



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE



SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN WALUNGU TERRITORY

KALINZI, MAJI AND MUJAKAZI

AUGUST 21, 2019

This publication was produced for review by the United States Agency for International Development. It was prepared by Prof. [REDACTED] and Mr. [REDACTED] for Management Systems International (MSI), A Tetra Tech Company.

SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN WALUNGU TERRITORY

KALINZI, MAJI AND MUJAKAZI

REPORT PREPARED BY SOLUTIONS FOR PEACE AND RECOVERY PROJECT
CONTRACT AID-OAA-I-13-00042, TASK ORDER AID-660-TO-16-00004

DISCLAIMER

The authors' views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	IV
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	V
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	VI
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	I
About the SPR Project	1
Background	1
Objectives	2
Terminology	2
Geographical Areas of Research	3
Research Methodology	5
Theory of Change	6
Structure of the Research	7
Scope and Limits of the Research	7
1. PARTICIPATORY THEORETICAL AND GENERAL ANALYSES OF THE CONFLICTS IN WALUGU	8
Definition of Concepts	8
Conflict	9
Review of Previous Literature	14
2. RESULTS OF THE PARTICIPATORY CONFLICT ANALYSIS	17
PROCESS	17
Context Analysis	17
Typology of the Conflicts	17
Conflict Dynamics	18
Causes, Actors and Consequences of Conflict in Kamisimbi, Lurhala and Karhongo	21
Conflict Transformation Mechanisms	26
Local Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation Capacities	28
Gender, other Marginalized Groups and Conflict Dynamics	30
3. CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION RESULTS AND METHODS	34
Drivers of Conflict in Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala Groupements	34
Stakeholder Capacity to Transform Conflicts	39
Participatory Conflict Transformation through the Creation of Community and Intercommunity Safety Nets	40
4. PERSPECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS	44
Perspectives	44
Solution Pathways and Recommendations	44
General Conclusion	46
BIBLIOGRAPHY	47
ANNEX A.	52
ANNEX B.	56

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

Figure 1. Key Factors and Drivers of Conflicts in Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala Groupements	38
Figure 2. Systemic Analysis of Conflicts in the Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements	39
Figure 3: Elements Needed for the Creation of Safety Nets	41
Figure 4: Awareness-Raising and Knowledge Transfer Plan	42
Figure 5: Plan for Creation of the Community and Intercommunity Safety Net	42
Figure 6: SPR Project with the RET	43

TABLES

Table 1: Typology of Conflicts in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements	18
Table 2: Drivers of Conflict in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements	35

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to extend our thanks to the management of the SPR-Amani kwa Maendeleo project staff, who gave us their time, showed us kindness and demonstrated a willingness to understand the specifics of the SPR-Amani kwa Maendeleo project. We would also like to express our heartfelt thanks to USAID, which provides both technical and financial support to this project for the benefit of populations in North and South Kivu, who have suffered immensely through interminable wars and conflicts; the Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission (DJPC) of the Archdiocese of Bukavu and its partners in the *groupements* (local administrative units) of Lurhala, Kamisimbi and Karhongo, for having implemented this project and, above all, for having provided us with conflict analysis reports and other additional information; and all our colleagues and collaborators, for the confidence and esteem placed in us, both of which represent a good model for collaboration and mutual understanding, and are strengthened by the achievement of particularly ambitious goals.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANR	Agence Nationale de la Recherche (National Intelligence Agency)
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DJPC	Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo)
IA	International Alert
IRC	International Rescue Committee
MSI	Management Systems International
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PNC	Police Nationale Congolaise (Congolese National Police)
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SPR	Solutions for Peace and Recovery
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research follows from the participatory analyses of the key drivers concerning the persistence of multiform conflicts in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala groupements in the *chefferie* (chiefdom) of Ngweshe, in Walungu territory, South Kivu province, eastern DRC. These analyses conducted by the Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission (DJPC), with the financial backing of International Alert and USAID, in the framework of the SPR-Amani kwa Maendeleo project, were the result of participatory action research (PAR).

Concerning the identification, in-depth participatory analyses, general and specific contexts and needs of the stakeholders in the conflicts, obtained through the three above-mentioned sites, 15 major conflicts¹ have been identified, analyzed and prioritized by all the communities. One conflict per groupement was then prioritized for the PAR. Thus, for example, in Lurhala, bearing in mind its diversity and multiple related consequences, the community ended up doing the PAR on the subject of a land conflict related to the traditional usage fee, whereby Mr. Musikamira, former chief of the village of Cihanda and landowner, has been in dispute with part of the Mazigiro population. The PAR process by the Kamisimbi groupement first discussed the conflicts concerning false prophecies by the owners of prayer rooms (the Mujakazi phenomenon, which is at the root of accusations of witchcraft, mob justice and other family-related conflicts). However, this was then left to one side. Instead, the conflict chosen within the scope of the PAR related to the need for drinking water provisions, which is putting part of the population at odds with the Lurhala and Mumosho groupements.

Meanwhile, in Karhongo, the conflict concerning the association of butchers (who are deliberately creating scarcity in the market)—that has spread to other parts of the population, affecting mothers who earn their living by selling flour and sambaza (small fresh fish from Lake Kivu)—took precedence over the land conflict between the village chief, Mr. Iragi, and his subjects. Since the conflicts identified and analyzed in all three groupements are major conflicts, it is worth noting the following: land conflicts related to the traditional usage fee that have arisen between the traditional authorities, at different levels, and their populations, as well as those related to the nonrespect of boundaries; conflicts related to inheritance between different members of a family and, more specifically, between sons and daughters; leadership conflicts between traditional power and civil society; economic conflicts (conflicts of interest), for example, the case of conflicts between crop farmers and livestock farmers, on the one hand, and between the association of butchers and the local population, on the other hand (the case of Nyangezi in Karhongo groupement); intercommunity conflicts, caused by, for example, the poor access to drinking water (the case of Kamisimbi and Lurhala groupements); family conflicts related to false prophecies (the Mujakazi phenomenon); conflicts related to the population's insecurity and harassment of the population by the security services (FARDC, PNC, ANR, etc.).

Furthermore, several key drivers were identified as a result of analyzing the general and specific contexts of these three groupements. They are, among others: poor local governance, particularly with regard to insecurity, illegal detention and the circulation of light arms and low-caliber weapons, impunity and the

¹ DJPC, Activity form for identifying and prioritizing conflicts, corrected on July 19, 2018.

unequal sharing and distribution of basic socioeconomic assets and natural resources. Other factors also worth mentioning are: the payment of the school bonus (in the Congolese education system, parents are responsible for managing and recruiting teachers), conflicts related to inheritance and the weak authority of the Congolese State.

From a socioeconomic and cultural perspective, in addition to children, land and cows constitute the main assets in Shi culture, and the two latter constitute the basis of a dowry. Having them or not having them creates significant conflicts and thus becomes one of the key drivers of many other conflicts. This is particularly the case with regard to the traditional usage fee called *kalinzi*, as well as in conflicts between crop farmers and livestock farmers. These phenomena have also been well documented by other authors, theories and experiences, as well as previous projects, including our personal experiences.

Political will and good agricultural practices centered on responsible leadership and good local governance, ongoing consolidation of the gains made by the SPR project through *noyaux et cellules de paix* (peace committees), alongside the creation and establishment of community and intercommunity safety nets would contribute to reducing conflicts as far as possible and lead to peace and harmonious coexistence throughout Walungu territory.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

ABOUT THE SPR PROJECT

All post-conflict countries, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and especially its eastern provinces North and South Kivu, require the concerted effort of national and international partners to establish peace and ensure their consolidation.

In this context, USAID established a consortium of Management Systems International (MSI), International Alert (IA) and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to implement the project Solutions for Peace and Recovery (SPR–Amani kwa Maendeleo).

This project—implemented in four territories and two cities in North and South Kivu (Masisi and the city of Goma in North Kivu; and Walungu, Kabare, Kalehe and the city of Bukavu in South Kivu)—is aimed at strengthening social cohesion in these areas through the implementation of solutions resulting from participatory analysis and research into the conflicts, as well as the inclusion and empowerment of women and other marginal groups.

The SPR–Amani kwa Maendeleo project was implemented according to the following theory of change: “Given the persistent dynamic of instability, recurrent local conflicts, patrimonial governance and the exclusion of women and other marginalized groups, the communities in eastern DRC could avoid further organic and external conflicts, strengthening their social cohesion if:

1. “These communities were able to analyze conflicts, then they could develop strategies that produce results;
2. “Congolese women and other marginalized groups who receive knowledge and are given the opportunities, were to participate in decision-making, then their participation would be visible in the results and in the solutions, which would be lasting;
3. “Social cohesion were to result from making decisions as a community, then it would be inclusive and participatory.”

BACKGROUND

This piece of research comes within the scope of high-level systemic analyses, particularly the different conflicts identified and prioritized by the Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala groupements in Walungu territory in South Kivu province.

The scope of our research was to: identify and analyze the conflicts from the results of the reports produced by the Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission (DJPC), based on participatory action research (PAR); pinpoint the causes, actors and consequences; and research the solution pathways and recommendations with a view to social cohesion, an important factor for development.

The guidance and contributions provided by researchers who are experienced in conflict transformation constitute an asset in the establishment of social cohesion and assist with the development of these three groupements. They are consistent with improving participatory conflict analyses and the identification of solutions related to research that is specific to the context of the conflicts. These elements will be used to attempt to strengthen social cohesion through a process involving participatory conflict analysis and seeking appropriate solutions. By adding to this the practices of good governance and the inclusion of women and other marginalized groups, social cohesion and community harmony will be more sustainable.

OBJECTIVES

This research conducted for the SPR project pursues three objectives that reinforce those of the SPR-Amani kwa Maendeleo project, which aims to:

- Strengthen social cohesion in eastern DRC through the implementation of solutions resulting from participatory analysis and research into the conflicts, and the inclusion and empowerment of women and other marginalized groups in the city of Bukavu in South Kivu;
- Produce a final research report, ready for publishing or to be shared with other actors and donors.

The objectives of this research are to:

- Identify the types of conflicts and their causes in the Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala groupements in Walungu territory.
- Propose solution pathways and/or recommendations for peacebuilding and social cohesion in these three groupements.
- Produce a succinct summary, with very good editorial quality, of the participatory conflict analysis in the Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala groupements in Walungu territory.

TERMINOLOGY

The following concepts common in the local language have been included in our analysis because they are sources of conflict:

- **BUGULE:** purchase.
- **BUSHI:** a geographic area dominated by the Shi culture.
- **BWASA:** tenant farming.
- **KALINZI:** traditional usage fee. This usage fee is a payment that, depending on the context, is likely to be renewed on a regular basis or that represents a definitive price paid for the acquisition of real estate. For further details, please see “Definition of Concepts” and “Land Conflicts Related to the Traditional Usage Fee.”
- **MAIMAI:** name of the local armed militia.

- MWAMI: traditional chief.
- SHI: general name for the people of Walungu.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF RESEARCH

PRESENTATION OF THE RESEARCH AREA²

Our research is based on the following three groupements: Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala. All of these groupements are located in the chefferie of Ngweshe, Walungu territory. Situated around 40 km from the city of Bukavu, the capital of South Kivu province, Walungu is one of the eight territories that make up this province.

