Wives in Slavery

Forced Marriage in the Congo

A Free the Slaves Field Research Exposé

June 2013

FREE THE SLAVES

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Acknowledgements

In publishing this report, Free the Slaves strives to honor the individuals who agreed to speak to us in hopes of contributing to better futures for themselves and their children. We are grateful for their fortitude and their stories.

Several Congolese human rights and women's rights organizations facilitated and advised our work at every step of the way; without their help and expertise this work would have been impossible: *SOS Femmes en Danger; Solidarité des Femmes Activistes pour la Défense des Droits Humains* (SOFAD); the *Synergie* in Baraka, and *Arche d'Alliance*. Thanks also to *Synergie pour l'Assistance Judiciaire aux Victims de Violations des Droits Humains au Nord Kivu* (SAJ) and *Solidarité Féminine pour la Paix et le Développement Intégral* (SOFEPADI). Special thanks to translator Innocent Lubingo.

We also express our admiration for the women's rights advocates who repeatedly told us – usually with a hint of laughter – that as a result of their activism they are viewed as "strange women who misbehave!"

Many current and former Free the Slaves staff members contributed to this work, including: Jody Sarich, who designed and conducted the field research; Karen Stauss, who also conducted field research and drafted a portion of this report; Zorba Leslie and Jack Kahorha for assisting in the field research; and Gabriel Deussom and Terry FitzPatrick for overseeing report drafting and production. Photographs: Peggy Callahan, Zorba Leslie, Jody Sarich, Karen Stauss. We thank Katie Stauss of Scintilla Consulting for authoring the report and contributing to its conception.

Finally, we thank Open Square for its loyal support – as well as advice, patience and warmth – in sustaining our on-the-ground efforts in the Congo to prevent and respond to abuses like those described in this report.

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Acronyms & Terms

ABA ROLI	American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative
CEDAW	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CBO	Community-based organization
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DRC	The Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo)
FDLR	*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda*, a Rwandan rebel group operating in Congolese territory
FTS	Free the Slaves
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (U.N. Peacekeeping Mission)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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Executive Summary

There are few things more fundamental in life than marriage. It is the foundation of family. It provides legal and cultural structure for society.

There is growing recognition, however, that for many women and girls in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC or Congo), marriage can be slavery. It can begin through abduction and rape. It can be arranged by fathers to repay debts. These brides enter marriage against their will. They are forced to provide labor without compensation. They cannot pursue their own life goals. And they cannot escape.

This exposé examines the causes and impacts of forced marriage in the Congo – through the stories of women and girls who have experienced it firsthand. The case studies provide a lens into the reality of how forced marriage occurs, how it is hidden in plain view, often without being challenged, and how it adversely impacts both the wives who are enslaved as well as society at large.

Researchers outline how forced marriage meets the legal definition of slavery under international conventions and DRC law, the conditions that create vulnerability to enslavement, and the physical and psychological toll that forced marriage inflicts on Congolese women.

Key Findings:

- **Forms of Forced Marriage:**
  In the Congo, forced marriages typically fall into one of four classifications: marriage by rape, marriage by sale, marriage by kidnapping, and child marriage.

- **Debt:**
  Poverty or debt within a woman's family increases her vulnerability to forced marriage. Many cases of forced marriage are negotiated settlements that absolve a family member, often a father, of debt.

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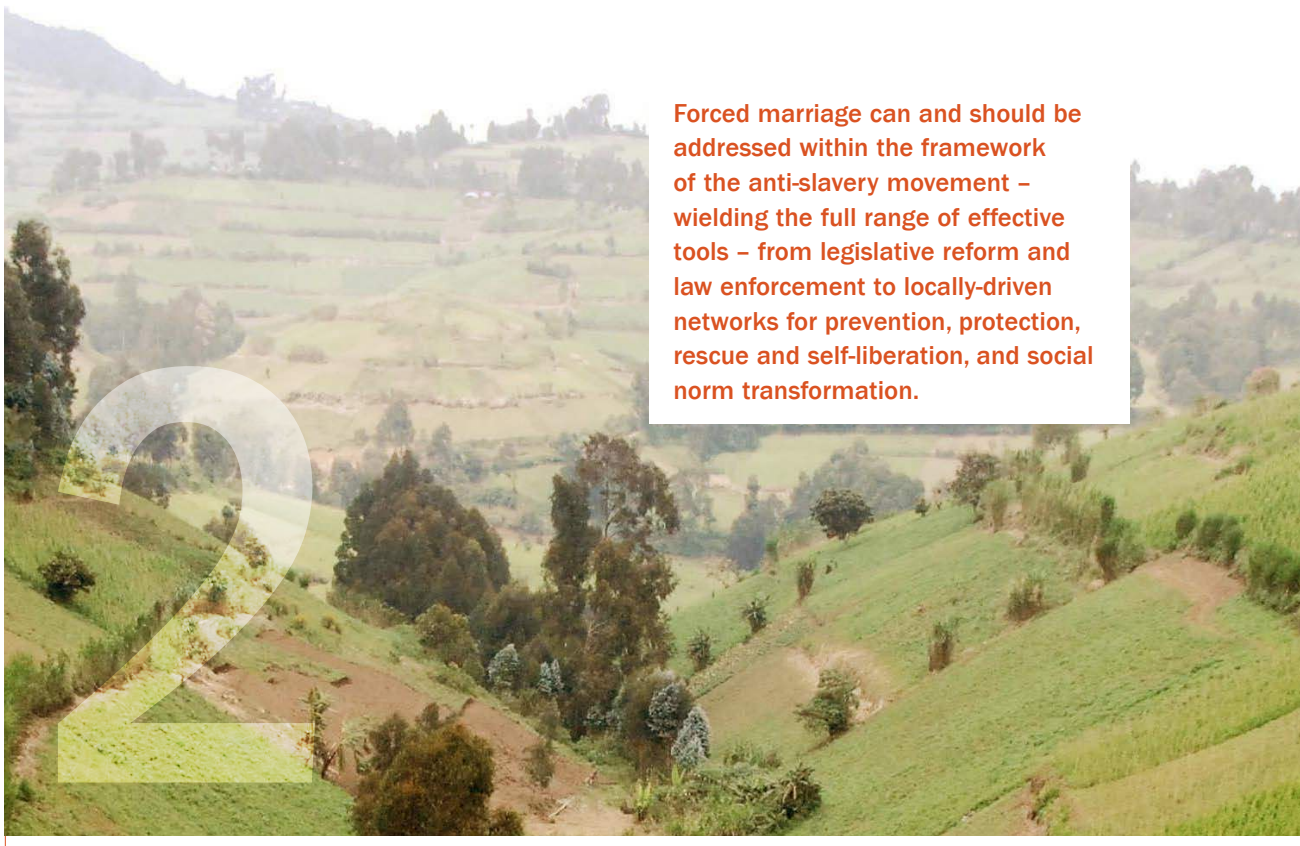
- **Conflict:**
  The military conflict in eastern DRC has increased the vulnerability of women to forced marriage by creating a climate where there is limited rule of law. Armed combatants ignore laws with impunity, taking women and girls from their homes.
- **Children:**
  Girls are especially vulnerable to forced marriage because they have less power due to double discrimination of being both children and female in a patriarchal society. Child marriages result in high-risk pregnancies with greater rates of both maternal and neonatal illness and death.

Key Recommendations:

- **Justice System:**
  Legal revisions are needed to prevent discrimination against women and prohibit or significantly limit the use of a dowry or bride-price in marriage. Judicial strengthening is needed to support prosecution of forced marriage crimes. Increased cooperation and coordination among key players in the justice system is needed, including police, courts, local governments and civil society.
- **Schools & Clinics:**
  Improved services in schools and health facilities are needed to ensure cases of forced marriage are identified and addressed effectively.
- **Community Education:**
  Increased support is needed for grassroots movements that can effectively address local attitudes and practices through dialogue, education, and other communications.
- **Scale-up Support:**
  Increased and coordinated monitoring, evaluation, and knowledge management is needed to ensure continuous learning and the scale-up of practices that are raising awareness and reducing vulnerability to forced marriage.

Current and former slaves interviewed during this research project commonly stated that it will be necessary to change attitudes in the Congo in order to end forced marriage. Many community members, including wives in forced marriages, do not realize that the practice is illegal. Education about the right to consensual marriage, along with education on the harmful impacts of forced marriage, can help Congolese residents make forced marriage a thing of the past.



Forced marriage can and should be addressed within the framework of the anti-slavery movement – wielding the full range of effective tools – from legislative reform and law enforcement to locally-driven networks for prevention, protection, rescue and self-liberation, and social norm transformation.

