school due to the sluggish economic condition and political unrest. The children were also forcibly recruited and exploited by armed groups and forces who seek to maintain their power against the government and opposing groups.

For the children who were recruited and exploited, the experience was nothing but one filled with constant fear. The boys were physically trained roughly while the girls were immediately being ‘distributed’ to the high-ranking officials as wives, as told by some of the survivors themselves (Kelly et al., 2016, p. 7):

When they abduct kids, especially girls, they distribute them to the commanders – they say, ‘you, this is your husband, this is your husband.’ Those who are not mature will give to other commanders and say, ‘you keep this kid until they are old enough to be your wife’... My job was basically to carry kids, cooking, and carrying things when we were moving... [The man they gave me to] had other wives. They were Ugandan. They were not nice to me – the Ugandan wives. – 16-year-old female abductee

“Boys will be taken, if they don’t want to go back home they will be trained as fighters, they will ask a boy questions to see if he is trustworthy, then they will send him to fetch water, if he keeps coming back, they will train him. – 18-year-old female abductee

There were also several children who joined the armed groups and forces voluntarily to defend their communities’ interests or to seek revenge. One of those kids is 16-year-old Elie. He picked up a weapon for the first time when he was 15-year-old to fight a group of Pygmies who ravaged his village. According to his own words- “*I killed to defend my village.*” While he was on the run, he was caught and abducted by members of an armed group and was later trained to attack villages, looted houses, and other violent acts (UNICEF DRC, 2019). Another story of children who joined the armed groups to seek revenge came from a young man whose interview was retrieved from Claudia Seymour’s work, “Selective Outrage: The Dangers of Children’s DDR in Eastern DRC” (Seymour, 2011, pp. 57-66):

[...] I went to visit my grandfather in the nearby village. When I returned home late that day, I found that the RCD had surrounded my house. They were accusing people of being *Mayi-Mayi* [local defense militia] sympathizers. I saw my father as he was being beaten by the soldiers. He was beaten to death. To take vengeance for my father’s death, I decided to leave the RCD and to join the *Mayi-Mayi*.

The children were trained to be tough, violent, and most importantly, to kill. Most of the armed groups trained them by forcing them to kill fellow abductees who attempted to flee (Kelly et al., 2016, p. 6).

If one child tries to escape, they catch him, put him in the middle of a group of children, and make the children kill the child with a piece of wood and say if you try to escape we will kill you like that. - Leader of the refugee camp

UNICEF defines the term ‘child associated in armed groups and forces’ (further in this paper will be referred to as CAAFAG) as children, defined by the Convention on the Rights of the Child as any person under the age of

eighteen, who are part of any kind of armed forces or armed group in any capacity (UNGA, 1989). Those children may be trained and used either for combat or other supporting roles such as porters, cooks, spies, or human shields, as what mostly happens in Africa (UNICEF, 2003). Most of the children recruited were taken by force or abduction, although there were also some of them voluntarily joined the armed groups. Other than Convention on the Rights of the Child, the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG have also been regulated in the Paris Principles, in which all children are entitled to protection and care under international, regional, and national instruments, from being recruited and exploited by armed groups and armed forces (Free Children from War Conference, 2007, p. 8). The African Union has also ratified a regional agreement for the protection of children through its African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The charter has forbidden any form of child exploitation, as regulated in article 15 and article 16 (African Union, 1990). Unfortunately, despite the international, regional, and national efforts, recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG remain as a concerning issue until this day.

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is one of several countries with a high-rate of CAAFAG recruitment and exploitation. According to a report by MONUSCO, between 2014 and 2017, more than six thousand children were recruited by no less than 49 different armed groups. 72 percent of the recruitment was perpetrated by DRC's biggest armed groups such as FDLR FOCA, Nyatura, and Kamuina Nsapu (MONUSCO, 2019, p. 9). The method used by the armed groups is usually abduction, but sometimes they also use persuasion. Armed groups usually abduct children from schools and even from their own homes. Meanwhile, the persuasion method is usually used upon children whose family or community members were killed by the opposing armed groups, thus encouraging the need to seek revenge and 'self-defense' (MONUSCO, 2019, p. 26).