The following is an overview of Walungu territory and these three groupements, which are the subject of this research:

Walungu territory covers an area of 1,800 km², with a population density of 398 inhabitants/km². It was officially created by Presidential Decree No. 65-221 of May 3, 1967, amended by Decree no. 82-006 of February 25, 1982, and it is subdivided into two chefferies: Ngweshe, with 1,605 km² in the north and southeast, and Kaziba, with 195 km² in the south.

This territory is bordered

- To the north by Kabare territory.
- To the south by Mwenga territory.
- To the east by Uvira territory, the Ruzizi river and the Republics of Rwanda and Burundi.
- To the west by Shabunda territory and part of Kabare territory.

According to the latest statistics, in the 2018 annual report for Walungu territory, the population is estimated at 716,671 inhabitants, of which 672,436 are inhabitants of the chefferie of Ngweshe and 44,235 are inhabitants of Kaziba.

The population of Walungu relies economically on crop farming, livestock farming and mineral mining (in particular coltan, gold, cassiterite and wolfram).

Walungu territory has two main ethnic groups: the Shi (Bashi), who form the majority population (they represent around 80 percent of the population and have settled throughout the entire territory), and the Rega, who form the minority population and mainly live in the south west. Please find below the geographical presentation of our three target groups at the current time:

² Walungu territory, Annual Report 2017.

KARHONGO

Karhongo groupement is located in the chiefdom of Ngweshe between 1,600 m and 2,500 m in altitude; 22°41'25" south latitude and 28°51'58" east longitude.³

Karhongo is bordered to the north by the Bishalalo river, which separates it from the Mumosho groupement in Kabare territory; to the northwest by the ridge formed by the Bisunzu mountain range, which separates it from the Kamisimbi and Lurhala groupements; to the south by the Luzinzi and Mugaba rivers, which separate it from the chefferie of Kazibi; to the east by the Ruzizi river, which forms the natural border with the Republic of Rwanda; and, finally, to the west by the ridge formed by the Mukunama mountain range, which separates it from the Luchiga and Lurhala groupements.⁴

This groupement extends across a surface area of 269 km² with an estimated population of 51,260 inhabitants and an average population density of 127.49 inhabitants per square km. It is made up of 43 small villages with a population that is dispersed over the hills or concentrated in the dense conurbations along the main routes, such as in Cibimbi, Munya and Karhundu.

KAMISIMBI

Kamisimbi is one of the 16 groupements that make up Walungu territory, and it has 38 villages. It has a surface area of 96.64 km² and is situated 20 km to the southeast of the city of Bukavu, on the arterial road of the No. 2 national highway, which links Bukavu to Kasongo in Maniema province.⁵

Kamisimbi is bordered to the north and to the east by the Cirunga and Mudusa groupements in Kabare territory, and to the south by the Nduba and Lurhala groupements in the direction of Walungu's capital. Its population is estimated at 43,092 inhabitants with a population density of 445.9 inhabitants/km².

LURHALA

As is the case for the previous groupements, Lurhala is part of the 16 groupements of the chefferie of Ngweshe. It is bordered to the east by the groupements of Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Mumosho in the chefferie of Kabare, to the northeast by the groupements of Cirunga and Bugorhe in the chefferie of Kabare, and Ikoma in the chefferie of Ngweshe, and to the west by the groupements of Luciga and Irongo.⁶

This groupement has a surface area of 113.29 km², sits at an altitude of 2,025 m and is situated at 26°24'81" south latitude and 28°75'42" east longitude. It is made up of 66 groupements, situated on three roads, including the Cihirano sub-groupement with seven villages, Mazigiro with 17 villages and a

³ BISHWEKA C. cited in the Karhongo conflict analysis report, Bukavu DJPC, pp. 1-2.

⁴ BUHALACARHA, Vicky, Summary of the community cohesion and development plan for the Karhongo groupement, with the support of the *Initiatives de Bien-être Familial* [Family Wellbeing Initiatives], ABEF, Nov, 2018, p. 18.

⁵ BUHALACARHA, Vicky, Summary of the community cohesion and development plan for the Kamisimbi groupement, with the support of the *Initiatives de Bien-être Familial*, ABEF, Nov, 2018.

⁶ BUHALACARHA, Vicky, Summary of the community cohesion and development plan for the Lurhala groupement, with the support of the *Initiatives de Bien-être Familial*, ABEF, Nov, 2018.

centre du groupement (central local administrative unit) with 42 villages. Its population is 86,220 people who are registered with the Office of Vital Statistics and distributed across four suboffices of the Office of Vital Statistics, which are: Lurhala–centre, Kahanda, Ciharano and Mazigiro.⁷

The presentation on a map at the end of this document in Annex A will provide a better understanding of the developments outlined below.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

METHODS

The methodology for this study is complementary. First, it is part of the participatory conflict analyses and participatory action research (PAR) conducted by the DJPC, the implementing organization for the SPR project, and it also includes our contributions as second-level, short-term technical assistance researchers. The PAR in question followed several phases, which are summarized in the following conflict analysis process: the implementation of community structures (peace committees) established through elections, then the recruitment of a facilitator in the field, the signature of peace agreements and/or social contracts, and then, of course, through to the official launch of the *Amani kwa Maendeleo* project, the aim of which is to provide explanations and objectives and involve the heads of the groupements, social leaders and members of the community.

This delicate step is followed by capacity building on methods for the peaceful resolution of conflicts and gathering data in the field. It is also followed by the analysis of the general and specific contexts of conflicts in each respective milieu. This analysis leads to the identification and prioritization of the different conflicts, actors and/or connectors and dividers, needs and interests. The process continues through the selection of community-based researchers with a view to PAR, to the organization of a small-scale dialogue between the community leaders, the stakeholders in the conflict and other members of the community; the dialogue and systemic conflict analyses have already been organized. Finally, there is the organization of community fora and validation of the results from the analyses conducted. The establishment of the monitoring committee elected during the community forum for training on conflict transformation and the drafting of a peacebuilding and advocacy plan at the territorial level bring the process to a close.

So, as far as we are concerned, we have used the analytical method. This enabled us to break down the different conflicts identified in the three groupements in question, which in turn helped us to understand the reports and provide a general overview of all these conflicts. Our analyses were conducted on the basis of the reports resulting from context analyses, participatory and systemic analyses, and fora and dialogues, as well as the PAR brief conducted by Bukavu DJPC, the implementing partner for Alert's SPR-*Amani kwa Maendeleo* project. The collection of our data was essentially qualitative.

APPROACHES

As regards the approaches, the most appropriate are the systemic and action approaches.

⁷ Office of the Lurhala groupement, Office of Vital Statistics, annual report 2018, p.

The first is based on the notion of system, which is defined as being a whole of interconnected elements, which are separate from one another and which maintain their relationship in such a way that a change to one element in the system inevitably leads to a change in others and, ultimately, to the whole system. Therefore, this approach places an emphasis on the interdependent relationships between the different elements in the system.

The action approach considers that in order to be understood and judged at their true value, all social factors must also be captured within a movement and in their relationships with other social factors. It also considers that social factors and phenomena must not be taken into account in a static state but rather in their movement of reciprocal feedback.

TOOLS

Regarding tools, we used documentary analysis, the collection of supplementary data gathered in the field thanks to interviews and interview guides, and the progressive sample made up of 4,468 subjects, of which 1,444 (32.3 percent) were women. Taken in an aggregate manner, this sample is distributed as follows: in Karhongo, 1,368 subjects, of which 506 (36.9 percent) were women; in Kamisimbi, 1,358 subjects, of which 442 (32.5 percent) were women; in Lurhala, 1,351 subjects, of which 438 (32.4 percent) were women; without forgetting the local authorities and community leaders, amounting to 391 subjects, of which 29 (7.4 percent) were women. Furthermore, we should emphasize that this progressive sample was established during the organization of different activities conducted by the peace committees within the three groupements. These activities were the implementation of peace support structures, the presentation of the SPR project, the presentation of PAR methodology, training members of the peace support structures on peaceful conflict resolution, the identification and prioritization of conflicts, conflict analysis, establishing community fora and validation of the results of the analyses and, finally, the presentation of the results from the conflict analyses to the territorial and chefferie authorities. The selection and approval of the researchers was conducted when training them on data gathering techniques, as well as: during the evaluation of data by the researchers and members of the peace support structures; during the feedback and organization of small-scale community dialogues with all the stakeholders in the conflict; during the holding of community fora and the presentation of results from the different dialogues; during advocacy meetings at the territory and chefferie level; and during the meeting involving the provincial leaders.

THEORY OF CHANGE

Bearing in mind the persistent dynamic of instability in DRC, recurrent local conflicts, patrimonial governance and the exclusion of women and other marginalized groups, the communities in eastern DRC can become more resistant to organic and external conflicts by increasing their capacity for social cohesion when they find themselves in such situations.

Social cohesion is the overarching objective of the SPR project, in turn leading to the USAID/DRC Task Order (TO) 3 objective, that is to say the foundation for lasting peace, consolidated in eastern DRC. The validity of this overarching hypothesis depends on the validity of four preliminary key factors, which are interdependent with change.

Therefore:

- If the communities in eastern DRC have their capacity built to analyze the conflicts they face, they will develop processes that will produce effective solutions.
- If the community decision-making process is inclusive and participatory (including more women and other marginalized groups), this will translate into better outcomes and greater social cohesion.
- If the resources and services are increased and improved in the communities, as well as becoming more extensive and accessible to all, and the local authorities are accountable to their citizens, then we would be able to strengthen social cohesion through a participatory conflict analysis process and by seeking out the appropriate solutions. By practicing good governance and ensuring the inclusion of women and other marginalized groups, social cohesion and community harmony will be more sustainable.

STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, this research comprises four chapters, the first of which is focused on a definition of the concepts, an overview of the conflict analysis process and a review of prior work completed on this. The second chapter is focused on presenting the results of the participatory conflict analyses in the study areas, centered around the analysis of the context; the types of conflicts; the conflict dynamics; the causes, actors and consequences; conflict transformation mechanisms; local peacebuilding and conflict transformation capacity; and finally, issues relating to gender, other marginalized groups and conflict dynamics.

The third chapter discusses the results and conflict transformation methods. This discussion is centered on analyzing the key drivers of conflicts, evaluating the capacities of the stakeholders (to transform the conflicts) and the participatory conflict transformation model.

The fourth and final chapter provides perspectives and recommendations.

SCOPE AND LIMITS OF THE RESEARCH

Through this publication, the SPR project will be able to contribute even more to peacebuilding and social coexistence in Walungu territory by means of conflict resolution, strengthening security and social cohesion. In brief, it will contribute to peacebuilding, harmonious coexistence and the development of the territory as a whole.

This work is based on the participatory conflict analyses conducted by the DJPC on the basis of PAR in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala. Although the fieldwork is completed (three people went into the field), certain phases, such as the dialogues and signing of social contracts by the stakeholders, have not yet been implemented. Although the results are encouraging and the partner was involved, this work remains the product of second-hand data. Furthermore, determining the so-called progressive sample was an incredibly challenging task, given that the study subjects were to be established, on the one hand, in accordance with the different phases throughout the participatory analysis processes, and on the other hand, based on participatory actions.