Introduction

The Congo Context

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC or Congo) is a beautiful place. Its lush landscapes are picture postcards of tropical bounty. It's a region blessed with abundant natural resources. Congo exports minerals that are used in manufacturing around the globe.[1]

But the DRC is also one of the most lawless and violent spots in the world today. Kidnappings, rape, slavery and other assaults on freedom and human dignity occur daily. An estimated 5 million Congolese have died as a result of ongoing armed conflict.[2] Control of lucrative mining sites, and the slaves who labor there, fuels the fighting. Profits from the production of "conflict minerals" such as tin, tungsten, tantalum and gold provide revenue for a variety of armed groups.

Free the Slaves (FTS) has uncovered widespread slavery at key mining sites in the eastern DRC that produce these conflict minerals. ***The Congo Report: Slavery in Conflict Minerals***[3] revealed the presence of slavery in Congo's North Kivu Province. ***Congo's Mining Slaves: Slavery at South Kivu Mines***[4] documented slavery in the South Kivu province.

Those reports examined how unstable conditions in eastern Congo's conflict zone contribute to widespread enslavement, including forced labor, debt bondage, forced prostitution, sexual slavery, peonage and child labor. This report expands that base of knowledge with a closer examination of a lesser-discussed form of slavery also present in eastern Congo: forced marriage.

Goals of the Research and Report

This report is the product of field research conducted in North Kivu and South Kivu provinces in 2012. Researchers gathered the perspectives of, among others, wives

and former wives. Many of these women and girls were survivors of repeated incidents of brutality. This report could not have been produced without their courage to speak.

Free the Slaves' goal in producing this report is to provide evidence that forced marriage is a form of slavery afflicting women and girls in the DRC. FTS argues that forced marriage can and should be addressed within the framework of the anti-slavery movement – wielding the full range of effective tools – from legislative reform and law enforcement to locally-driven networks for prevention, protection, rescue and self-liberation, and social norm transformation.

Free the Slaves uses a sociological definition when explaining modern-day slavery to the general public: "People forced to work without pay beyond subsistence, under threat or actual violence, who cannot walk away." In policy and legal settings, FTS goes into greater depth on the definition of slavery: "A relationship in which one person is controlled through violence, the threat of violence, or psychological coercion, has lost free will and free movement, is exploited economically, and paid nothing beyond subsistence."[5] The United Nations defines forced marriage as a "union of two persons at least one of whom has not given their full and free consent to the marriage."[6]

Forced marriage is a crime in the DRC, and is considered a form of sexual violence. There is little evidence that violators are ever prosecuted. These crimes go unpunished primarily due to a lack of community awareness of the law, of women's and girls' rights regarding consent to marry, and a resistance to new laws that go against long-held social practices.[7]

The lack of full and free consent present in the stories of the girls and women met during the research for this report was accompanied by violence, the threat of violence, or other psychological coercion. These wives were exploited economically and not paid for their labor. As such, this report illustrates how cases of forced marriage in eastern DRC meet the definition of slavery in a range of marital formulas – including women and girls who were kidnapped, raped, traded, tricked, sold, or exchanged against debt into marriage.

Through sometimes violent, but always coercive, the variety of forced-marriage tactics that has been documented by (FTS) researchers shows that many women and girls are entering marriage against their will. Once married, these same women and girls are exploited by being forced into sex, domestic servitude, or other labor. They often suffer, with high-risk pregnancies, limited healthcare and physical and emotional abuse. Crucially, they are allowed to make few if any independent decisions about their futures.

Many of the girls and women met during the research had been unaware of their rights within their marriages and, as a result of their experiences, had lost hope. As such, psychological control was enough to imprison them.

These women and girls are not free to leave. Many have children whom they would lose if they left. Many have no means of survival since they lack education and skills. In addition, their families would not support them were they to return to their parents' home; since leaving a forced marriage arranged by their families would be considered a shame to the entire family. Often, they are held physically against their will, and/or fear they would be hurt or killed if they left. Many of the girls and women met during the research had been unaware of their rights within their marriages and, as a result of their experiences, had lost hope. As such, psychological control was enough to imprison them.

This report tells the stories of specific individuals who are representative of four categories or general forms of forced marriage.

Female Subservience in Congolese Marriage

Forced marriage in eastern DRC stands out as a unique form of slavery less than it might otherwise, owing to a local context of marriage that normalizes the subservience of wives[8] and even their physical abuse,[9] whether the marriage is consensual or not. This raises the question of whether one can consent to a marriage which, once entered, may become a relationship of enforced servitude that cannot be freely exited. As such, this report looks at forced marriage not only at the moment of marriage – the wedding day – but also once the marital relationship is underway, including the reasonable means of exit, if any.

Against this traditional backdrop of female subservience and inferior power, stands a less malignant marital tradition in the DRC that places value on the wife as a person who deserves to be loved, cherished, and protected, as expressed poignantly by one village notable in Baraka over the course of this research.

"I give you my daughter to protect," the man said, explaining what a father says to his son-in-law upon his daughter's marriage. "Through you, let her experience love like she experienced from me."

This report explores the tension between opposing norms, why some forms of forced marriage have proliferated in certain circumstances, and how some Congolese communities are working with anti-slavery, women's rights, and human rights activists to move toward more humane marital arrangements that respect women's and girls' human rights and the law.

Forced Marriage as a Form of Slavery

This report elaborates the nature of forced marriage in the DRC, showing definitively that it is a form of slavery. The report also demonstrates that, among these marriages, there is diversity in the methods

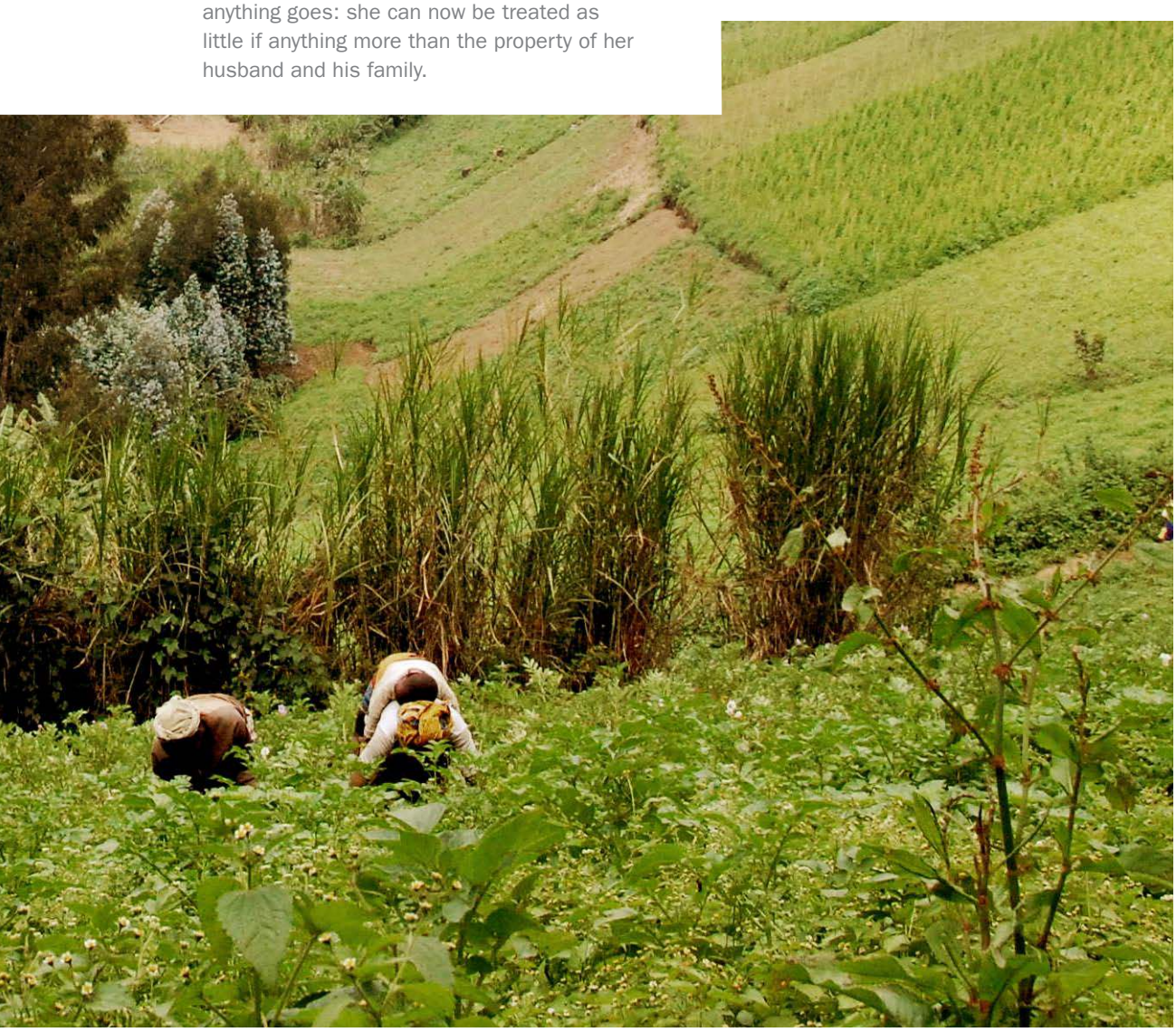
Once a girl or woman becomes a wife, then within the community, there is frequently a sense that anything goes: she can now be treated as little if anything more than the property of her husband and his family.

of enslavement arising from various local traditions – including those that have persisted historically intact and those that have been distorted over time for the purposes of exploitation. One example is the tradition of dowry and its evolved meaning and consequences over time.