Another method used in the recruitment of CAAFAG is 'shame-hardening'. This method is usually being implemented through family and peer pressure. As a country with deep-rooted stereotypes of masculinity

among its people, many Congolese believe that boys and men are 'respectable' only if they are willing to join the armed groups and armed forces to defend their communities' needs and interests. This value later keeps on being passed on through generations and thus strengthening the stereotype of masculinity among Congolese. The 'shame-hardening' method is usually used to humiliate boys who refused to join armed groups. They will be deemed 'not masculine' or 'not the real men'. Those boys will later be outcasts in their communities. A report from the American Bar Association's sexual violence legal clinic stated that, as of June 2010, ten percent of rape victims in Goma, North Kivu, were the men who refused to join armed groups during their boyhoods. They were isolated since they were children and after they have grown up, they were raped, shamed, and referred to as 'bush wives'. The term 'bush wives' itself refers to women who were abducted as sex slaves or 'wives' of the Commanders (The New York Times, 2009). This method is used to cause fear among other boys, as it shows that once the boys refuse to join armed groups, then they are 'not masculine' and deserve to be degraded as 'bush wives'. Besides being used as a recruitment method, 'shame-hardening' is also used by most armed groups as a training method. As most Congolese still believe that 'masculine men' are those who are tough, violent, and brave, the boys who have been recruited were later trained to be just like that. High-ranking officials would humiliate and give severe punishments to boys who refused to carry out orders or dared to show mercy to the opposing groups (Frem, 2015).

Children in the DRC, mostly boys, are recruited and exploited as CAAFAG because their youth and virginity are believed to be able to fortify the armed groups' protective powers. They are assigned to frontlines as soldiers and as human shields because those boys are believed to possess magic that can strengthen the group's ability to become bulletproof, as told by some of the survivors (UNICEF DRC, A Stolen Childhood, 2020):

They made me swallow live termites so that I am protected from bullets when I get shot. I was in the front line, completely naked, in order to distract the soldiers. During the clashes, I was not afraid because I was baptized. – 17-year-old female survivor

This belief, which is held deeply by the armed groups, places the boys at risk of sexual violence, not by their own armed groups, but by the opposing groups. CAAFAG who were captured and detained were raped as a way to destroy their ‘magical powers’ thus weakening their groups (MONUSCO, 2019, p. 41). After they managed to escape from the prison and returned to their armed groups, they would no longer be assigned to frontlines as their ‘magic’ was destroyed. Those children would be exploited as sex slaves or be forcibly taken as ‘wives’ to the high-ranking officials.

There have been several academic literatures which discussed this matter. Claude Rakisits, in their paper entitled “Child Soldiers in the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo” explained the condition of CAAFAG in the DRC as well as the country’s legal obligations to international statutes. Another literature by Claudia Seymour, entitled “Everyday Violence and War in the Kivus, DRC”, examined the structural violence experienced by Congolese children and international child protection interventions. Unfortunately, despite both works having thoroughly explained the condition of CAAFAG in the DRC, they have yet to examine the factors causing the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG. The analyses on the factors causing the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG are mostly found in MONUSCO reports, not academic literature. Regarding the toxic culture of masculinity, there have been several academic literatures which discussed the matter, such as in “Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (DRC)” by Maria Baaz and Maria Stern. In the said literature, they explained how the Congolese soldiers tried to live up to the expectations of being tough, strong, and masculine. Desiree Lwambo, in their article entitled “Before the War, I was A Man: Men and Masculinities in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo” also examined how the toxic culture of masculinity damaged Congolese men who went to war. However, both literatures above focused more on the adult soldiers, rather than the CAAFAG. This research offers a new perspective to analyze the issue of the recruitment and exploitation of

CAAFAG in the DRC, by using the concept of masculinity. This concept will be used to analyze the factors causing the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG and eventually damage Congolese children's personal security.

1.2 Statement of Problem

This paper aims to explain the following problems:

1.2.1 How does the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG damage Congolese children's personal security?

1.2.2 How does the stereotype of masculinity affect the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the Democratic Republic of Congo?

1.3 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research is divided into two purposes as explained below:

1.3.1 General Purpose

The general purpose of this research is to examine the effect of the stereotype of masculinity to the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG, as well as to examine the damage caused by the recruitment and exploitation process on personal security.

1.3.2 Specific Purpose

The specific purpose of this research is to examine the effect of the stereotype of masculinity on the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DR Congo, as well as to examine the damage caused by the recruitment and exploitation process on Congolese children's personal security.