I. PARTICIPATORY THEORETICAL AND GENERAL ANALYSES OF THE CONFLICTS IN WALUGU

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The dynamic study of the conflicts and the projection of actions likely to contribute to peace and social cohesion require us to define the key concepts. Indeed, within the scope of this study, defining key terms will be a question of determining the direction and facilitating the understanding of concepts that are generally polysemic. Because, according to Durkheim: “All scientific research is based on a determined group of phenomena that respond to a single definition. Therefore, the sociologist’s first step is to define the things that he or she is dealing with, so that we know exactly what it is about. This is the first and most essential condition of any evidence and any verification.”⁸

This concerns the following concepts: kalinzi, bwasa, bugule, Maji, Mujakazi, conflict, conflict dynamic, peace, social cohesion and territory.

KALINZI

Kalinzi is a traditional land contract. Kalinzi (from the verb *kalinza*, “to keep waiting”) is the most traditional form of land tenure in the Bushi region. The term designates both the price of the right of use (*nkafu ya kalinzi*) and the land on which this right is exercised (*ishwa lya kalinzi*). Ouchinsky defines it as the price of the right (in principle, the perpetual right) of use over land that an overlord grants to a vassal and his or her descendants. However, kalinzi is not a purchase price but a gift of recognition from the vassal to the overlord, who attributes “landownership”⁹ to the vassal. As we have stated, kalinzi or the traditional usage fee, depending on the context, is either a payment that is likely to be renewed at regular intervals or a definitive one-off purchase price paid by anyone for the acquisition of land.

BWASA

The term bwasa comes from the verb *kuyasa*, which means ceding the use of land. It concerns a “rental contract giving the tenant the right to use a piece of land for a short duration (often for one harvest) and the rental price is generally calculated in proportion to the profits made and is consequently settled at a later date.” In essence, bwasa is based only on the plantation of annual crops, whatever they may be, but excludes of crops that are considered dangerous (cannabis, for example). It is never established for the plantation of perennial crops, for artificial forestation or for the erection of huts aimed at establishing a permanent residence. On the other hand, malouer, while being a precarious contract, authorizes its tenant to plant perennial crops, in particular palm, and the proceeds the tenant derives from the oil are shared with the landowner.

⁸ E. Durkheim, cited by V. Nga Ndongu, in “*l’opinion camerounaise*” (The Cameroonian Opinion), PhD thesis on Sociology, Paris, Nanterre, volumes 1 and 2, 1999, p.13.

⁹ Séverin MUNGANGU, M. la crise foncière à l’Est de la RDC, L’AFRIQUE DES GRANDS LACS. ANNUAL REPORT 2007-2008, pp. 399-403

BUGULE

Derived from the verb *kugula*, which means “to buy,” bugule is the purchase of land “with full ownership.”¹⁰ This concerns an attempt to adapt the system of property ownership established by the Decree of February 10, 1953, according to the particular mindset of the Bushi people. It is therefore incorrect to consider it a property “contract” in the traditional sense.

MAJI

Maji means water. In this study, it concerns rivers or public fountains serving as sources of drinking water for the populations of Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala in Walungu territory.

MUJAKAZI OR TINDA

This concerns a mystical and spiritual magic-religious sect led by a woman. The sect has created a number of familial and community conflicts in two territories (Kabare and Walungu). It concerns a woman who makes false prophesies, who accuses, rightly or wrongly, family members of witchcraft, invoking curses and other ill intentions; this creates division and significant conflict between family members, often leading to disputes, tensions, rural exodus and killings related to mob justice.

CONFLICT

The term “conflict” comes from the Latin “*conflictus*” and can be translated as “friction, clash, fight, combat.” It denotes oppositions or confrontations that are more or less acute or violent between two or more parties: nations, groups, classes, persons or even trends, aspirations and motivations within an individual.

The concept of “conflict” has been the subject of numerous studies, but in this specific case we will be content with borrowing several definitions, considered to be the simplest, but very clear, based on the works of certain thinkers. We draw on the following:

Yves Alpe defines conflict as being “an opposition between two individuals or two social groups defending divergent values or interests and seeking to establish a relationship of power in their favor.”¹¹ According to Alpe, “Conflict is an opposition between two or more persons who collide with divergent ideas or opinions and where the expectations of some are often in opposition with the expectations of others.”

For Watongoka Lutala, conflict is a “mutual form of interaction whereby two or more persons try to push back against each other, either by eliminating the other party or rendering them ineffective. This is what happens in war, for example.”¹²

¹⁰ Idem.

¹¹ Yves ALPE, *Lexique de sociologie*, Ed. Dalloz, Paris, 2005 : 38

¹² WATONGOKA, H., *Cours de sociologie générale à l'usage des étudiants du premier cycle en sciences sociales et humaines*, USK, Bukavu, 2003, p. 77.

Conflict is considered an extreme way of resolving a social dispute. There are all sorts of conflicts: a conflict of ideas between a young generation and an older one, a conflict of interest between an employer and its employees, or between political parties, for example. However, these accepted meanings are consistent with the sociological concepts discussed above.¹³

According to Gilles Ferréol, the term “conflict” means “a situation of opposition, under very diverse forms, between individuals or groups whose interests are divergent.”¹⁴

For Mokhtar Lakehal, quoted by Alain-Roger Edou Mvelle, “Conflict is a verbal disagreement, the trigger of a murderous war. It is a fact of men.”¹⁵

As for social conflict, it can be understood as being a reciprocal human relationship between two parties; the start of a conflict is often preceded by various forms of disagreements (words, gestures, abuse, contempt, insults, rivalries, etc.).¹⁶

Finally, for J. L. Marret, conflict is “the pursuit of incompatible objectives by different individuals or groups.”¹⁷

According to all these definitions, conflicts are inherent to any society, but are not always violent and do not necessarily lead to war (fortunately). Even during a period of peace, conflicts arise. This means that they can be a phenomenon that persists throughout both peaceful and violent periods.

In its broader definition, the word conflict is synonymous with antagonism, battle, clash, combat, dispute, disagreement and, ultimately, war. It is a situation in which two persons, two groups or two sets of individuals are in disagreement about a common objective.¹⁸ Therefore, we talk about conflict when the interests, challenges, objectives and emotions of two separate groups are incompatible and in opposition with one another.

J. Galtung categorizes conflict at four levels: micro-conflicts (intra and interpersonal), meso-conflicts (between societies), macro-conflicts (between states and nations) and mega-conflicts (between regions and civilizations).¹⁹ For the author, conflict can generally be categorized into four types: intrapersonal conflicts, interpersonal conflicts, intragroup conflicts and intergroup conflicts. Conflicts can be broken down into three main categories: conflicts concerning needs or interests, conflicts concerning values and

¹³ Idem

¹⁴ Gilles Ferréol et al., *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1991, p. 32.

¹⁵ Edou Mvelle (A. R.), *Le pardon et la justice post-conflits en Afrique. Etude comparative des dynamiques des acteurs et des institutions du dedans et du dehors (South Africa, Rwanda)*, Dissertation for a DEA [Diploma of Advanced Studies], Université de Yaoundé (University of Yaoundé) 2, I 2008, p. 8

¹⁶ Watongoka, H. Op. cit

¹⁷ MARRET, J.L, *La fabrication de la paix, nouveaux conflits, nouveaux acteurs, nouvelles méthodes*, Paris, Ellipses, 2006, p. 15.

¹⁸ Y. Potin, *La gestion des conflits*, in *cahiers des droits de l'homme et la paix en région des grands lacs*, vol.1, no. 1, 2005, p. 5.

¹⁹ J. Galtung, *Transcendance et transformation des conflits, introduction au métier de médiateur*, (Translated by Tagou Célestin), Presses des Universités Protestantes d'Afrique Centrale, Yaoundé, 2010, pp. 21, 61, 89, 131.

conflicts concerning roles.²⁰ This is what Dib Mango'o, cited by Karhakubwa, regroups into two main categories: conflicts of interest and conflicts concerning values.²¹

CONFLICT DYNAMICS

In sociology, when we talk about what is dynamic, we refer to social facts and phenomena “which place an emphasis on the permanence of change and consider that social reality is not static; rather it is subject to endogenous and exogenous factors that movement imprints on it. Therefore, social reality should be captured in its dynamic form.”²²

Therefore, in the context of this work, when we allude to conflict dynamics, we place an emphasis on movement, the temporal or diachronic evolution of these conflicts; their recurrence, their permanence, their persistence, their spiral and even repetition within our field of research.

SOCIAL COHESION

Social cohesion can, beyond multiple and varied definitions, be defined as the unit by absorption of the parts, by the whole that they are part of.

Social cohesion is established under the action of several elements and several agents.²³ The most important elements are a common name, culture, territory and socioeconomic interests.

PEACE

Etymologically speaking, the term “peace” comes from Latin (*pax, pacis*). According to dictionaries,²⁴ several meanings can be attached to the term “peace.”²⁵

Therefore, peace is a relationship with a group of individuals, or with war, or it concerns the state of an individual or situation.

The first accepted meaning of peace relates to relationships between people. Peace is an agreement, an understanding between individuals, within a social group or between social groups. Therefore, peace denotes the relationships between people who are not in conflict or in dispute. At this level, we can cite the collective agreements signed between an employer and a syndicate of certain state-sponsored companies, by which the different parties engage in resolving conflicts through negotiation and refraining from practically any lockout or strike action.

²⁰ B. Karhakubwa, *La construction de la paix et le rôle de la MONUSCO*, Ed. CAPG, Bukavu, 2015, p. 65.

²¹ *Idem*, p. 67.

²² KALUNGA M., and KAZADI K., *Les méthodes en Sciences Sociales et Humaines. Une relecture de la critique de la scientificité subjective*, EDUPC, Lubumbashi, 2013, p. 45.

²³ MULUMBATI, N., *Manuel de sociologie générale*, Editions AFRICA, Lubumbashi, 1980, p. 361.

²⁴ Hachette, 2000; Le Robert, 1996.

²⁵ Prof MASHANDA, *cours inédit de psychologie de la paix*, G3 UEA-Bukavu, 2015-2016.

The second meaning for peace means an opposition to war. It concerns the situation of a nation, a state that is not at war or within which there is no unrest or civil war. It concerns relationships between states or within a country that benefit from this situation. It is within this context that “peace treaties” and “peace agreements” are established between warring factions and to stop the state of war.

The third accepted meaning concerns the state of a person. Peace is the state of a person who is not troubled by anything. It concerns a state of calm, of tranquility. It is the state of a serene person who does not suffer any anxiety (they have finally found peace). It is the state of a person who is not disturbed by anything, who enjoys calm. Within this context, peace denotes the state of a soul that is not troubled by any conflict or worry (psychological peace). It has the following synonyms: calm, quiet, tranquility, peace of mind. Hence expressions such as: “May his soul rest in peace.”

Another meaning of peace is to consider it as the state or character of a place, of a moment in which there is no agitation or noise. This is the state of a place where calm prevails (the peace of the mountains, the shores of a lake, peace in the forest, etc.).

Biblically speaking, peace is defined by the Hebrew word “shalom” (peace of the Lord: that which God brings to Christians). According to the Bible, peace means: perfect happiness, security, harmony in one’s fraternal life, confidence, friendly cooperation, wellbeing, etc.