In view of the abuse that forced marriages heap on their victims, the report asks the next urgent question: how do societal norms and institutional behaviors perpetuate forced marriage with social and legal impunity? To respond, we analyze specific circumstances that conspire both to sanction the phenomenon and hide it in plain view. The "trap of legitimacy" will be explored – wherein the fact that once a community has accepted a specific marriage at the onset, there is social and institutional acceptance of abuse within the marriage. Put another way, once a girl or woman becomes a wife, then within the community, there is frequently a sense that anything goes: she can now be treated as little if anything more than the property of her husband and his family.

The report also looks at changing attitudes toward forced marriage, with more understanding that the practice is harmful. One woman interviewed in Uvira expressed her point of view: "It's very harmful to see [our] daughters going into families and not being accepted." Another from the same area added: "[In the past], we were forced to marry and we had to endure. [Now], we have to take care of our children."

This report also takes a closer look at Congolese and international law. Our legal analysis supports the overall thesis that forced marriage constitutes a clear form of slavery, whose victims or potential victims deserve the same protections as victims of other forms of slavery. This argument contributes to the current discussion within the anti-slavery legal and academic community about whether and when forced marriage constitutes a form of slavery under internationally accepted legal frameworks.



> **"Women should not accept to be misled by men. If I am like this today it is because I was misled by a man. I would like to tell parents they shouldn't force children to marry."**
>
> **– Woman in Kabira**

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Research Methodology

Procedures

This report uses primary human subject research as described below, complemented with secondary documentary research. Most often the secondary research is used in this report to provide political, legal, and social context for primary research findings, or to contrast the situation in other countries.

Free the Slaves used purposive sampling[10] to conduct the primary research for this report. This approach was selected because the goal of the research was to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors of research subjects that met pre-established criteria.

The criteria for the four human subject groups included the following characteristics for each group:

1. Women and girls who were currently in, had almost been in, or had previously been in forced marriages;
2. Parents and current or former husbands of women or girls meeting the first criterion;
3. Community leaders and members familiar with the phenomenon and particular instances of forced marriage;
4. Activists working on the issue of forced marriage and violence against women.

Research subjects were identified by Congolese organizations that generously collaborated with Free the Slaves, based on the organizations' knowledge of the selected subjects. The geographic focus area, the North Kivu and South Kivu provinces of eastern DRC, was selected based on Free the Slaves' and partner organizations' experience in these areas, which are particularly vulnerable to slavery in its modern forms. More than 50 women and girls participated in individual and group interview sessions.

Free the Slaves researchers used the guided interview method, also known as a general interview guide approach. This method was selected instead of an informal conversational approach in order to achieve greater focus by ensuring coverage of the main themes that FTS has used in its modern slavery research across countries. The guided interview method allowed greater flexibility than what could have been achieved using other alternatives such as standardized open-ended or standardized closed/fixed response interview strategies.

The flexibility offered by the guided interview method was necessary due to the complex nature of the interview themes and the potential dynamic nature of participant understanding of questions over the course of interviews. The guided interview also allows more flexibility in cases where interview subjects might become emotional when discussing their own or others' experiences of abuse. The guided interview format allowed researchers to adapt questions to each subject's context and experience, to explore specific issues raised by subjects in more depth, and to adapt as needed. The guided interview method also allowed flexibility in interview timing, thus meeting the needs of research subjects with wide-ranging external obligations within a conflict context. Researchers directly transcribed interview data using a text format, documenting the flow of discussions with research subjects. Subsequently, this text was analyzed for thematic content as part of the preparation for this report.

Limitation of Study Methodology

This research has the following key limitations:

- Research subjects may have not been able to share their entire stories out of continuing fear or psychological control.
- Research subjects were not selected randomly from the population of those who have been in forced marriage and as such are not a representative sample.
- In most cases, interpreters were relied on during interviews.
- Cultural differences between researchers and subjects may have created additional barriers to full understanding.

This field research was not a prevalence study and does not attempt to quantify the number or percentage of Congolese women or girls in forced marriages.

Forced marriage also has an impact on men and boys in Congo.[11] This research and report focus on the impact of forced marriage on women and girls.

Human Subject Protection

This research, which was conducted in accordance with Free the Slaves principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects and research, exceeds the minimum standard set by U.S. Department of Health and Human Services regulations.[12]

Researchers had training and extensive experience in human subject qualitative interviewing approaches, and were well qualified to safeguard the well–being of interview subjects. Researchers ensured that no human subjects were exposed to an unreasonable risk of harm. Prior to their participation, the primary investigator explained to subjects the risks and benefits of their participation, and obtained their written consent to participate. Subjects were not induced to participate, and were informed that they were free to withdraw from participation without harm to their legitimate interests.

The privacy and confidentiality of all research subjects were protected throughout the course of the research and production of this report. Pseudonyms have been used for all case studies. The faces of research participants have been digitally altered in photographs to conceal their identities.

Each case study points to others, thousands of girls and women are in similar circumstances.

4

Stories of Slavery and Survival

This chapter introduces four common forms of forced marriage that this research uncovered: marriage by rape, marriage by "sale," marriage by kidnapping, and child marriage. Each section describes how these marriages are first forced and later enforced. Each section also presents the immediate reasons – cultural, political, economic, or personal – why parents, husbands, or others conspire to force and enforce these marriages. Each case study points to others; thousands of girls and women are in similar circumstances.

It is important to note that most victims of forced marriage embody more than one of the four forms of forced marriage; one specific marriage may combine the issues of rape, debt repayment, kidnapping, and child marriage. For example, a common scenario in South Kivu province involves a girl (or woman) being kidnapped by a group of boys and men who hold her captive and rape her repeatedly. At the end of her ordeal, the family of the boy or man who orchestrated the kidnapping will go to the parents of the girl to offer a dowry.

Similarly, the stories in this report show that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the proximate cause or trigger of a forced marriage, and its underlying causes. Thus, the purpose of identifying these four forms of forced marriage is not to oversimplify specific situations, but rather to articulate differences in the various causes. This provides the practical benefits of a clear taxonomy and more fruitful discussion of targeted strategies to stop forced marriage.

Marriage by Rape

Due to cultural taboos about the loss of virginity, many girls and women become the wives of their rapists. According to a Congolese man interviewed in the DRC press, a man who rapes a virgin is obliged to marry her, and does not always have to pay a dowry to do so.[13] A prosecutor in South Kivu province interviewed as part of FTS' research explained that many parents of raped girls often prefer to force their daughters to marry a man who has raped her, especially in cases where she has become pregnant. He went on to explain that punishing rape under customary law is extremely difficult, since rape victims are ashamed and families do not want to come forward.

Marriage in these circumstances is the preferred option. Because of the rape, many community members regard the victim to be unmarriageable to other men. So marriage to the rapist becomes her last option to obtain the status of marriage, which secures her place within the community while also removing her as a burden to her birth family.

A woman's loss of virginity through rape leads many Congolese women either to keep quiet about rape because of the shame, or to stay within a marriage where rape has occurred, with the knowledge they are no longer considered worthy of marriage to anyone else. These taboos about virginity can be major contributors to women's psychological coercion into forced marriage. This phenomenon is seen in many cultures that prize women's virginity at the expense of their safety.[14]

Jeanette's Story:

Jeanette, from Mukere, tells the story of a man who came to see her at school one day when she was 14 years old. At the time, she was living with her aunt following the death of her mother and two brothers. The man who visited her asked her to pay him a visit at his home. Jeanette decided to go, not understanding why he had asked. When she arrived, friends of the man locked her in a room with him, and although she tried to fight him off, she was raped. She became pregnant, and her aunt evicted her. Jeanette's aunt had already promised her to another man in exchange for regular deliveries of fish to the family's home. Having been raped, she was no longer a viable candidate for marriage to the fisherman.

Marriage by "Sale"

In many cases, it is the promise of a dowry that motivates parents to force a marriage. FTS researchers uncovered numerous stories of women and girls who had been forced to marry in situations where economic incentives were a key factor.

Throughout much of the world, a dowry is traditionally paid by the wife's family to the groom's family. However, in the DRC the transaction is reversed. The tradition of a dowry or bride-price, where the family of a groom provides either cash or items of value such as cows to the family of the bride upon marriage, is often involved.[15]

Traditionally in many parts of Africa, including the DRC, a bride-price was of modest value and represented a token of thanks from the husband's family to the wife's, rather than an exchange or sale. The dowry was sometimes shared with witnesses whose job was to assure that the marriage was entered into freely.[16]

Today in the DRC, a dowry can take the form of cash, cattle, or other items of value, and can represent a massive investment for poor rural families. Once a dowry is paid, the wife is then economically and socially obliged to remain with her husband; if she leaves, the dowry must be repaid to the husband's family. This economic obligation would be unacceptable to the bride's family, and thus this is the key coercive mechanism that links a dowry to forced marriage.