1.4 Significance of Research

The significance of this research is divided into academic significance and practical significance, as explained below:

1.4.1 Academic Significance

The academic significance of this research is to give a contribution to the children's rights studies. This paper also offers new perspectives in analyzing children's rights by using the concepts of personal security and the stereotype of masculinity.

1.4.2 Practical Significance

The practical significance of this research is to provide findings and suggestions that could be used to reduce and, eventually, abolish the practice of recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DR Congo and other countries.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

1.5.1 Human Security

The concept of human security was derived from the paradigm of human development coined by former Pakistani Prime Minister, Mahbub ul Haq, in 1990. Through Human Development Report, Mahbub ul Haq laid out the basis of the concept of human security developed by the UNDP. Human Development Report stated that human development and human freedom complete each other (1990, p. 16). There have been several events in the history on how people would sacrifice their lives in order to fight for their freedom. With liberty, individuals are free to develop their potentials to the fullest. The Commission on Human Security would later define "human security" as the following (CHS, 2003, p. 4):

Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms- freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social,

environmental, economic, military, and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood, and dignity.

From the definition above, security is not only about protection from invasion or war, but more about protection from violence and crime which threaten day to day lives.

Following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 66/290 on September 10th, 2012, the UNGA presented several understandings to guide the implementation of human security for member states. There are six common understandings as listed below (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2016, p. 6):

- a. The right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their potential.
- b. Human security calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities.
- c. Human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development, and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, and cultural rights.
- d. The notion of human security is distinct from the responsibility to protect and its implementation.
- e. Human security does not entail the threat or the use of force or coercive measure nor does it replace State security.
- f. Human security is based on national ownership and strengthens national solutions which are compatible with local realities.

The first common understanding stated that the protection of human security must focus on the ability of individuals to be free from fear and free from want. The terms of ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom

from want' was first coined by the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, at his annual State of the Union Address, also known as 'The Four Fundamental Freedoms' (National Archives). These six understandings presented by the UNGA also stated that governments have the responsibility to ensure the livelihood as well as protection of their citizens' security.

UNDP further proposes seven main categories of human security which complements each other. However, the governments, who are mainly responsible to protect these securities, rarely managed to ensure the protection of all aspects of human security. Most of the governments only succeeded in protecting several categories and lacking in the others. In the case of recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DRC, the aspect that is still lacking in protection is the personal security.

The concept of personal security aims to ensure the protection for individuals from violence and crimes that constantly risking human life (Gierszewski, 2017, p. 54). This particular category could relate to most people as human life is constantly being threatened by the possibility of violence, both in poor and rich countries. In their article, Gasper and Gomez argue that the fulfillment of personal security would automatically guarantee the realization of other categories of human security, since other categories are also considered as personal, such as health, access to adequate food, and civil liberties (Gasper & Gomez, 2015, p. 103). The absence of violence that threatens human life could only happen once their basic needs and other aspects of their security have been fulfilled. UNDP later classified three threats to personal security, those are threats from either external or internal, either regular or irregular armed conflict, threats committed by the state or others, and threats to self, in this case, related to suicide and drug use (UNDP, 1994, p. 30).

The recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DRC proved that Congolese children still experience the threats to their personal

security, as they are still caught in the middle of an on-going armed conflict, the failure of the Congolese government to protect their personal security, and the constant threat of being recruited by the armed groups and armed forces. This shows how severe the violations on Congolese children's personal security are. Because the violations against the children's personal security are severe, it becomes the main concern that has to be protected immediately. Once the protection of Congolese children's personal security is ensured, the children would have the courage and the freedom to pursue other aspects of human security, such as economic security, food security, and political security.

1.5.2 Toxic Culture of Masculinity

The concept of toxic culture of masculinity originated from the mythopoetic men's movement which began in the 1980s. According to the movement, toxic culture of masculinity is the opposite of deep masculinity. The members of the movement, also known as 'mythopoets', argue that deep masculinity is the "good masculinity", such as being a father, hunting food, seeking access to economic resources, and saving lives. The inability of men to exercise their deep masculinity caused them to resort to the destructive and hyper-masculine values, which is also known as the toxic masculinity (Messner, 1997, pp. 17-23).