According to Prof. Kizaliwa,²⁶ we have the tendency to define peace as being the absence of war, but peace is much more than that. The term peace is polysemic, all the more so because it can be understood and analyzed from different viewpoints:

- From a physical or psychological perspective: peace is physical and mental wellbeing, a state of calm and having one’s needs met.
- From a social perspective: peace is harmony, the acceptance of others and oneself, the sharing of power, a change in power, having a decent salary, the respect of human rights, the development of access to resources, equality and complementarity. It is also justice.
- From a political perspective: peace is the enjoyment of power without discord, total control over a country, a unified army, good governance characterized by freedom of expression, the respect of human rights, the participation of all in managing the country and the sharing of natural resources.
- From a military perspective: peace is calm, security and the absence of war and rebellion.
- From a theological perspective: peace is inner calm and enjoying good relations with those close to one and with one’s God.

TERRITORY

According to Mulwayi Dibaya, the concept of territory mainly denotes the space occupied and defended by an animal against any intrusion. Among human beings, territory denotes a special setting determining the authority of the state. According to sociological analyses, the reference to territory as a

²⁶ KIZALIWA, Méthodes et techniques de résolution des conflits, G1, UEA-Bukavu, 2013-2014.

place for defining a culture, community of interest and social interaction is becoming increasingly common.²⁷

Notions such as localization, concentration, distribution or spatial segregation seem more adequate. In this case, the links between the economic, the social and the political are autochthonous and visible across a territory that does not always correspond to a nation-state or to another politico-administrative division. Therefore, we are interested in the emerging sociohistorical conditions of a particular social organization and its dynamic.

When the process is confused at the regional level and it is based on regional institutions or relayed by regionalist claims, then we are talking about regionalization, which can be the source of conflicts.

According to Bosco Muchukiwa,²⁸ the notion of territory is, in the majority of situations, confused with that of land. The latter has a limited acceptance and implies a land asset, a property belonging to an individual, or the plots of land developed and destined for agricultural production in the broad sense.²⁹ This concept introduces the dimension of private possession and state-owned property. Viewed from this perspective, scientific works place land conflicts in terms of the incompatibility of local land agreements or legal pluralism.³⁰

Instead of the concept of “land,” we have favored the concept of “territory,” which better explains the conflicts between ethnic groups. The disputed lands are located throughout an inhabited, demarcated territory and depend on a state or jurisdiction.³¹ It is the state or national territory that is administered by a modern authority and governed by a law. This concept raises the ambiguity between state territory and ethnic territory. The latter existed before colonization and was not well demarcated and fixed. Geographically dispersed, the ethnic territory was under the authority of a patriarch and, according to Denis Retailé, constituted spaces of maximum solidarity, exchange, movement and collective identity. This has produced the state identity, to use the expression coined by Bertrand Badie. The ethnic or identity-based territory goes back to spaces within which populations are in a majority, in the cradle of the latter, or to spaces where a population is in the minority and aspires to being connected between different ethnic pockets.³²

This summary distinction is able to explain the conflicts that ethnic groups suffer and that are created as a result of identification with and belonging to a primary or national space. Therefore, conflicts are created as a result of the confusion between two realities or the transformation of an ethnic territory

²⁷ MULOWAYI, D. Manuel et lexique de Sociologie Générale, Presses Universitaires de Kananga, Kananga, 2013.

²⁸ Bosco MUCHUKIWA, Identités territoriales et conflits dans la province du Sud-Kivu, RD Congo, Genève, Globalthics.Net, 2016, pp. 12-13.

²⁹ Bruno BOURDON, Dictionnaire Flammarion de la langue française, Paris, Nouvelle édition, 1999, cited by Bosco MUCHUKIWA, op.cit. p. ?

³⁰ Richard MULENDEVU, M, Pluralisme juridique et règlement des conflits fonciers en RD Congo, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013, 319 cited by Bosco MUCHUKIWA, idem. p. ?

³¹ Bruno BOURDON, op. cit, p.1247

³² Bosco MUKCHIKIWA, pouvoirs locaux et contestations populaires dans le Territoire d'Uvira au Sud-Kivu de 1961-2004, unpublished, PhD thesis, Institute of Development Policy and Management, Antwerp, 2004, p. 19-21.

into a state territory. This transformation is called territorial process. It was designed and led by the colonial administration. This reorganization of ethnic groups across the viable and administrable territories is explained below by taking the case of different ethnic groups and enabling us to understand the weakness of the Congolese state in resolving identity crises.

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS LITERATURE

This research is inspired by authors who have written on the different root causes of community and intercommunity conflicts, both ethnic and interethnic, and on the context and consequences of these communities participating in conflicts. Their work has enabled us to situate our study in relation to the prior works. This concerns work that is to some degree focused, of course, on the dynamic of conflicts in North and South Kivu.

In his article “La crise foncière à l’est de la RDC” [The land crisis in eastern DRC], Séverin Mugangu Matabaro asserts “no one considers that at the origin of the conflicts in eastern DRC and particularly in Kivu and Ituri, there is a land problem. This problem is present in terms of the imbalance between the land needs of the populations and the available land. Competition around increasingly rare land resources would explain the recurrent conflicts in these regions.”³³ The author examined another complementary hypothesis in this article, that the land problem in eastern DRC is fundamentally a question of management, in other words, the legal status of the farmers, on the one hand, and the institutional land management framework on the other. These are postulations that demonstrate well that kilinzi and bwasa are statutes, vectors of conflicts, particularly in the Bushi region. Therefore, this study, which is compatible with ours, deems kalinzi a driver and a cause of different conflicts in the three groupements studied.

In his work “Désarmement, démobilisation et réintégration des enfants ex-soldats” [Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former child soldiers], Albert Kalonga³⁴ presents a summary of the conflict dynamic, especially in South Kivu, in these terms: “It was in September and October 1996 in the surrounding area of the city of Uvira, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, that tensions between the Banyamulenge, a Congolese Tutsi community, and other ethnic groups triggered the first clashes in a war that would result in the collapse of the Mobutu³⁵ regime. The rebellion was led by a coalition of local and regional actors displaying different interests. But this rebellion would also create a new armed mobilization, a military fragmentation and a shift in alliances, a multitude of armed groups, presenting a whole series of grievances.”

In his study “Identités territoriales et conflits dans la province du Sud-Kivu, en R.D. Congo” [Territorial identities and conflicts in South Kivu Province, DRC], Prof. Bosco Muchukiwa³⁶ attests that the conflicts

³³ MUNGANGU M, “la crise foncière à l’Est de la RDC”, *L’Afrique des Grands Lacs. Annual Report 2007-2008*, p. 385

³⁴ KALONGA, L. *Désarmement démobilisation et réintégration des enfants –ex soldats. Échec au Sud-Kivu ?* L’Harmattan, France, Paris, 2016.

³⁵ Jason Stearns et coll. *Les banyamulenge : Insurrection et exclusion dans les montagnes du Sud-Kivu* (London : Institut de la Vallée du Rift [Rift Valley Institute], 2013), pp. 14–20.

³⁶ MUCHUKIWA B., “Identités territoriales et conflits dans la province du Sud-Kivu, en R.D. Congo”, édition, Globethics.net, Switzerland, 2016, p. 53.

between ethnic groups are born out of the confusion between the ethnic territory and the state-administered territory, of the superposition of the latter on the former. He has studied cases in depth and identified conflicts of this nature in the territories of Fizi, Kahele and Uvira, which are hotbeds of conflict between ethnic groups, and between ethnic groups and non-native groups. The same conflict dynamic is also well-documented in North Kivu, between the Hutus and the Hundes, particularly in Masisi territory.

Furthermore, according to the author, South Kivu province is made up of eight administrative territories. Before colonization, these territories did not exist in their current form. All the tribes who live there have been organized by the colonial administration.

Currently, they claim precedence over these territorial entities, the right of autochthony, and exclude the tribes that they call non-native and nonindigenous. These claims can be felt at the level of the extended chefferies or the sectors that have two forms of organizing the political space and indirect control of the inhabitants.

This poses a major problem: contempt of the state's sovereignty over the ethnic territories. The tribes refuse to transfer their legitimacy to the Congolese state. They have entered into conflict with the latter and participate in its destruction in the same way that armed forces do, whether or not they are conscious of doing so. In this state, territorial identities are conflictive and exclusive, the notion of natives and non-natives is deeply implanted there and operates across all levels of the territorial and administrative organization. This nonlocalized problem appears to be difficult for the Congolese state to resolve because it manifests in several forms: between two native tribes who have been organized and fixed by the colonial administration across the same territorial entity; between two tribes, one of which claims to be the "true native people" and the other which is referred to as foreign and non-native; and among several tribes who claim the right of autochthony and question that of other ethnic groups, whether or not they come under the territory. These different forms translate into a failure to integrate tribes into the Congolese state within the national territory.

For his part, Séverin Mugangu³⁷ makes us see that much work has been devoted to conflicts in the African Great Lakes region over the last couple of decades, and particularly to recurrent conflicts in Kivu and DRC.³⁸ What these works have in common is that they grant a special place to the land factor when explaining these conflicts. Understood as a set of political, legal, economic and social relationships underpinned by a specific area of ground,³⁹ land is in fact a sizable challenge in transitioning societies

³⁷ MUGANGU, S., "Espaces et dynamiques des conflits au Nord-Kivu et au Sud-Kivu" in MURHEGA Mashanda Job, in his work entitled "Dynamique des Conflits et construction de la paix durable au Nord-Kivu et au Sud-Kivu en République Démocratique du Congo", published by the Centre de Recherches Universitaire du Kivu [University of Kivu Research Centre], December 2009.

³⁸ MATHIEU P., and J.C WILLAME, "Conflits et guerres au Kivu et dans la région des Grands Lacs", in Cahiers africains, no. 39-40, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999, p. 201-212.

³⁹ E. Le BRIS et al., (S/dir.), L'appropriation de la terre en Afrique Noire ; Manuel d'analyse, de décision et de gestion foncière, Paris, Karthala, 1991.

such as that in Kivu, which is desperately trying to leave agrarian history behind and evolve toward stronger forms of historicity.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the advent of the modern state and the penetration of capitalism have defined new challenges and led to new forms of logic and behavior. Social competition now takes place on a new register and obeys completely different norms than those that prevailed in precolonial societies. Political and administrative apparatus, places of capitalist accumulation, territorial entities and civil society organizations are, within the state and modern society, highly disputed spaces.

In summary, Séverin presents six determining factors of conflict dynamics in North and South Kivu:

1. The identity crisis between the populations and within civil society.
2. Evolution of the forms of legitimacy and authority.
3. The reproduction of quasi-feudal social relations.
4. Rural impoverishment, youth unemployment and political manipulations.
5. The proliferation of armed groups and a lack of strategies to integrate them.
6. Land.

Although all these studies have addressed essential questions concerning the conflict dynamics in the two provinces in a general manner, their analyses of the conflicts did not touch on specific issues such as the Mujakazi phenomenon, conflicts between butchers and the local population or those related to access to drinking water. The issue related to traditional usage fees (kalinzi) was also not addressed rigorously.

⁴⁰ A. TOURAINE, *Production de la société*, Paris, Le seuil, 19733. ; G. BAJOT(?), *Pour une Sociologie relationnelle*, Paris, PUF, 1992.