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The economic restrictions that the dowry enforces on the wife often extend beyond her husband's death, with some communities forcing the wife to marry the husband's brother. In these situations, neglect and mistreatment can be common. One woman from Uvira described her experience: "My husband's brother is unkind – I'm missing a tooth because he beat me. But if you refuse, no one will take care of you. They can be beating you for nothing."

A common theme uncovered in the research was forced marriages that allowed forgiveness of a debt owed by a bride's family. Forgiving a debt in these cases is viewed by the families as equivalent to paying a dowry. This can be a very strong incentive for forcing a daughter to marry, especially for a family that is otherwise unable to pay its debt, notably if the family faces legal action or violence if the debt goes unpaid.

FTS researchers discovered that in some cases, community members attempt to intervene on behalf of girls who are forced into marriage. Ultimately, though, it is the decision of the father – because of his accepted authority over his daughter – that carries the day. This reveals that regardless of economic or other incentives involved, gender norms create a structural context for forced marriage.

Some women in forced marriage attempt escape by trying to leave home and repay the dowry. However, a woman who attempts this is considered by society to be "difficult" and is not accepted socially. As well, repayment isn't always possible because the dowry has long since been spent.

One woman explained how she left her husband and went to her parents, but they no longer had funds remaining from the dowry, and they told her to return to the husband. Because she lacked the means to repay the dowry, she returned, and had another child. "I am still there despite problems," she said, "giving birth and getting old."

Cécile's Story:

Cécile, age 15, tells the story of returning home from school one day to find a much older man discussing financial matters with her father. Later that day, Cécile's father asked her to go see the man at his home to pick up something the man owed to her father. When she arrived, the man shut the door behind her and informed her that she was now his wife, because her father had exchanged her for that debt. The man raped her that night. Cécile ran away the next day, but her father told her she must go back to her new husband. She went instead to her maternal uncles, who were furious with the father and tried to persuade him not to send Cécile back. But the father was insistent. He attacked and injured one of the uncles, and they backed down. Cécile's mother tried to speak with her father, but her father beat Cécile's mother, too. The father brought Cécile back to her new husband's home. She ran away again. But this time, she met a woman who agreed to help Cécile hide. While under this woman's protection, Cécile met a staff person from a Congolese non-governmental organization. With their support, Cécile was able to earn some income, meet other girls in difficult circumstances, and feel less alone.

Ada's Story:

One day when Ada was 15, a man offered U.S. $100 to Ada's father in exchange for her. Ada's father, who drank heavily, accepted the offer without telling her. She was told to go to the man's house to get money for food, but when she arrived, she was raped. Ada reported this to a neighbor, though not to her father. The neighbors intervened, but were told by the father to mind their own business, and Ada was returned to her husband. When she arrived at his home, he had moved to another town. Ada soon learned she was pregnant, and so she was sent to be with her husband. He then left to find work in the mines, again leaving her behind. Her baby was born soon after, but she never saw her husband again. A Congolese organization approached Ada. She received counseling, which she reports has helped her to maintain hope. And she received financial assistance, including seeds to grow food and support for generating income through the sale of soap.

Marriage by Kidnapping

In some parts of the DRC, there is a ritual where a family arranges a marriage, but the girl or woman involved is not aware, and she is actually "captured" or kidnapped by her husband. This ritual in some communities is customary and considered normal. One traditional chief interviewed by FTS researchers explained that although the practice has been increasingly condemned in Congo, it persists. In many cases the kidnapping ritual also involves a bride-price or other financial gain paid to the bride's family, or includes debt forgiveness.

Other forms of kidnapping are linked to the continuing DRC conflict. It has enabled widespread sexual assault by creating a climate of impunity, where the rule of law is non-existent, and by converting rape into a weapon of war, as has been seen in a number of conflicts globally.[17] Government soldiers and rebels have used rape to terrorize communities into support or submission.

Forced marriage is exacerbated by conflict due to the long absence of some fighters from their home bases, and their desire to have a "wife" with them at their base of operations away from home.

Kidnapped wives in these circumstances are sometimes viewed as sex slaves or prisoners of war, since their families were not involved in planning the marriages, and the women or girls are held captive away from family and other support systems.

While many cases of kidnapping and rape within the conflict context do not lead to marriage, de facto marriages are frequently the result of these kidnappings. Forced marriage is exacerbated by conflict due to the long absence

Olivia's Story:

When Olivia was 17, she was abducted while fetching water from the village well. Several men took her to the home of a man to whom her father owed a drinking debt of one cow (or about U.S. $500). She soon learned that her father had arranged the kidnapping in return for forgiveness of the debt. Olivia repeatedly escaped, but her father continued to send her back, stating that he could not afford to purchase the cow that would be required to allow her to come home. She appealed to her mother, explaining her suffering, but her mother said there was nothing she could do.

Over the years, Olivia bore eight children, but her husband continued to harass her regarding her father's inability to pay his debt. He frequently reminded Olivia that she wouldn't be with him otherwise. He regularly beat her. Olivia explained that even after all these years, if she were to leave, her father would be liable for the debt, even if she left her children with her husband. Of the abuses Olivia recounted to researchers, her voice was the most emotional when discussing how her husband compared her to a dog. This indicates an emotional toll that forced marriage inflicts by chipping away at the value women feel as human beings.

Fortunately, Olivia was able to prevent a similar fate from befalling one of her daughters. The daughter was kidnapped by a man from another tribe, in a situation that was not arranged. Olivia was able to rescue her daughter from the abductor's home that night; the daughter had not yet been raped. She is now back home. Olivia tells her children that they should have choice in marriage, that the man and woman should love each other. She implores them: "Look at how I am living, look at how I'm living. I don't want you to live the same life I'm living."

of some fighters from their home bases, and their desire to have a "wife" with them at their base of operations away from home. Forced marriages and the pervasiveness of sexual assault during conflict link to the common underlying issues: impunity and the lack of rule of law; the culture of violence within armed groups; and an overarching societal culture that often devalues women's personhood.

Child Brides

UNICEF estimates that one in three women aged 20-24 worldwide (roughly 70 million women total) entered into their marriages before age 18, and of those, about 23 million were younger than 15 when they married.[18] In the DRC, it is estimated that 74 percent of girls and women between 15 and 19 years of age are married.[19] Many of the case studies of forced marriage documented by Free the Slaves field researchers for this report involved girls who were younger than 18 at the time they were "married."

A recent Anti-Slavery International report explains how child marriage is a form of slavery, by analyzing the means in which children typically enter into the marital union, the nature of the union once entered (i.e., whether there is treatment that indicates ownership and complete control), and the degree of freedom to exit the marriage through divorce.[20] Children are not mature enough to enter into a consensual marital relationship. During marriage, they are vulnerable to control and abuse due to their relative lack of power and resources, and their relatively lower level of education. As well, they often lack both knowledge of their rights and the financial resources to safely exit a marital relationship. In these ways, wives that are children fall under the ownership and control of their husbands in a manner that is functionally identical to other forms of slavery.

Children are not mature enough to enter into a consensual marital relationship. During marriage, they are vulnerable to control and abuse due to their relative lack of power and resources, and their relatively lower level of education.

A leader of a women's rights organization in the Fizi area of South Kivu province works to prevent sexual violence against young girls. She makes very personal efforts, including protecting victims inside her own home. When she met with Free the Slaves field researchers, she reported that she was sheltering 13 girls in her home; seven were there at the time of the interview. These are girls who, if they go home, will be married off to much older men. One girl, age 13, had been promised to a 78-year-old man. The women's rights activist explained that traditional customs dominate life in Fizi, despite a 2006 law that criminalizes child marriages. She explained that village-level awareness-raising is vital – focusing on how early marriage harms a child. She stated that early marriage is more frequent among financially desperate families. Because of poverty, if it means he will have one less mouth to feed, a father will give his daughter away.

Impact on Women's Health and Welfare

The research in eastern Congo consistently revealed impacts of forced marriage on women's long-term health, including psychological and physical suffering within the marriage. In one case, a woman, now past middle age, had been forced as a young woman to marry an abusive husband. Over the course of their marriage, she reported being routinely raped. She was also forced to carry numerous pregnancies after she had stated she could not withstand any further pregnancies. This woman described being regularly in physical pain due to years of forced intercourse. She was never able to leave the marriage because her family refused to repay the dowry, and because she did not want to abandon her children.