Despite the lack of a universally agreed-upon definition of the concept "toxic culture of masculinity", this concept is usually used to refer to a set of norms and beliefs associated with "masculine" traits (Sculos, 2017). Toxic masculinity does not mean that masculinity itself is the problem, but it rather refers to a patriarchal construction of masculinity such as neglect, abuse, and violence (Kimmer, 1995, p. 367). Toxic masculinity believes that men should be tough and willing to use violence and that men should not show emotions, especially emotions that are seen as "feminine", such as affection, dependence, and compassion. Men's roles are defined as more

important than women's thus their failure to fulfill those traditional roles can be seen as weakness. Men are constantly pressured to perform and assert their masculinity (Lwambo, 2013, p. 50). This practice helps men to maintain their dominance in society.

According to Kupers (2004, p. 632), the norms of toxic masculinity have a higher chance to be implemented in punitive isolation settings or in a condition in which there is a clear gap between the power of two parties, such as in armed groups and armed forces. The high-ranking officers have total control over their subordinates, thus allowing them to order them around and less likely to treat others with respect. This action would either encourage the subordinates to rebel or to act the same way once they have control over their own subordinates. The concept of toxic masculinity appears in the cycle of the men asserting domination over others.

In the DRC, men are considered as "masculine" if they are physically strong, have access to economic resources, and always willing to defend the interests of their families and communities. As cited from an essay by David Morgan below (Morgan, 1994, p. 166):

The gendered associations of war and soldiering have been, at least until very recently, one of the most abiding features of the sexual division of labor. In all types of society, state or stateless, simple or complex, men are expected to fight or to be prepared to fight, to enlist for military service, and to undergo some form of military training.

The statement above shows how deep-rooted the culture of toxic masculinity itself that it has been reproduced in the form of stereotypical expectations. Failure to fulfill this traditional stereotype would cost men their privileges and would reduce them to an inferior status. Most Congolese men believe that they are the dominant position in society and that women are "destined" to be their subordinates. They tend to discredit women's empowerment and see

it as a threat, as their own gender identity is challenged (Morgan, 1994, pp. 14-16). Therefore, Congolese men must perform their strength and dominance as well as pass it onto the younger generation of Congolese boys in order to preserve manhood.

1.5.3 Shame-Hardening

Shame-hardening is one of several methods used by armed groups and armed forces in DRC to recruit and train the CAAFAG. This method relies on the deep-rooted stereotype of masculinity among its people, in which they believe that only ‘the real men’ who join the armed groups and armed forces deserve to be respected. The boys who refused to join the armed groups and armed forces would later be outcasts in their communities and be referred to as ‘bush wives’. Meanwhile, the ones who chose to join the armed groups and armed forces would also experience shame-hardening as a training method, where high-ranking officials would humiliate and give severe punishment to boys who refused to carry out orders or dared to show emotions.

The term ‘shame-hardening’ was first conjured by William S. Pollack in their book, ‘Real Boys: Rescuing Our Sons from the Myths of Boyhood’, as cited below (Pollack, 1999, pp. 14-16):

[shame-hardening] is a process that causes boys and men to develop a thick skin, a strong resistance to showing any emotions that might lead them to feel ashamed. This hardening comes not from a boy’s desire to be either courageous or coldhearted, but rather from an intense wish to protect himself from “losing face” or feeling otherwise dishonored. [...] When boys become hardened, they become willing to endure emotional and physical pain if it means winning the approval of their peers.

Shame-hardening is the result of the Boy Code, which is a set of strict rules boys had absorbed about how they “must” behave, with four basic stereotyped male ideas (David & Brannon, 1976). Those four ideas are:

a. The “Sturdy Oak”

Boys are not allowed to share their pain or grieve openly. They have to be stoic, independent, and stable.

b. “Give ‘Em Hell”

Boys are “destined” to act like macho and violent. This idea would later urge boys to dare each other in a fight and once they injured themselves or others, society would defend them with the cliché excuse that “boys will be boys”.

c. The “Big Wheel”

Boys are taught to avoid shame at all costs and to act tough as if everything is under control in order to assert their status, dominance, or power.

d. “No Sissy Stuff”

Boys are prohibited from expressing emotions seen as “feminine”, such as dependence and empathy. Boys are also forced to become self-reliant as the emotions mentioned above are considered taboo.

According to Pollack, the shame-hardening method process works well in shaping boys into the stereotype male ideas because boys are unconsciously hyper-aware of the signs of “losing face”, thus they will do whatever it takes to avoid shame, including losing temper and engaging in fights. Therefore, once the boys, in this case, CAAFAG, have been continuously shamed and physically injured for failing to be “masculine”, they will be accustomed to suppress their emotions and to act as if everything is fine, even if it is not.