2. RESULTS OF THE PARTICIPATORY CONFLICT ANALYSIS PROCESS

This chapter is obviously about analyzing the context of conflicts, but context in this case is not to be confused with that in relation to research, but rather the context of the conflicts in the three groupements under examination. It concerns conflict mapping and not just the simple identification of conflicts. The analysis focuses on the dynamic of the conflicts with their actors or stakeholders, as well as the causes and consequences. Issues related to gender and other marginalized groups are also addressed. The same applies to local mechanisms and capacities for conflict transformation in the three groupements studied. This analysis expands on the analyses conducted by the DJPC, particularly through the evaluation of aspects such as the key drivers and specific contexts of each conflict.

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

The context in the three groupements of Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala is fragile due to the situation of insecurity caused by the circulation of light arms, weapons of war and small-caliber weapons. The strained cohabitation between the local populations and the agents of law and order—the FARDC, the police and the ANR officers—are attributed as being at the root of multiple instances of harassment. It has been observed that the Congolese state has an incapacity to manage effectively, and chaotically manages elements that are, at times, overabundant to the detriment of other groupements. This comes on top of other factors, such as: the failure of the socioeconomic reintegration process concerning ex-combatants; the poor management of natural resources and public affairs; the difficulty in accessing quality medical care, due to the lack of adequate infrastructure and qualified health care staff; and education for all, decimated by the phenomenon of bonuses or the lack of educational management, a role which has been assumed by parents who are already impoverished due to multiple wars and unemployment. All of this is compounded by the socioeconomic conflicts based on the land, which, on the one hand, divide crop farmers and livestock farmers, and, on the other hand, cause conflicts of interest relating to the customary usage fee (kalinzi) and poor access to drinking water. We also note the conflicts related to traditional power, conflicts related to inheritance between sons and daughters from the same families, familial conflicts related to false prophecies (Mujakazi), conflicts related to the resistance to preparatory work for agricultural routes, and conflicts related to leadership between traditional chiefs and civil society.

Of this list, we would like to indicate that three types of conflicts remain common across all three groupements studied. In particular, these concern conflicts related to kalinzi, the phenomenon of Mujakazi and poor access to drinking water, which has become a rare resource.

TYOLOGY OF THE CONFLICTS

The analysis highlighted three types of conflicts and several subcategories in the groupements of Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala (see Table 1).

Table 1: Typology of Conflicts in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements

Type of conflict	Conflict categorization
Economic conflicts related to interests and needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Land conflicts related to the traditional usage fee between traditional authorities at different levels and their respective populations ▪ Conflicts in relation to the nonrespect of boundaries ▪ Conflicts between crop farmers and livestock farmers ▪ Conflicts between the association of butchers and the local population, the Nyangezi case in Karhongo groupement ▪ Supremacy of the mining code over the land and environmental code
Sociopolitical conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Conflicts related to inheritance between members of one family and, more specifically, between sons and daughters ▪ Conflicts related to poor local governance ▪ Leadership conflicts between the traditional power and civil society ▪ Intercommunity conflicts between groupements related to poor access to drinking water (the case of the Kamisimbi and Lurhala groupements) ▪ Familial conflicts related to false prophecies (Mujakazi) ▪ Educational conflicts related to the payment and management of bonuses and other school fees ▪ Conflicts related to youth unemployment
Conflict related to insecurity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Insecurity related to illegal detention and the circulation of light arms and weapons of war ▪ Harassment of the local population by the security services (FARDC, PNC, ANR, etc.) ▪ Conflicts related to crime and the consumption of strong alcoholic drinks ▪ The proliferation of armed groups

In conclusion, three types of conflicts remain common to these groupements, which are: land conflicts related to the traditional usage fee and to disagreements between crop farmers and livestock farmers, conflicts of power (between civil society and traditional chiefs) and identity conflicts based on inheritance and gender. Communication is the only tool for resolving any conflict because when a conflict is resolved within a reasonable time frame, it requires less energy, effort and resources overall.

CONFLICT DYNAMICS

In practice, the dynamic of major conflicts in the three groupements targeted by our research revolves around the above-mentioned elements. However, they are equally attributable to the known mutations of several social phenomena.

This is notably the case for the kalinzi phenomenon.

Unlike Ituri and North Kivu, where the land issue is politicized and puts communities in conflict with one another, in South Kivu in general and in Walungu territory in particular, the land issue can be broken down into, on the one hand, a disorganized land transition and, on the other hand, a conflict of interests between the state and the local populations concerning the conservation of nature. The land

accumulation strategies of the elite also contribute to aggravating the land crisis in Walungu territory and, more particularly, in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala.

A disorganized land transition: the problems related to the land transition can essentially be observed at three different levels: the material content of land contracts, land practices and intratribal relationships concerning land.

In Bushi, the traditional land contract, which is, in the words of Max Weber, a fraternization contract, has become a contract leading to misunderstandings and conflicts. To prevent the registration of lands by farmers and to slow down their emancipation, the traditional Bushi authorities have conjured up very creative contracts⁴¹ that increase the legal security of the land tenants while preserving the status quo. While these contracts are certainly creative, unfortunately they do not meet the agreement of the majority of the rural population. Indeed, the farmers prefer to secure specific agreements accompanied by guarantees that are different from those offered by traditional land titles, but which are just as effective. By reinventing the traditional land contract (*kalinzi*),⁴² in their own way the farmers are chipping away at what is most substantial, that is to say, the unlimited personal dependence over time that was originally established. In other words, they are engaging in a simple sale. It is this push-back against “fraternal” relations with commercial relations, that of replacing contracts-statutes with contracts-duties, that seems to us to be responsible for the current development of land conflicts in Bushi.

Indeed, while the new contracts proposed by the traditional authority enable it to protect its social position, they keep farmers in an unfavorable social and, above all, economic relationship, from which the farmers then try to break free through creative contractual practices. The conflicts that result from this emancipation dynamic center around two positions and two adversaries: the traditional authorities, on the one hand, and the farmers, on the other hand. The traditional authorities develop a conservative discourse.

As regards the traditional land title, the same Mwami advisors thought to add the following specifications: “While we have no state-recognized land title, we still depend on Mwami. In essence, we are establishing the traditional land title to put an end to potential disputes. Once the land title is established, the boundaries of a plot are known. If a neighbor complains, it is easy to recognize the boundaries. However, the traditional land title does not mean that the land concerned no longer

⁴¹ To avert the peril of an obliteration in the status quo due to the generalized registration of land in rural settings, the traditional Bushi chiefs, inspired by the *bugule* introduced in the colonial era by the chefferie council, implemented additional procedures before the registration request. This started at the beginning of the 1970s. According to the chefferies, these procedures first concern the “demarcation report” (*Kabare* and *Ngweshe*) or the “Certification of occupation of a traditional land” (*Kalehe*); then, the “Deed of acknowledgement of the traditional land agreement” (*Kabare*), the “Deed of transfer” (*Ngweshe*) and the “Certificate of payment of traditional tax duties” (*Kalehe*).

⁴² *Kalinzi* (from the verb *kalinza*, “to keep waiting”) is the most traditional form of land tenure among the Bushi. The term designates both the price of the right of use (*nkafu ya kalinzi*) and the land on which this right is exercised (*ishwa lya kalinzi*). Ouchinsky defines it as the price of the right (in principle, perpetual) of use over land that an overlord grants to a vassal and the vassal's descendants. However, *kalinzi* is not a purchase price but a gift of recognition to the overlord's vassal, to whom “landownership” is attributed.

depends on Mwami.” In fact, the potential tax liability of a traditional land title (bugule)⁴³ is a constant source of concern for the traditional authorities. Therefore, they try to reinterpret and to reduce its legal scope to the simple guarantee against attempts at eviction and infringement of the rights of the tenant. The preoccupation seems manifestly yet another attachment of an obligation of loyalty as regards the traditional land authorities. Indeed, this obligation materializes in diverse ways at the discretion of the owner of the title deeds to the land.

Therefore, when talking about land conflicts related to the traditional usage fee (kalinzi or bwasa), kalinzi has undergone many mutations, as attested by Prof. Mungangu Matabaro:⁴⁴ kalinzi “is a characteristic of the crisis in social relations in Bushi rural areas. It is the common thread that runs through the majority of rural land conflicts.” We can say that, as a consequence, beyond individual conflicts, there is a structural crisis in rural society: this crisis is made visible in particular by land conflicts. However, it is evident that the traditional land contract (kalinzi) has undergone significant mutations that the traditional tribunals and land authorities—the latter are often the witnesses to transactions—have legitimized. Indeed, it no longer creates any social link whatsoever. It simply confers a right over land, an absolute and exclusive right. Furthermore, the legitimacy of the authority structures and the system of privileges is no longer based on kalinzi. However, the commodification of kalinzi is still not a legal process. The summary wording of the agreements enables them to be continuously reconstructed, depending on the requirements of the environment and new power relations.

The contracts granting a precarious usage right are the most practiced to date and enable the reproduction of quasi-feudal relationships on land acquired by virtue of modern law.

Unlike in the colonial and precolonial periods when land rights were essentially based on kalinzi—the intention of the parties to the transaction being more inclined toward creating social links than to transfer great importance to the “owner” in the traditional land system—the chiefs today no longer give land on a perpetual basis; they sell it to the highest bidder, or enhance its value, whether directly or by granting precarious contracts to the farmers.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the continuous division of land and passing it on through inheritance has had the consequence of families no longer having enough space to ensure their subsistence. They are obliged to ask “large-scale owners,” in particular traditional landowners and agents, for plots to cultivate. This system of precarious contracts enables the owners of plantations to benefit from free labor, because the food-producing crops are planted using a divider method, in combination with the shrub-like crops.

⁴³ Bugule (from the verb *kugula*, “to buy”) is the purchase of land “with full ownership.” This concerns an attempt to adapt the system of property ownership established by the Decree of February 10, 1953, according to the particular mindset of the Bushi people. It is therefore incorrect to consider it a property “contract” in the traditional sense.

⁴⁴ MUNGANGU M, “la crise foncière à l’Est de la RDC”, L’Afrique des Grands Lacs.

⁴⁵ This is the case of *bwasa* among the Bashi and *malouer* among the Batembo and Bunyakiri. The term *bwasa* comes from the verb *kuyasa*, which means ceding the use of land. It concerns a “rental contract giving the tenant the right to use a piece of land for a short duration (often for one harvest) and the rental price is generally calculated in proportion to the profits made and is consequently settled at a later date.” In essence, *bwasa* is based only on the plantation of annual crops, whatever they may be, but excluding crops that are considered dangerous (cannabis, for example). It is never established for the plantation of perennial crops, for artificial forestation or for the erection of huts aimed at establishing a permanent residence. On the other hand, *malouer*, while being a precarious contract, authorizes its tenant to plant perennial crops, in particular palm, and the proceeds the tenant derives from the oil are shared with the landowner.

However, when the contract relates to land not covered by trees, the beneficiary engages in providing one day's work per week to the owner of the fund (Burhabale).

The development of vegetable crops (mboga), which is growing due to urban demand, has made drained marshes the preferred land for precarious contracts. Indeed, marshlands present such economic interest that the owners, mainly traditional local chiefs, have stopped authorizing their free use (obuhashe).

From a sociological perspective, the majority of known conflicts, particularly in South Kivu, from their origins to the present time, as well as the dynamic of conflicts as a whole, have revolved, and continue to revolve, around the following elements: identity,⁴⁶ territory, ethnicity and access to power and to land, which are, incidentally, the elements of social, political and administrative organization.