In some ways, this woman was fortunate to survive, as many women die due to the rigors

Djany's Story:

When Djany was 12, a group of rebels came to her family's compound and took her along with her family's cattle. Her father tried to stop them but they shot at the ground to drive him back; her mother wept as the rebels carried Djany away. She was taken into the forest, where one of the rebels, a 30-year-old man, was chosen to be her husband. She said she did not want to be with him, but was told she would be killed if she did not accept. She stayed in the forest with him for three years. Djany was forced to have sex with him and to perform other work, such as laundry. If she didn't do the work, she would be beaten. There were other women in similar circumstances with her, and they frequently talked about escaping, but didn't for fear of being killed and because they did not know their way out of the forest. The rebels frequently had to change locations either by foot or by helicopter, and moved between Burundi and the DRC. Eventually, when Djany saw they were in the DRC, she decided to escape on her own. By the time she returned home, her mother had died, but an uncle took Djany in and cared for her.

of multiple pregnancies and the high level of maternal mortality in the DRC, especially for mothers under the age of 19. Nearly half of Congolese women have a child by age 19, according to the World Health Organization, and they go on to have an additional five children on average —amounting to one of the highest fertility rates in the world.[21] Women in most marriages in the DRC exercise almost no control over family planning decisions.[22]

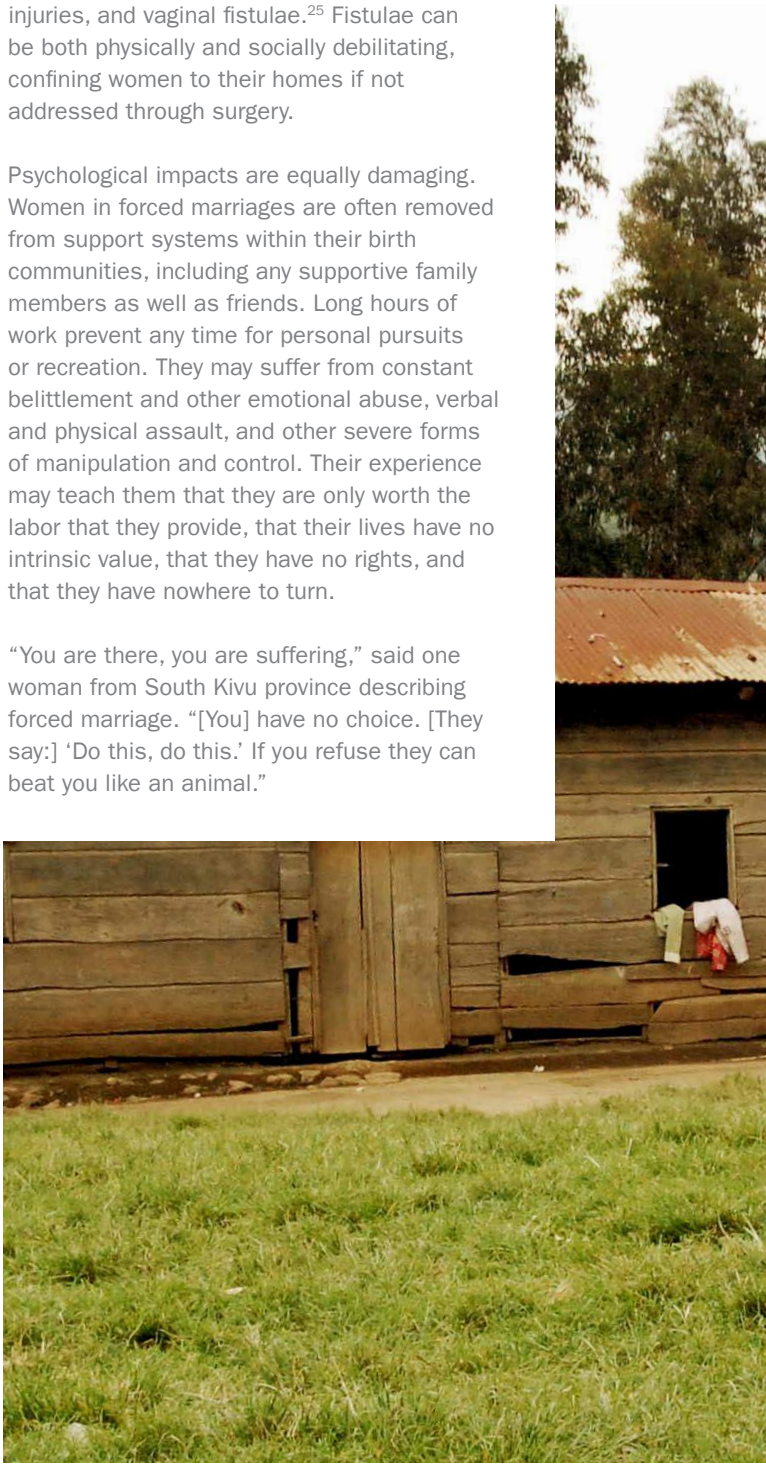
They may suffer from constant belittlement and other emotional abuse, verbal and physical assault, and other severe forms of manipulation and control. Their experience may teach them that they are only worth the labor that they provide, that their lives have no intrinsic value, that they have no rights, and that they have nowhere to turn.

The maternal mortality rate is 670 deaths per 100,000 live births.[23] Total maternal deaths are extremely high in absolute terms, with maternal deaths in the DRC and five other counties accounting for half of all maternal deaths worldwide.[24] Mortality is exacerbated by poor birth spacing, extremely limited access to quality reproductive health services including delivery, and the young age of many mothers. In addition, the lack of access to and use of family planning, and consequent high fertility rate, can hurt families' ability to meet basic needs, making the marrying-off of daughters seem like an economic imperative. In this way, high fertility rates and poverty are both causes of and outcomes of forced marriage, as part of a vicious cycle.

Women in forced marriages also suffer health complications associated with rape and unsafe labor including sexually transmitted infections, injuries, and vaginal fistulae.[25] Fistulae can be both physically and socially debilitating, confining women to their homes if not addressed through surgery.

Psychological impacts are equally damaging. Women in forced marriages are often removed from support systems within their birth communities, including any supportive family members as well as friends. Long hours of work prevent any time for personal pursuits or recreation. They may suffer from constant belittlement and other emotional abuse, verbal and physical assault, and other severe forms of manipulation and control. Their experience may teach them that they are only worth the labor that they provide, that their lives have no intrinsic value, that they have no rights, and that they have nowhere to turn.

"You are there, you are suffering," said one woman from South Kivu province describing forced marriage. "[You] have no choice. [They say:] 'Do this, do this.' If you refuse they can beat you like an animal."

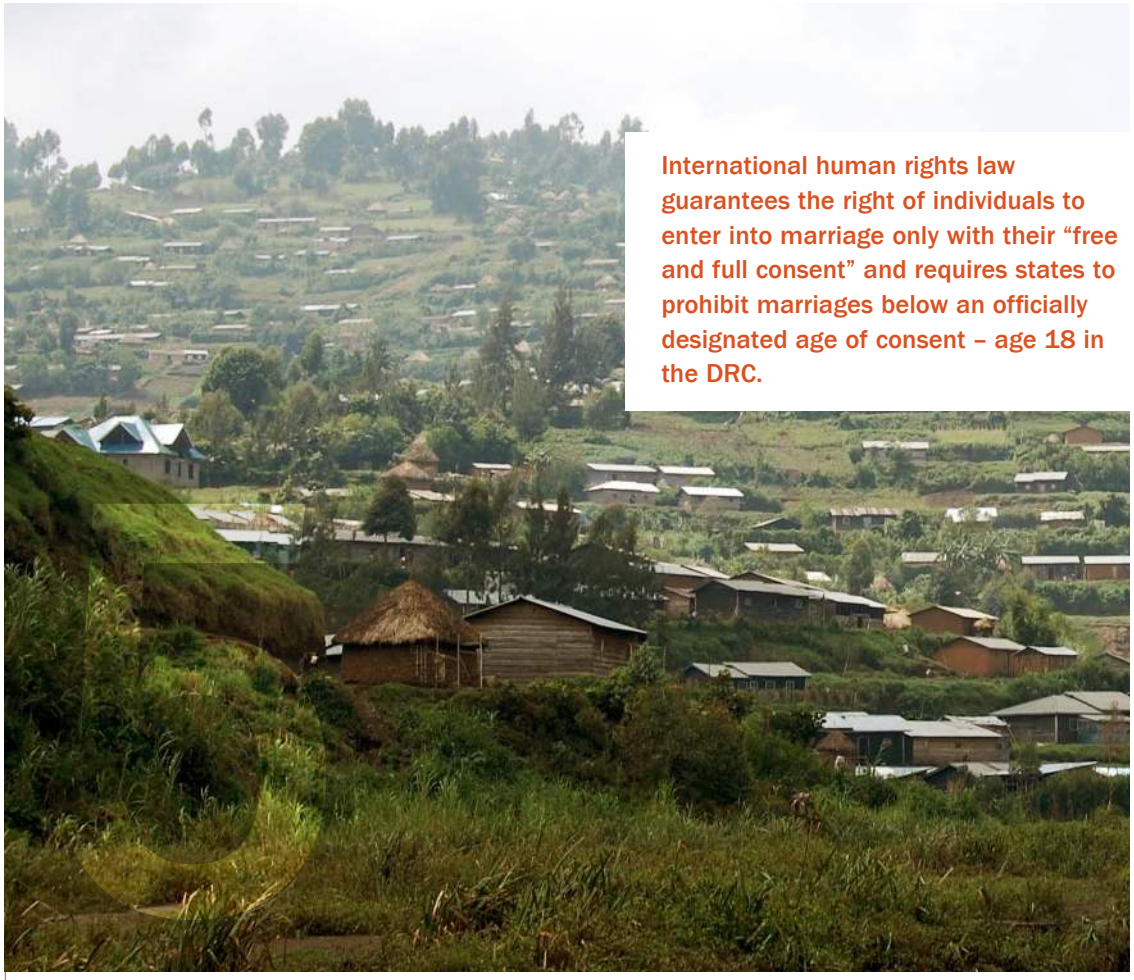


Parfaite's Story:

When Parfaite was 7, her father agreed to give her as a wife to a 20-year-old man in exchange for U.S $150. Parfaite's mother, upset over the arrangement, approached a women's rights activist for help. The mother and activist approached the man who had purchased Parfaite. He told them that he liked Parfaite, and planned to have her move in with him immediately, but did not plan to actually marry her until she was 12. Having paid a dowry to Parfaite's father, the husband-to-be refused to back down. The women's rights activist offered the man $200, which he accepted, and Parfaite was spared the marriage.

Rose's Story:

When Rose was 14, soldiers from the *Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda* (FDLR), a Rwandan rebel group operating in Congolese territory, emerged from the forest, broke into her house, raped her, and took her back into the forest in Masisi, where she spent three years. Rose was raped repeatedly by 11 FDLR soldiers during this time, and eventually became pregnant. One day when the Rwandan soldiers were away, she encountered some Congolese men who helped her escape. She gave birth to a boy with the help of neighbors. Soon after the birth, the FDLR located Rose and took her back. She became pregnant again, this time with a girl. When the FDLR went to the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Congo (MONUSCO) for repatriation to Rwanda, she was forced to cross into Rwanda with her "husband." Because they were interviewed together by U.N. officers before being moved to Rwanda, Rose could not speak up. Rose was very angry that her voice was not heard. After a short time in Rwanda, her husband was away for a training program, and some Congolese women helped Rose back into Congo. However, her community does not accept her and she is unable to work, though she has two children to care for. Community members treat her as though she had voluntarily converted to being an outsider by being kidnapped, raped, and bearing the children of an outsider. Rose's situation underscores that the appearance of a legitimate marriage creates circumstances that effectively hide, and thus perpetuate, a very real state of slavery.



International human rights law guarantees the right of individuals to enter into marriage only with their "free and full consent" and requires states to prohibit marriages below an officially designated age of consent – age 18 in the DRC.

Legal Analysis

The acts described in this report constitute violations of both Congolese criminal law and international criminal and human rights law. While the acts of the perpetrators are at least in theory punishable under law as outlined below, it is equally important that the victims have access to all forms of remedy and that they be provided with the services and assistance needed to rebuild their lives. Their rights to such assistance are recognized under international law but unfortunately are little regarded under Congolese domestic law. In practice, the government of the DRC fails to provide any form of assistance even to the most marginalized and abused among these women.

Nonetheless, it is important to include here a description of the legal treatment of these crimes, which can form the basis of demands for a comprehensive governmental response – toward both perpetrators and survivors – in the future. Congo's Sexual Violence Law of 2006 criminalizes "forced marriage" and would punish a parent or guardian – though not a colluding prospective spouse – for forcing an adult or minor child to marry. (The prospective spouse may be susceptible to punishment for other crimes including sexual violence committed prior to or even during the course of the marriage.) The penalty for forcing an adult to marry is one to 12 years of incarceration; that penalty is doubled when the victim is under the age of 18.[26] Some of these crimes may also be prosecuted as "sexual slavery," defined as exercising one or more of the rights of property over a person (including detaining or otherwise depriving of liberty, selling, buying,

lending or trading) accompanied by forced acts of a sexual nature.[27] Sexual slavery carries a penalty of five to 20 years.

International human rights law guarantees the right of individuals to enter into marriage only with their "free and full consent"[28] and requires states to prohibit marriages below an officially designated age of consent – age 18 in the DRC. In 1986, the DRC government ratified the most recent global convention to enshrine this right – the U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).[29] The DRC's new Constitution, adopted in 2006, also consecrates the principle of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women and assures the protection and promotion of their rights.[30] The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which entered into force in 1999 though not ratified yet by the DRC, also explicitly prohibits the betrothal and marriage of girls and boys under the age of 18.[31]

Forced marriage in certain contexts has also been found to be a violation of international criminal law. A landmark international judgment by the appeals chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone in 2008 found that forced marriage during conflict – in which women are systematically kidnapped and held for sexual exploitation and domestic work, and assimilated as "wives" – is a crime against humanity in its own right.[32] Legal scholars have argued that such crimes also fall within the broader definition of slavery, which is already considered a crime against humanity when it is committed as a widespread or systematic practice.[33]

At least two practical impediments exist to the enforcement of prohibitions on forced marriage in Congolese and international law. First, widespread corruption and the near complete lack of rule of law in Congo, in both conflict and non-conflict zones, restrict prosecution of any crimes. Second, even if the law were enforced in general, the DRC's Family Code reinforces patriarchal power dynamics in contradiction to the more progressive Constitution and Sexual Violence Law, both adopted in 2006.

Discriminatory provisions within the Family Code have a practical impact on a woman's ability to choose whether or not to marry, or to choose to leave a servile marriage. This report unveils the pernicious role that the dowry system plays at the outset of some marriages in eastern Congo. Nonetheless, the Family Code actually requires that a prospective husband and his family agree with the parents of the prospective bride – though notably not with the bride herself – on the amount of a dowry to be paid to the bride's parents.[34] The payment of dowry is required, although the law does stipulate that the dowry can be symbolic in nature. The law also authorizes DRC's president to set a maximum value for a dowry,[35] but this has not been done since 1988, perpetuating high dowry prices and consequent abuses.

A number of other provisions of the DRC's Family Code are discriminatory towards women and fail to protect them from forced and servile marriages, despite criminalization under the Penal Code. These provisions include:[36]

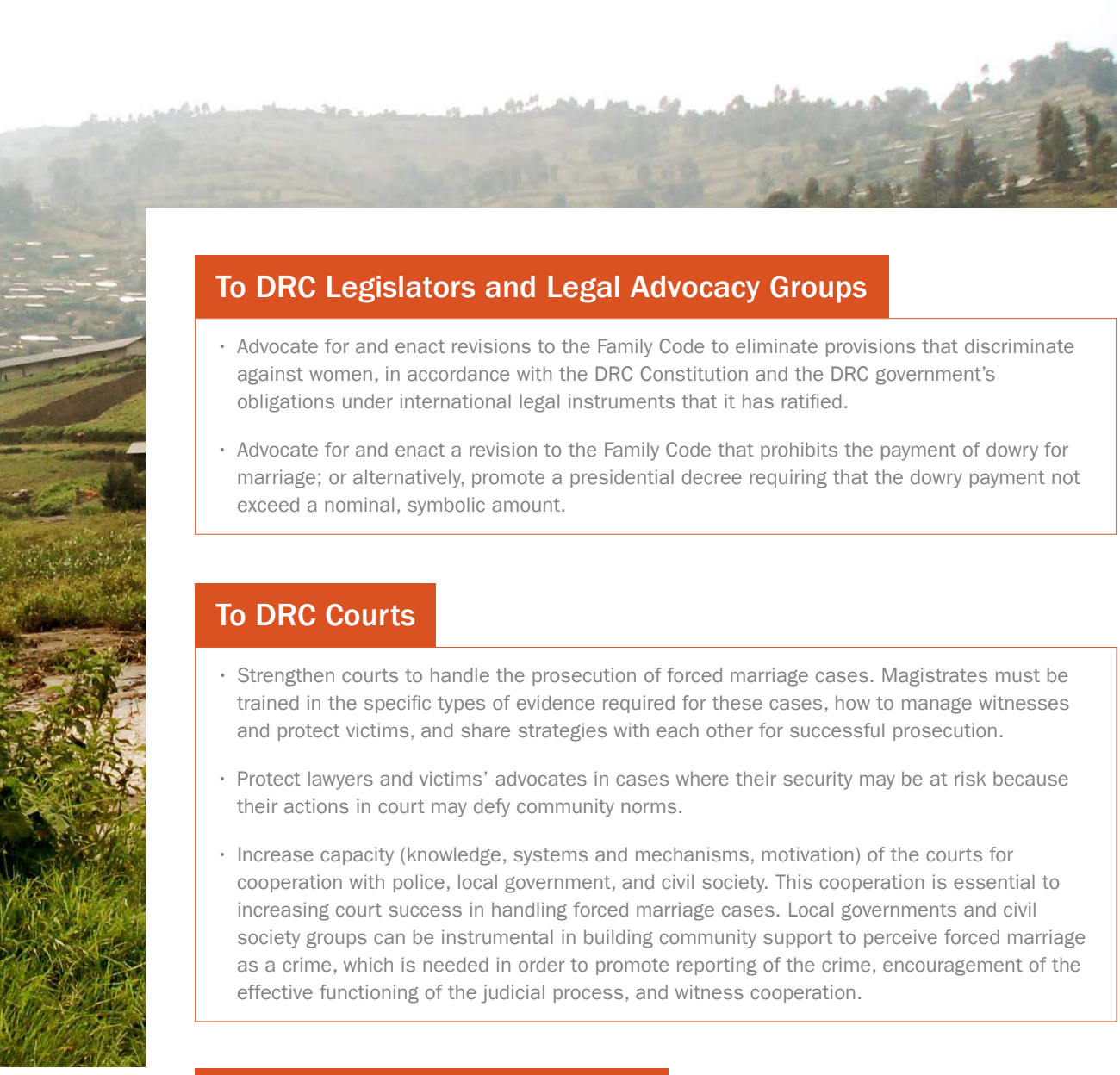
- Article 165, which requires the wife to live at her husband's residence;
- Article 444, which situates the husband as the "head of the household" and requires the wife to "obey her husband," barring the exercise of her own free will;
- Articles 445 to 448, which situate wives as dependents and submissive servants who cannot execute legal acts, such as signing contracts, without permission from their husbands;
- A number of articles that entrust the management of marital property to the husband.