1.6 Hypothesis

The high number of recruitment and exploitation of children associated with armed groups and armed forces (CAAFAG) in the Democratic People of Congo is caused by the deep-rooted stereotype of masculinity amongst Congolese people. According to the concept of human security, Congolese children, mostly boys, have not fulfilled their personal security as they are constantly in fear of being forcibly recruited by the armed groups. If they

got abducted, it would be unlikely for them to escape since the members of those armed groups would threaten to kill them if they ever tried to flee. As most of the Congolese people still believe in the toxic culture of masculinity in which it glorifies men as violent, tough, and emotionally distant, they pressured their boys to grow up and to be exactly like that by implementing the shame-hardening method in both the recruitment and the exploitation procedures.

1.7 Research Method

1.7.1 Conceptual Definition

1.7.1.1 Child Associated in Armed Groups and Forces

The definition of ‘child associated in armed groups and forces’ (CAAFAG) used in this research is the definition proposed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child as any person under the age of eighteen, who are part of any kind of armed forces or armed group in any capacity. Those children may be trained and used either as soldiers in battles or other supporting roles such as porters, cooks, spies, or human shields.

1.7.1.2 Recruitment and Exploitation

The definition of recruitment used in this research is the recruitment of military positions, which is the act of attracting and selecting people to join armed groups or armed forces. Meanwhile, the definition of exploitation used in this research is the act of treating someone unfairly in order to benefit from their work.

1.7.2 Type of Research

This research relies on a qualitative approach for investigating its objectives. This approach identifies the research problems guided by a theoretical lens that provides a framework for the research. It fits well as the main aim of this research is to explain how the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG damaged Congolese children’s

personal security and how the stereotype of masculinity affects the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

1.7.3 Scope and Limitation

This research will focus on the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DR Congo with the limitation from the attempt of a transitional government in 2002 until July 2020. The limitation starts in 2002 as it was the year the Sun City Agreement was signed. The agreement marked the beginning for the attempt of a transitional government that faced various challenges from internal parties and the armed groups. The limitation ends in July 2020 because the matter of recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DRC is still happening until this day, therefore to prevent overlapping and unfocused research, the limitation ends in July 2020.

The DRC was chosen as the case study brought in this research because it is one of fourteen countries where children have been widely used as soldiers. Also, the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG in the DRC are done not only by the rebels' armed groups but also by the government armed forces. Most people in the DRC also still deeply believe in the culture of masculinity.

1.7.4 Method of Data Collection

The data used in this research were collected through document analysis and interview. The method of document analysis is based on existing resources, such as reports by government and international organizations, personal documents, newspaper articles, books, or journals. Meanwhile, the method of interview used in this research is a direct interview with a former CAAFAG in the DR Congo in order to collect primary data.

1.7.5 Method of Data Analysis

The data would later be analyzed with the process-tracing method. This is a method for identifying, validating, and testing causal mechanisms within the problems brought in this research in a specific and theoretically informed way.

1.7.6 Outline

Chapter I

This chapter contains background study, statement of problems, purpose statement, significance of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, as well as the research method. This sub-chapter contains conceptual definition, type of research, scope and limitation, method of data collection, method of analysis, and research outline.

Chapter II

This chapter will contain a further explanation regarding the lack of personal security for Congolese children. This sub-chapter will explain the history of armed conflicts in the DR Congo. Other sub-chapters will explain the mechanisms of the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG as well as the deep-rooted toxic culture of masculinity among the Congolese people. Another sub-chapter will also retell the experience of a former CAAFAG in the DRC.

Chapter III

This chapter will answer the statement of problems brought in this paper by analyzing the damage caused by the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG, in terms of the personal security of Congolese children. This chapter will also analyze the effect of deep-rooted toxic culture of masculinity in the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG. These analyses will eventually result in the answers to whether the recruitment and exploitation of CAAFAG damage Congolese children's personal security and whether the toxic culture of masculinity affects the recruitment and exploitations of CAAFAG in the DRC.

Chapter IV

This chapter will contain a conclusion as well as suggestions for further research. Findings from the analyses will be restated in this chapter. The inadequacies of this paper will be evaluated thus they could serve as suggestions for further research.