To understand the dynamic of local conflicts, it is essential to bear in mind the particular relationship that exists between territory and identity, as well as the territorial/administrative organization that is based on traditional chiefdoms.

For Albert Kalonga,⁴⁷ the dynamic of conflicts in South Kivu can be attributed to multiple causes, some of which are directly linked to the lack of effort in peacebuilding: unresolved local conflicts, failure of military integration, new and persistent battles for power and the limited success of demobilization campaigns. But to understand why South Kivu seems to be a territory that is favorable to the proliferation of armed groups, it is imperative to adopt a long-term perspective.

This subchapter describes the historical dynamic at the origin of armed movements in South Kivu, more specifically by placing an emphasis on the period just before the First Congo War. It is concentrated on the sources of local conflicts, while underlining that these cannot be understood unless we also take a more in-depth look at the political, socioeconomic and demographic phenomena in the broad sense, at both the national and regional levels. Of course, the armed rebellion in South Kivu has evolved over time, and each militia has its own story; however, our research looks back over the more specific context of these three groupements as the subject of our study.

CAUSES, ACTORS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICT IN KAMISIMBI, LURHALA AND KARHONGO

According to this analysis, we have identified the following major conflicts in the Kamisimbi, Lurhala and Karhongo groupements:

LAND CONFLICTS RELATED TO THE TRADITIONAL USAGE FEE (KALINZI)

This often concerns conflicts between the traditional authorities at different levels and their populations, and due to the nonrespect of boundaries. The major causes of this type of conflict are mainly due to cases of nonrespect and despoliation of boundaries, the absence of credible witnesses to land agreements, the purchase of land without written documentation, the self-interest of the traditional chiefs, the demand for traditional usage fees between heirs, attribution of the same field or the same

⁴⁶ TOURAINE, A., 'conflit social' Encyclopédie Universalis.

⁴⁷ KALONGA L., Op. cit.

plot to several occupants, the price of purchasing and obtaining land titles, the purchase of large plots of land by the most rich and powerful, the weak involvement of the local authorities and Mwami in the peaceful resolution of land conflicts, poor governance and poor land management policy.

It transpires that the traditional authorities, members of the community (local populations), local leaders and the Congolese state have been identified as actors in land conflicts. The following consequences, among others, have been noted: hatred; disputes; insults; forced displacements; rural exodus; accusations of witchcraft; arbitrary arrests; poisonings; the lack of social cohesion; familial, tribal and community divisions; negative discrimination; extreme poverty; stigmatization and marginalization; humiliation; and multiple killings.

CONFLICTS RELATED TO THE MUJAKAZI OR TINDA PHENOMENON

Poverty and unemployment have pushed many people to develop positive and negative capacities to survive on a daily basis. This is what we call social resilience. This notably concerns the proliferation of false churches as a means to survive. In this case, it concerns a woman who gives false prophecies, who seduces and destroys many families in Kabare and Walungu territories and in South Kivu province. Obviously, this reveals the absence of the state, despite the religious freedom enshrined in our constitution. This phenomenon has had many consequences right across the two aforementioned territories and, more specifically, in the groupements of Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala in Walungu territory. On this subject, it is worth mentioning the severe and arbitrary sanctions inflicted on persons suspected of witchcraft or black magic (definitive expulsion from the village, setting houses on fire or the confiscation of the accused's assets), the separation of families, the loss of family cohesion, divisions between members of the community, poverty, forced rural exodus and mob justice. The following are considered actors in this phenomenon: the woman practicing Mujakazi or Tinda (the prophetess), the local populations of the three groupements and the local authorities.

WATER

(Maji: This concerns interpersonal and intercommunity conflicts related to poor access to drinking water. Access is poor in the groupements of Kamisimbi and Lurhala.)

The provision of drinking water, a rare resource, has been at the root of several conflicts in the three groupements under examination. On the one hand, this situation places members of the same groupements in opposition with one another, creating conflicts, and on the other hand, it creates tensions between the populations of different groupements, or between the population of Kamisimbi and a certain man, the owner of a farm acquired from the white people who blocks anyone who wants to stock up on drinking water. The same need to obtain drinking water has created a conflict between part of the population of Kamisimbi, once again, and the groupements of Lurhala and Mumosho. The major causes of these conflicts are, among others: the failure of the project run by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) to take the sensitivity of the conflict into account during its design and implementation; the failure to involve the local authorities of Kamisimbi in the design and implementation of the water conveyance project; the failure of SDC to take the recommendations made by the head of the Kamisimbi groupement into account; the fact that the villages through which the water pipelines pass do not benefit from this water; the sidelining of local labor during the implementation of the water conveyance project to the benefit of Rwandan subjects; and the appropriation of the Nshanvu water source by the owner of the farm, who purchased a Belgian

plantation where this rare resource is located, to the detriment of the entire population of Nshanvu 2 and Biruguzo.

These conflicts have had multiple consequences for all three groupements: the destruction of sections of the pipeline (Camasiga and Mugogo); distrust between the aforementioned populations and a local landowner; the withholding of access to this rare resource from the Lurhala population; the distrust of the Kamisimbi population (Bushigi, Bukera, Bukalwa and Nshanvu) toward SDC; the risk of an increase in waterborne diseases; and the risk of violence and mob justice between the population of Nshanvu 2 and the militia commissioned to guard the landowner's plantation. Furthermore, the following are considered and identified as authors of these conflicts: the populations of the groupements of Kamisimbi and Lurhala (villages of Bushigi, Bukera, Bukalwa, Nshanvu, Camasiga and Lulambo), SDC and the landowner in particular.

ECONOMIC CONFLICTS (CONFLICTS OF INTEREST)

In this case, we can cite as examples the conflicts, on the one hand, between crop farmers and livestock farmers, and on the other hand, between the association of butchers and the local population of Nyangezi in Karhongo groupement. In summary, the lack of zoning for pastureland often creates conflicts between the crop farmers and the livestock farmers. The former are often victims of the devastation and destruction of their crops by cows and other small and large animals. Sometimes the livestock farmers do this in a punitive manner, as a way to "get even." This situation is at the root of several conflicts between these two socioeconomic and professional categories. The destruction of plants by animals wandering from the herd and the lack of pasture were at the heart of this conflict. The crop farmers, livestock farmers, traditional chiefs, civil society, community leaders, courts and tribunals, and facilitators of community-led peace support structures were therefore major actors in this conflict, which has the following consequences, among others: jealousy, hatred, disputes, insults, fights, distrust, poisonings, killings and/or deaths, famine, poverty and the lack of social cohesion.

As regards the conflict between the butchers and the population of Nyangezi, it is worth noting that these butchers created a scarcity of beef on the Nyangezi market by deliberately applying the defective law of supply and demand. More specifically, the butchers conspired among themselves to slaughter just one cow a week in order to create scarcity and increase the price of meat, a situation that has caused great harm, to the point that this phenomenon of scarcity spread to the butchers of goats and to the women selling sambaza fish and flour. Life became intolerable in this groupement, and the conflict engulfed the region's entire economic sector. The intervention of the SPR peace committee was required to bring an end to this conflict, using a PAR approach.

CONFLICTS RELATED TO INHERITANCE BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE SAME FAMILY

Tradition, social mores, African customs and, more specifically, Shi culture, which gives the right of inheritance to sons rather than daughters, have been at the root of several conflicts between different members of the same families. With the emergence of human rights, civil society and, more specifically, feminist associations and the national and international organizations that work with a view to promoting women and other marginalized groups, women have become more aware of and started to claim their rights, in relation to the right to inheritance, as well as rights in relation to their male partners. This situation, which is still poorly understood in rural and traditional life, is at the root of several conflicts between sons and daughters from the same family, in particular, in the groupements of

Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala in Walungu territory in South Kivu province. The agents of these disputes are: the members of one family, the local authorities, bad advice, the courts and tribunals, other members of extended families, clans or the broader community. This creates open, violent and sometimes mortal conflicts, as well as hatred, misunderstandings, familial instability, poverty, children not being educated, recourse to justice that ruptures all familial links and fraternity, killings, familial divisions, etc. Therefore, the major causes of conflicts within our area of study have been identified as self-interest and/or unequal sharing of assets between heirs; the discrimination against girls and other children from polygamous marriages; the lack, and nonrespect, of a will and testament; and lack of knowledge about the family code under DRC legislation.

CONFLICTS RELATED TO SECURITY AND HARASSMENT OF THE LOCAL POPULATION BY THE SECURITY SERVICES

Before Félix Tshisekedi became president of the DRC, the length and breadth of the national territory was dotted with thousands of illegal checkpoints. Together with a variety of state services, these were at the root of several episodes of harassment of the poor population. The populations of Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala were spared this situation. Instead, they were robbed and harassed through the payments of diverse border-crossing charges and other illegal taxes by the security services, committed at these checkpoints. This created conflicts and often altercations between the two parties. It is also worth mentioning the insecurity created by these so-called “security” services, due to the poor salary policy (pay) and/or nonmechanized and unpaid agents, impunity, cohabitation of military agents and the local population, confusion over the traditional role of the ANR, poor governance and the absence of change.

These conflicts have had the following consequences on a daily basis: the challenging collaboration and cohabitation between law enforcement officers and the local populations, distrust, torture, looting, poverty, thefts, killings, rural exodus, denigration of and mistrust toward the local authorities by the security services, etc. The following are considered agents of these conflicts: the security officers (FARDC, PNC, ANR), the local population and the politico-administrative authorities.

Furthermore, in the three groupements under examination, insecurity has also been created through the presence of armed groups and in this case of the Raia Motomboki militia; the circulation of light arms, weapons of war and small-caliber weapons; and young delinquents and unemployed youth who are selling cannabis all day long and engage in consuming strong alcoholic drinks. The consequences are still the same as outlined above.

EDUCATIONAL CONFLICTS RELATED TO THE PAYMENT AND MANAGEMENT OF BONUSES AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOL FEES

For decades in the DRC, the payment of teachers by parents has created a great deal of tension. The management of teachers by parents goes back to the school year 1992–1993. To provide a bit of background, this year was preceded by an invalid academic year, following the nonpayment of teachers by the Kinshasa central government. We note that the beginning of the 1990s was characterized by numerous damaging events related to the democratization process in this country, known as Zaire at the time. It is following this state of affairs that politicians had been forced to go and complete their studies abroad and parents had, for the sake of their children’s future, also found ways around the situation. And so, the Catholic Church took the lead, bringing together parents and teachers, in other

words, the stakeholders, in order to set the groundwork for establishing a negotiated solution. This led to the payment of a bonus by the parents as a means of incentive.

Over the years, the agreement between the two parties has become not only a windfall and an opportunity for the teachers, but also an obligation, a fee for the parents and, in the end, an exploitation by the managers of the schools across the board, all of which has led to a multitude of associated (illegal) fees. According to United Nations Development Program statistics, we know that in our country, 59 percent of the population lives on less than \$1.25 per day and that the average bonus for one child in education varies between \$50 (for state schools) and \$100 (for private schools) per quarter, and this despite the resurrection of the state, which pays a salary that would be qualified as insufficient.