While these discriminatory Family Code provisions do not directly condone forced marriage, they perpetuate norms within the DRC legal system that place women in inferior positions relative to men. The provisions give husbands control over their wives similar to property rights, and negate women's self-determination. There are no counteracting Congolese laws or governmental policies that would provide the forms of assistance needed by women to liberate themselves from such marriages, whether in the form of physical protection or economic support.

Recommendations

This chapter contains recommendations to prevent forced marriage and rescue those already affected. Recommended interventions relate both to structural changes and to case-specific efforts, and are divided for convenience into categories below.

Women interviewed during the research emphasized that debt was a key factor in forced marriage. Many suggested that families must adjust their mindset and increase their awareness of the harmful impacts of forced marriage. One woman suggested more self-help among women: “I would like other women to help us ... Invite people not to take deals they cannot pay back. There are women who take debts and give daughters for those debts.” Another woman from the same area stated simply: “Parents should stop causing problems for their children.”



To DRC Legislators and Legal Advocacy Groups

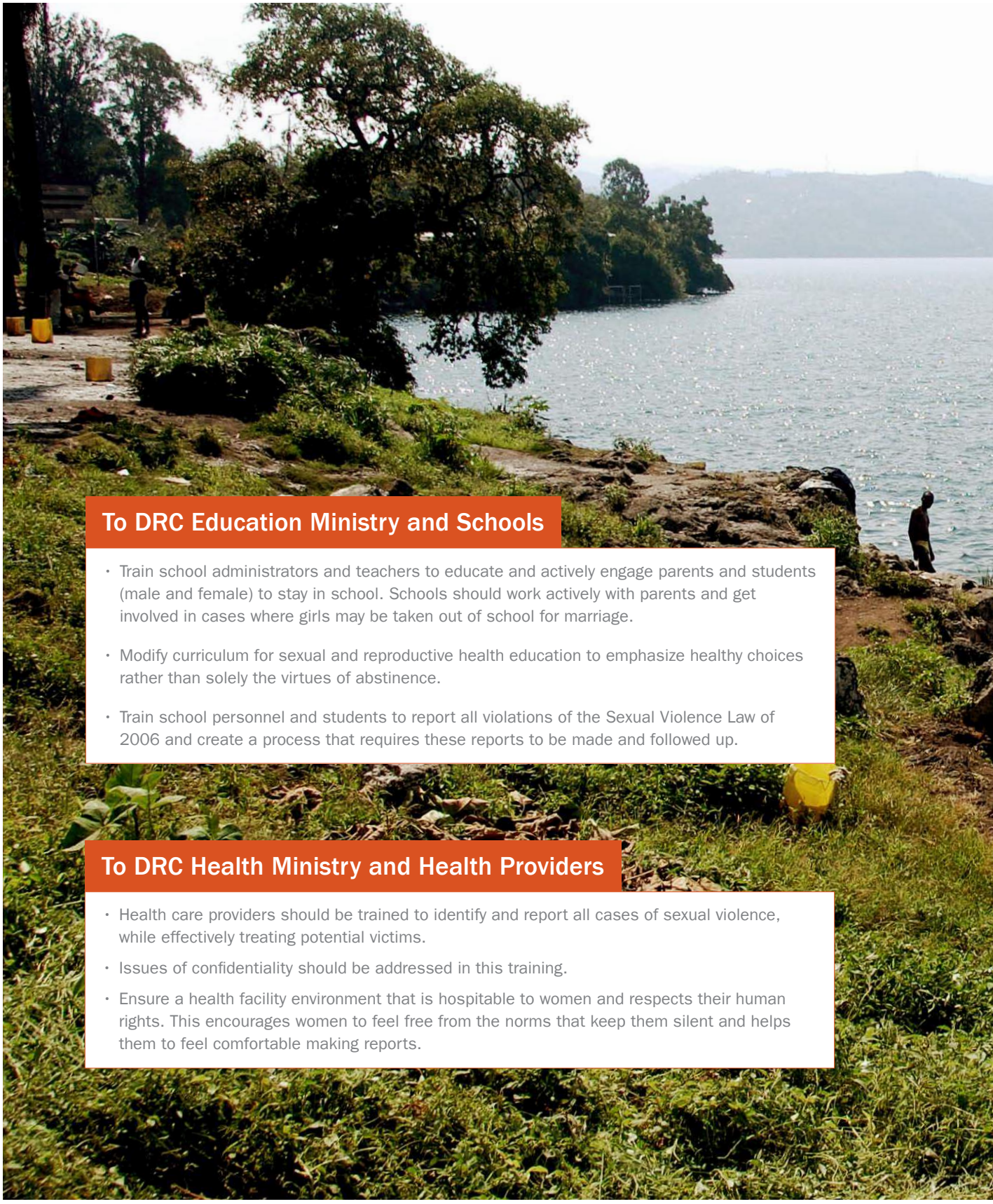
- Advocate for and enact revisions to the Family Code to eliminate provisions that discriminate against women, in accordance with the DRC Constitution and the DRC government's obligations under international legal instruments that it has ratified.
- Advocate for and enact a revision to the Family Code that prohibits the payment of dowry for marriage; or alternatively, promote a presidential decree requiring that the dowry payment not exceed a nominal, symbolic amount.

To DRC Courts

- Strengthen courts to handle the prosecution of forced marriage cases. Magistrates must be trained in the specific types of evidence required for these cases, how to manage witnesses and protect victims, and share strategies with each other for successful prosecution.
- Protect lawyers and victims' advocates in cases where their security may be at risk because their actions in court may defy community norms.
- Increase capacity (knowledge, systems and mechanisms, motivation) of the courts for cooperation with police, local government, and civil society. This cooperation is essential to increasing court success in handling forced marriage cases. Local governments and civil society groups can be instrumental in building community support to perceive forced marriage as a crime, which is needed in order to promote reporting of the crime, encouragement of the effective functioning of the judicial process, and witness cooperation.

To DRC Prosecutors and Police

- Undertake training to raise police knowledge of the Sexual Violence Law of 2006 and to understand specifically the crime of forced marriage. Police need a practical understanding of how to gather evidence effectively and how to work with and protect victims and witnesses.
- Build capacity to work in cooperation with communities and be seen as a positive force. Many of the issues that prevent police effectiveness in this area are broader issues of police indiscipline, corruption, and even abuse of community members. Thus, support for capacity building of police is not likely to be effective in the area of forced marriage unless it addresses these systemic issues.
- Investigate and address problems of gender discrimination and harassment within the police workplace, in order to create a culture that is conducive to addressing violence against women within the community.



To DRC Education Ministry and Schools

- Train school administrators and teachers to educate and actively engage parents and students (male and female) to stay in school. Schools should work actively with parents and get involved in cases where girls may be taken out of school for marriage.
- Modify curriculum for sexual and reproductive health education to emphasize healthy choices rather than solely the virtues of abstinence.
- Train school personnel and students to report all violations of the Sexual Violence Law of 2006 and create a process that requires these reports to be made and followed up.