The schools set cutoff dates for the payment of the fee, and on this date, any student who is late with the payment is dismissed by the office or refused entry to classes. Tests and examination periods are lucrative times for teachers. This creates conflicts, on the one hand, between the students and their schools, and on the other hand, between the parents and the schools their children attend. These conflicts also occur, on the one hand, between the teachers themselves, and on the other hand, between the teachers and the head teachers and school governors, due to various embezzlements and poor management. In the end, it is the children and their parents who lose out. This creates perpetual conflicts, especially in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala, where the parents live in extreme poverty. The consequences are numerous. They concern, among others: the violation of the right of children to an education (according to UNICEF, around 60–70 percent of children of school age are not in school), schools having an insufficient number of students or being oversubscribed with students, and a decreasing average level of education due to schools prioritizing the popular classes and being more concerned about money than quality of education. Furthermore, the children's lack of discipline is tolerated, there is not enough authority over the children and their parents, and certain parents are definitely impoverished by the fact of having to find school fees.

The stakeholders in these conflicts are: the Congolese state; the educational authorities at the national, provincial, community and local levels; teachers; students; parents; UNICEF human rights organizations and, more specifically, those concerning the rights of children; and the Church and civil society.

LEADERSHIP CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND CIVIL SOCIETY

In the Lurhala groupement, for example, the civil society subcommittee has assumed the same power as that of the public administration and the local and traditional authorities. This creates conflict between the two parties. At the root of this conflict is a lack of awareness of legal texts, the usurpation of roles, the pursuit of power, political positioning and self-interest. As a consequence, this engenders hatred between the parties involved in the conflict, a lack of mutual respect, community division, defamation, a lack of social cohesion, obstacles to development and the empowerment of the community, and even assassination attempts, according to the testimony of the head of Lurhala groupement during our visit to this location on April 19, 2019. The head of the groupement, the Mwami, the chair of the Lurhala civil society subcommittee, the local population and the law enforcement officers (FARDC and PNC) are considered stakeholders in this conflict.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION MECHANISMS

When there is a breakdown in relations, societies or the members of communities such as Lurhala, Kamisimbi or Karhongo engage in finding a compromise or an understanding. This is what is known as conflict transformation.

On this subject, John Paul Lederach⁴⁸ asserts that conflict transformation occurs at the point at which opposing parties develop the same understanding of the causes that have triggered the conflict, consider it as normal within the dynamic of societies and implement sustainable peace support structures. John Paul Lederach adds that the transformational approach rests on specific techniques: that is to say, a certain way of looking at and perceiving reality, to question both the immediately apparent specificity in the episodes of conflict and the possibility of a broader constructive and desirable change.⁴⁹

According to this author, the structures are tasked with conflict prevention, management, settlement and resolution. The concept of conflict transformation would encompass all these elements, which constitute prerequisites to reaching dialogue and peaceful coexistence. The controversy around the autonomy or inclusion of each phase has not been solved to date.

With the different types of conflict identified above, the populations of Walungu in general, and those of the three groupements under study, use traditional cultural mechanisms that they have created and used to ensure social order.

In South Kivu, in general, and in Walungu in particular, as Prof. Barnabé Mulyumba Wa Mamba said, the Balega (as well as the Bashi) created Bwami and other associated structures, such as choosing “peaceful” names and the initiation known under the name “Bwali” for ensuring an education in social peace.⁵⁰

These different notions related to peaceful conflict transformation at the local level, such as “Bwali” or “Bwami,” the different councils of sages and elders in families or clans, in villages and subvillages are not defined here because a good number of peacebuilding educational manuals clarify them. Prof. Labana Lasay’abar specifies these notions in his work entitled “Le conflit : stratégies, prévention, gestion et modes de résolution” [Conflict: strategies, management and resolution mechanisms].⁵¹

The above-mentioned authors and many others emphasize the peaceful nature of conflict transformation.

⁴⁸ John Paul Lederach and Michelle Maiese, “*Transformation des conflits : un voyage circulaire avec un objectif précis.*” This article is an abridged version from Knowledge Base Essay Conflict Transformation, published on <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation/?nid=1223>, translated by Bertrand Ligny.

⁴⁹ Idem.

⁵⁰ Barnabé Mulyumba wa Mamba, *Des mécanismes traditionnels d’éducation des enfants à la paix et la résolution des conflits dans la région des grands lacs, Héritiers de Justice*, Bukavu, 2001, 40 p. - Mécanismes locaux et traditionnels de résolution des Mécanismes culturels traditionnels de transformation des conflits Bukavu, S.D., 12 p. - and “Apport des méthodes traditionnelles dans la résolution des conflits actuels”, in communication, Workshop on conflict resolution approaches, Christian Aid, Bukavu, April 2000, p. 14

⁵¹ Labana Lasay’abar, “Le conflit : stratégies, prévention, gestion et modes de résolution” [Conflict: strategies, management and resolution mechanisms] (Kinshasa: Chaire UNESCO, 2007), 115.

The researchers Saidi Alo-I-Bya Sango and Nelson Bya'ene Esongo have conducted research into the Babembe, Bafuliiru and Bahavu ethnic groups, who have established traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. These mechanisms are known under the name Lubunga, that is to say, the hut where people meet to discuss social issues, including discussions between the Babembe and the Bafuliiru, and under the name Ngombe among the Bahavu and the Bashi.⁵²

Ngombe means the same as Lubunga. The Bashi and the Bahavu organize a council known under the name lhano and led by sages. To bring an end to a persistent conflict, they encourage a voluntary agreement (Bunvikane) or a blood pact (Cihango) between clans. To avert conflicts and create lasting peace, parents gave their children the names of Bafunyembaka, Mufungizi, Ntambaka, etc. Blood pacts and anthroponymy are customary practices among the Babembe, Bafuliiru, Bavira and Bahavu.

In summary, the societies studied by these different authors have invented traditional cultural mechanisms such as Lubunga, Ngombe, Bwami and lhano to maintain social order by settling conflicts between the members of different groups.

The different institutions cited below were led by sages or elders chosen based on their integrity, spirit of impartiality and inclination toward finding an amicable settlement to conflicts.

The research conducted by Saidi Alo-I-Bya Sango and Nelson Bya'ene Esongo in South Kivu on traditional conflict resolution methods presents the procedure which was followed by the Babembe, Bafuliiru, Bahavu and Bashi.⁵³

According to these two researchers, the procedure consisted in lodging the complaint, summoning the accused, listening to the two parties in conflict,⁵⁴ bringing them face to face, finding proof, deliberating behind closed doors and communicating the reparation required. The two parties in dispute offered drink, dinner or both by way of reconciliation. The documents consulted reveal that by reaching a settlement, the former resorted to negotiation, mediation, preventive diplomacy or dialogue within Lubunga. They stopped other members of the clan from getting involved in the disagreement, at the risk of ostracism.

The traditional cultural mechanisms for conflict transformation were applied within a homogeneous society, the members of which shared the same culture, traditions and language and were organized over a single geographical area inhabited by the same tribe or ethnicity.

Generally speaking, traditional cultural mechanisms for conflict transformation were applied for the following cases: rape, inheritance disputes, wandering or stolen animals, disputes between families or members of a community, divorce, murder, debt, disputes relating to family life, infidelity, land

⁵² For further details about this, see Saidi Alo-I-Bya Sango and Nelson Bya'ene, *Modes traditionnels de transformation des conflits dans les communautés tribales du Sud-Kivu (Cas des Babembe, Bafuliru et Bahavu)*, CERUKI, Bukavu, 2007, p. 204 and Saidi Alo-I-Bya Sango, *Les modes traditionnels de résolution des conflits chez les Bembe*, unpublished, TFC, CUP, Bukavu, 2000-2001, p. 139

⁵³ Saidi Alo-I-Bya Sango and Nelson Bya'ene Esongo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 151 and following

⁵⁴ *Idem.*

management, village boundaries, land spoliation, illegal occupation of another's assets and arson committed against villages.

As we can easily observe, the traditional cultural mechanisms for conflict transformation were applied to each member of society who violated the prescribed tradition, custom, use or social mores. More specifically, these mechanisms were applicable to the members of the family, clan, tribe or ethnicity through the father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, persons of note or Mwami.

In practice, this is still what is happening in the three groupements studied, in addition to other peacebuilding mechanisms and structures established by civil society and other conflict transformation partners. This is the case for the peace committees with the DJPC and the SPR project, which were able to resolve conflicts in the three groupements with resounding success, as demonstrated by the experiences and testimonials cited below.

Furthermore, the conflicts are resolved and settled following the traditional and politico-administrative hierarchies in Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala. For example, in the cases of conflicts between brothers and sisters related to inheritance, this matter is directly related to the limited family advice available. In the event of a breakdown in dialogue, negotiation or mediation, the parties in dispute can resort to the extended family council arbitration, to the head of the subvillage, village, groupement, chefferie or Mwami, or even to the peace courts and tribunals and the police.

And so, during our field visit on April 20, 2019, we were able to free 11 people who had been arbitrarily arrested and detained for over a week in the Lurhala police substation, and had been held in custody beyond the legal limit, under the powerless watch of the head of the groupement, for conflicts related to traditional usage fees, putting them at odds with both the clan and village chiefs.

For example, in Karhongo, the initiative was very successful, as the following account demonstrates: "The community-led peace support structures are correctly implementing their mediation work and are appreciated by the communities. Some people who had been in conflict for several years have reconciled thanks to the intervention of members of the peacebuilding committees. These reconciled persons are the first to go and offer help to others who are in conflict and encourage them to consult the peacebuilding committees if they want to see their conflicts resolved."

During the fora for validating the results of the conflict analyses, the members of the community expressed their wish to see community conflicts end within their respective communities.

They explained that for a long time there had been community tension related to conflicts but that they were starting to see progress in relation to their conflict resolution capacities thanks to the existence of peace committees and the presence of the SPR project on the ground.

LOCAL PEACEBUILDING AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION CAPACITIES

Recognizing local peacebuilding and conflict transformation capacity is a factor of vital importance. However, this factor is often not prioritized by conflict transformation actors. It is with this in mind that Bosco Muchukiwa writes "since 1990, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been torn apart by political, land, mining, nationality and leadership conflicts, as well as fighting for control of the politico-

administrative entities. The different conflicts observed in this country have been at the root of insurrections, rebellions, the formation of armed groups and local militia.”⁵⁵

The Congolese state has attempted to transform these conflicts without any great success. Both national and international organizations helping the Congolese state have also partially failed (which confirms our conflict dynamic theory). These failings, identified across the board, are related to the importation of national conflict transformation methods, which do not take into account the provincial and local specificities.

For us, this is in part true and in part false, to the extent that any conflict transformation depends on its context and the interests and needs of its immediate actors. It is also true that peaceful conflict transformation methods offer many advantages over other types of methods (safeguarding social relations, time and energy, mitigated costs and confidentiality, etc.). Hence the saying: “a bad settlement is worth more than a good process.”

Therefore, in the three groupements targeted by our research, there is, of course, a certain level of capacity that could allow conflict transformation to occur. This mainly concerns the Mwami of Ngweshe, his sages and advisors, heads of the groupements, heads of the sub-groupements or villages, local peace committees, civil society with the subcommittees in these three groupements, etc. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that these local capacities are essential assets for peace and conflict transformation in their respective milieu. To ignore them is to contribute their perpetuation.

Some successful testimonies illustrate conflict transformation in Karhongo and Kamisimbi.

The community-led peace support structures have been able to transform negative situations into positive situations and are very much appreciated by and in their respective communities. Some people who had been in open conflict for several years have been able to reach an agreement thanks to the intervention of members of the peace committees. These reconciled persons are the first to go and offer help to others who are in conflict and encourage them to consult the peacebuilding committees if they want to see their conflicts resolved within a reasonable time frame and without incurring any costs.