To DRC Health Ministry and Health Providers

- Health care providers should be trained to identify and report all cases of sexual violence, while effectively treating potential victims.
- Issues of confidentiality should be addressed in this training.
- Ensure a health facility environment that is hospitable to women and respects their human rights. This encourages women to feel free from the norms that keep them silent and helps them to feel comfortable making reports.

To Civil Society Organizations (Churches, CBOs, NGOS, etc.)

- Support mass communications campaigns (e.g., radio, print, and TV) and local community-based communications campaigns (e.g., door-to-door, local theater, community dialogue) to build community understanding of the adverse impacts of forced marriage on society and individuals, and to educate on the legal consequences provided under the Sexual Violence Law of 2006. Communications should focus broadly on gender equality as well the law, and on changing cultural norms connected to forced marriage.
- Support peer-to-peer communications approaches, which are often effective in creating social change. Women who have escaped forced marriage can talk to other women who may be in these marriages. They may also visit households and attempt to talk to mothers, mothers-in-law, grandmothers, and other women. Child-to-child interventions may also be effective – especially ones where girls who have escaped forced marriage talk about options to other girls who are vulnerable or are in forced marriages.
- Build a broad network of collaborative relationships to ensure that victims are first, rescued or supported to liberate themselves from forced marriage and other forms of slavery, and second, provided with the range of services they need to sustain themselves in freedom.

In many cases, civil society organizations form the nucleus of movements to change norms and community practices. Increasing their impact will require building capacity in the following areas:

- Knowledge of forced marriage and how it adversely affects communities, and an understanding of actions that can help change community norms, including support for enforcement of the Sexual Violence Law of 2006.
- Education and behavior change communication skills to transfer information about forced marriage to community members, to promote transformative dialogue, and to support new practices.
- Community empowerment skills to promote collective action by women's groups and other concerned actors.
- Networking and knowledge management skills to coordinate among organizations, build on successes and lessons learned and leverage efforts based on areas of comparative advantage.
- Monitoring and evaluation skills to ensure that work is effective, and where needed, adapted to new circumstances.

Appendix

Helpful Definitions of Forced Marriage:

- "A union of two persons at least one of whom has not given their full and free consent to the marriage." United Nations Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage, Article 1(1), 1964.
- The United Nations 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery established the concept of servile marriage being one in which:
    - A woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group; or
    - The husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for value received or otherwise; or
    - A woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person; based on religious practices and cultures.

Helpful Definitions of Slavery:

- "The status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised." (1926 Slavery Convention)[37]
- "Forced to work, under threat of violence or coercion, for little or no pay, and unable to walk away." (Free the Slaves)[38]

Endnotes

1. "The Congo Report: Slavery in Conflict Minerals." Free the Slaves (June 2011). Available at http://www.freetheslaves.net/Document.Doc?id=243.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. "Congo's Mining Slaves: Enslavement at South Kivu Mining Sites." Free the Slaves (June 2013). Available at http://www.freetheslaves.net/congo.
5. Kevin Bales, "Defining and Measuring Slavery," Free the Slaves (November 2007) (as excerpted May 21, 2013 at http://www.freetheslaves.net/Document.Doc?id=21).
6. U.N. Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage, Article 1(1) (1964).
7. According to a representative of the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative in DRC, of the cases of forced marriage registered with the initiative's legal aid clinics, none had yet been successfully prosecuted. "DRC: Forced marriages, including prevalence, types, and availability of state protection and recourse for victims." Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Ottowa (2008-2012).
8. For example, Family Code Articles 440 to 455, which establish the man as the head of the household and detail a number of circumstances where the wife requires "marital authorization" before acting. Combined 4th and 5th Periodic Reports of the DRC on the evaluation and status of implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). (May 2004).
9. 76 percent of Congolese women believe there are circumstances that justify being hit by husbands, and almost half of women have experienced violence from their partner within the prior 12 months (Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2007). Judicial authorities pursued no actions in cases of domestic violence in 2010, according to the U.S. Department of State 2012 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI).
10. A purposive sample is a non-representative subset of a larger population constructed to qualitatively understand features of that group. A purposive sample, as opposed to a representative/probability-based sample, is used when it is not possible to specify the entire population of people meeting research criteria, generally since the total population is not known and/or access is difficult. As such, purposive samples are used to gain a deeper qualitative understanding of features (e.g., experiences, beliefs, feelings), within a population subset, and are not used to establish quantitative prevalence of features either in the subset or in the total population.
11. "Congo's Mining Slaves: Enslavement at South Kivu Mining Sites," Free the Slaves (June 2013). Available at http://www.freetheslaves.net/congo.
12. Specifically, the "Common Rule" under the Code of Federal Regulations Title 45 (Public Welfare) Part 46 (Human Subject Protection), revised January 2009 (45 CFR 46), establishes the function, operation, and registration requirements for institutional review boards, establishes the requirements for informed consent, and provides additional protections for vulnerable subjects including pregnant women, neonates, fetuses, prisoners, children, and economically or educationally disadvantaged populations.
13. Héritier Maila, "War, Tradition Feeds Sexual Violence Against Women." Institute for War and Peace Reporting (October, 2009). Available at iwpr.net/print/report-news/war-tradition-feeds-sexual-violence-against-women, as appeared on 7/17/12.
14. The 2002 case of the kidnapping victim Elizabeth Smart shows how linking shame to rape/loss of virginity can perpetuate slavery in any culture. Smart was abducted at age 14 from her parent's home, ritually "married" to her abductor, and repeatedly raped over a nine-month period. At a trafficking forum at Johns Hopkins University in 2013, she explained that she "felt so dirty and so filthy" after being raped. She said she was raised in a religious household and recalled a schoolteacher who spoke once about abstinence and compared a girl's body after sex to used chewing gum. The girl said, "I thought, 'Oh, my gosh, I'm that chewed-up piece of gum, nobody re-chews a piece of gum, you throw it away.' And that's how easy it is to feel like you no longer have worth, you no longer have value… Why would it even be worth screaming out? Why would it even make a difference if you are rescued? Your life still has no value." Available at www.alternet.org/news-amp-politics/thanks-abstinence-teacher-elizabeth-smart-felt-im-chewed-piece-gum (May 7, 2013).

15. A dowry can be involved in unforced marriage, too. Therefore, a dowry alone is not a sufficient indicator of forced marriage; other coercive forces must also be involved.
16. E. Torday, "Bride-Price, Dower, or Settlement." Man, Vol 29, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1929). Available at www.jstor.org/stable/2790807, accessed 7/26/12.
17. The United Nations Security Council has determined that, globally, "women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instill fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group." Resolution 1820 (2008), adopted by the U.N. Security Council on June 19, 2008.
18. "Committing to Child Survival, A Promise Renewed." Progress Report, UNICEF (2012). Extracted, at ttp://www.apromiserenewed.org/files/APR_Progress_Report_2012_final_web3.pdf. (May 22, 2013).
19. Ibid.
20. Catherine Turner, "Out of the Shadows: Child Marriage and Slavery." Anti-Slavery International (April 2013). Available at http://www.antislavery.org/english/resources/reports/download_antislavery_publications/child_labour_reports.aspx.
21. "DRC: Lowering maternal mortality rates is a tough bet." IRIN News. Available at http://www.irinnews.org/, (December 22, 2009).
22. "Combined 4th and 5th Periodic Reports of the DRC on the evaluation and status of implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women," (CEDAW/C/COD/4-5) (May 2004).
23. UNFPA, available at http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/news/pid/8388, accessed on June 10, 2013.
24. Ibid.
25. Fistulae can be caused by prolonged, obstructed labor or rape, weakening tissue and creating a hole through which urine and feces pass uncontrolled. Juhie Bhatia, "Rape epidemic fuels fistula cases in the Democratic Republic of Congo." Global Voices (July, 2009). Available at http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/07/29/drc-rape-epidemic-fuels-fistula-cases/.
26. Congolese Penal Code, Art. 174f.
27. Congolese Penal Code, Art. 174e.
28. Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages, 986 UNTS 393 (1962, entered into force 1964); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1249 UNTS 13.
29. Ibid.
30. Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Art. 14 (2006).
31. African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/24.9/49 (1990).
32. Prosecutor of the Special Court v. Alex Tamba Brima, Case No. SCSL-2004-16-A (February 22, 2008).
33. See, e.g., Annie Bunting, "Forced Marriage in Conflict Situations: Researching and Prosecuting Old Harms and New Crimes." Canadian Journal of Human Rights, pp. 165-185 (2012).
34. DRC Family Code, Art. 361.
35. Ibid., Art. 363.
36. Bullet points adapted from Marie Mossie and Mariana Duarte, "Violence Against Women in the DRC: Alternative report prepared for the CEDAW," World Organization Against Torture (July 2006), pp. 7-11.
37. 1926 League of Nations Slavery Convention. Available at http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XVIII-3&chapter=18&lang=en.
38. "The Congo Report: Slavery in Conflict Minerals, Free the Slaves," (June 2011). Available at http://www.freetheslaves.net/Document.Doc?id=243.

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