We passed each other as enemies, glaring at one another. We are now on good speaking terms again, we greet one another warmly, we eat together; what was difficult and unthinkable has now become clear and possible. This is all thanks to the Muku peacebuilding committee of the 33rd Kamisimbi CBCA [Community of Baptist Churches in Central Africa] and its other members who helped us to withdraw our dispute that was already being processed by the justice system and in the hands of the military. Long live the Kamisimbi peace committee, long live the SPR-Amani kwa Maendeleo project and may God bless you!

This is the living testimony of a paternal uncle and his nephew who were wounded with a machete, heard during our additional information sharing and collection mission to Kamisimbi on April 19, 2019.

⁵⁵ Bosco MUCHUKIWA et al, L'État africain et les mécanismes culturels traditionnels de transformation des conflits, Bukavu, 2015, P. 9.

In Nyangezi in the groupement of Karhongo, a situation of food insecurity that had engulfed the entire groupement was resolved during a specific conflict analysis and prioritization session and a small-scale dialogue among all stakeholders. This concerns an open conflict created by the association of butchers, causing the deliberate scarcity of beef, followed by goat meat, then small fry (sambaza) from Lake Kivu and, finally, cassava and maize flour. This is a testimony made by the members of this community during our visit on April 16, 2019.

In summary, advisors who work with families, clans, villages, groupements and the chefferie, as well as negotiation, mediation, arbitration and the courts and tribunals remain the conflict transformation mechanisms in these three groupements.

GENDER, OTHER MARGINALIZED GROUPS AND CONFLICT DYNAMICS

In Africa, in the DRC in general and in Walungu in particular, “traditional society has decreed particular severity in behavioral norms regarding women. It has established taboos and interdictions to which women must blindly submit. Failing to do so results in unleashing the ire of the custodians of tradition and even one’s ancestors.”⁵⁶

“African myths attribute a special place to the relationships between men and women: they enable people to understand and justify ‘the order of things.’ This even goes as far as food and work interdictions, which are currently in force.”⁵⁷ What constitutes women’s development is not on the agenda despite our country upholding article 14 of our Constitution,⁵⁸ as well as other national and international texts advocating the promotion of the gender-based approach in general and that of women in particular. Despite several slogans (the emancipation of women, equality and the gender-based approach, etc.), there is still much ground to be covered and, as a consequence, the development of women is still not on the agenda in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and, in particular, Lurhala. The weight of tradition, social mores and customs remains the order of the day.

“Women are not associated with ancestors and the knowledge sent by them, but are linked to inescapable forces in the nonhuman world (witchcraft and black magic).”⁵⁹ Often seen as inferior, women are in fact feared. According to G. Balandier, women are “half dangerous.” “Fear of women leads our society to marginalize them in order to better preserve self-interests. Men try to preserve the monopoly over decision-making and the organization of society and have decreed severe laws with regard to women.”

⁵⁶ CENTRE OLAME, *Les affaires de la guerre au Sud-Kivu : Le viol, un affront à notre culture...à la conscience universelle*. Bukavu, Editions Olame Nka Nyanja, 2004, p .32.

⁵⁷ Idem.

⁵⁸ The public authorities are ensuring the elimination of all forms of discrimination regarding women and guaranteeing the protection and promotion of their rights. They are taking, in all areas, particularly in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural spheres, all the appropriate measures to ensure the full empowerment and participation of women for the development of the nation. They are taking measures to combat all forms of violence against women in the public and private spheres. Women have the right to fair representation within national, provincial and local institutions. The state guarantees the implementation of equality between men and women in said institutions. The law sets implementing measures for these rights.

⁵⁹ DROY, *Isabelle femmes et développement rural*, cited by Centre Olame, p. 33.

And so it is that the Shi culture as a whole has worked to the detriment of the “gender” dimension, given that “men and women do not share the same rights, especially concerning the right to inheritance. Several families have been torn apart by inheritance disputes between sons and daughters. The sons defer to Shi custom, which does not recognize women’s right of succession (inheritance), especially concerning land.”⁶⁰

Social cohesion cannot occur without the involvement of women; therefore, this element is seriously considered within the SPR project framework. This is also important to the result achieved through the process as presented in our sample, as well as in the conflict analysis process, that is to say: 30 percent of the women for Lurhala, 32.5 percent for Kamisimbi and 42.5 percent for Karhongo.⁶¹ Even in the choice of researchers, the communities took representivity into account within all the committees, to avoid creating conflicts within these structures themselves.

In practice, we affirm that in the three above-mentioned groupements, the “gender and other marginalized groups” dimension was taken into account, because it leads to sharing socioeconomic responsibilities, to the extent that, certain customs have been broken. There are women, albino and handicapped people involved in the peace committees and structures who assume a number of responsibilities, including the roles of vice presidents, secretaries, advisors, treasurers, facilitators and a number of other key positions. They have been taken into account and linked up with the conflict resolution processes in these communities.

This corroborates the theory of feminist researchers, such as Alonso 1993;⁶² Carpenter 2005;⁶³ Cohn, Kinsella, et. al 2004,⁶⁴ Franceshet 2004;⁶⁵ Galtung 1996;⁶⁶ Gilligan 1982;⁶⁷ Goldstein 2003;⁶⁸ Ruddick 1989 and 2004.⁶⁹ on “gender, patriarchy and conflict” which attests that: “Different authors have sought to demonstrate that women were natural artisans of peace, because of their role as mothers, their natural empathy and ethics with others and due to the strength of their community relations.” In this literature, the notion of gender often includes that of women, who, it is assumed, are “different” from men. We also find the argument according to which women are the “oppressed parties,” and peace is

⁶⁰ DJPC, Conflict analysis report for the groupement of Kamisimbi, Bukavu, 2018, p. 3.

⁶¹ DJPC, Summary table, July - September 2018 quarter.

⁶²ALONSO, H. 1993. *Peace as a Women’s Issue: A History of the US Movement for World Peace and Women’s Rights*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

⁶³CARPENTER, C. 2005. “Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue.” *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2): 295-344.

⁶⁴ COHN, C., and others. 2004 ‘Women, Peace and Security.’ *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6(1): 130-140.

⁶⁵ FRANCESHET, S. 2004. ‘Explaining Social Movement Outcomes, Collective Action Frames and Strategic Choices in First and Second Wave of Feminism in Chile.’ *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(5): 499-530.

⁶⁶ GALTUNG, J. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict Development and Civilization*. London: Sage.

⁶⁷ GILLIGAN, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women’s Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

⁶⁸ GOLDSTEIN, J.S.2003. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁹ RUDDICK, S. 1989. *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. Boston: Beacon Press.

their sole responsibility and their moral duty.⁷⁰ In other words, women are resources for peacebuilding, and their involvement in peace, security and development initiatives is a question of equality.^{71,72} What is perhaps more important, certain authors present the argument according to which women involved in peace negotiations introduce different priorities focused on economic and social rights, social justice and human security.^{73,74,75,76,77}

Furthermore, several feminist researchers indicate the existence of problems at several levels, resulting from the characterization of women as both victims and agents of peace. Firstly, there is the fact that women can participate in conflicts as combatants, informers and spies. Secondly, this supposes that femininity takes precedence over political identity and imposes a common agenda on all women.⁷⁸ Thirdly, discourse places value on a masculine/feminine dichotomy and war/peace. This dichotomy risks legitimizing the exclusion of women from formal peacebuilding processes and is therefore in direct opposition with equality.^{79,80} This characterization does not challenge the patriarchal world of politics and, as in the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the long term, excludes women from the political process.⁸¹ “Others highlight that the fact of not recognizing the multiplicity of women and girls’ experiences during conflicts sidelines the issues of the rights of female combatants or women involved in post-conflict reconstruction.” New research documents the active involvement, whether it is forced or voluntary, of

⁷⁰ AROUSSI, S. 2009. “Women, Peace, and Security: Moving Beyond Feminist Pacifism.” Paper presented at Panel on Destabilising Gender in Conflict, Peacemaking and Care. Political Studies Association Annual Conference.

⁷¹ ANDERLINI, N. S. 2007. *Women Building Peace, What They Do, Why It Matters*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

⁷² PORTER, E., 2007. *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*. London: Routledge.

⁷³ ANDERLINI, op. cit

⁷⁴ BELL, C. and C. O’ROURKE. 2007 ‘Does Feminism Need a Theory of Transitional Justice? An Introductory Essay. *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1:23-44.

⁷⁵ CHINKIN, C. 2004. *Peace Processes, Post-Conflict Security and Women’s Human Rights: The International Context Considered*. Ninth Torkel Opsahl Memorial Lecture. Belfast: Democratic Dialogue.

⁷⁶ GIERYCZ, D. 2001. “Women, Peace and the United Nations: Beyond Beijing.” In Skjelbaek, I. and D. Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict*. London: Sage, pp. 14-31.

⁷⁷ PORTER, Op. cit

⁷⁸ SHEPHERD, L.J. 2008 *Gender, Violence and Security*. London: Zed Books.

⁷⁹ AROUSSI, op. cit

⁸⁰ CHARLESWORTH, H. 2008. ‘Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-building. *Feminist Legal Studies* 16: 347-361.

⁸¹ HELMS, E. 2003. ‘Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women, NGOs and International Intervention in Post War Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Women’s Studies International Forum* 26(1): 5-33.

women in conflicts in Algeria, Eritrea, Guatemala, Liberia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Uganda, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Sri Lanka.^{82,83,84}

Despite the fact that women and girls have been associated with conflicts as combatants or support personnel, victims of kidnapping or spouses and persons in charge^{85,86} during the signature of peace agreements and the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration policies, they are often the losers, in part because most such policies apply the rule “one person, one arm” in identifying those who can claim help.⁸⁷ In collective disarmament situations, the combatant must defer to superior officers to be enrolled on the lists. Women often become invisible with the resurgence of traditional rules and stigmas associated with murder, sexual violence and illegitimate children, among other aspects. In fact, they “spontaneously integrate.”⁸⁸ Furthermore, the multiplicity of men’s experiences as noncombatants in the conflicts and kidnappings, rapes, massacres and displacements they suffer is becoming increasingly recognized.^{89,90,91,92} The victims of conflicts are both men and women, and the experience of victimization has severe repercussions on the immediate post-conflict reconstruction phase.

To conclude on this point, the women in Walungu territory in general and more specifically in the three groupements studied still remain the victims of social mores and customs that relegate them to second place in comparison to their male counterparts. They do not have the right to speak during the large gatherings held by men.

⁸²MOSER, C. and F. Clark. 2001 *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London: Zed Books.

⁸³POTTER, M. 2004. *Women, Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Paths to Peace through Empowerment of Women*. Belfast: Training for Women Network.

⁸⁴PARASHAR, S. 2009. “Feminist International Relations and Women Militants: Case Studies from Sri Lanka and Kashmir.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22(2): 235-256.

⁸⁵MCKAY, S. and D. MAZURANA. 2004 *Where Are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique: Their Lives during and After War*. Montreal: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.

⁸⁶REHN, E. and E. JOHNSON-SIRLEAF. 2002 *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peacebuilding*. New York: UNIFEM.

⁸⁷ BOUTA, T. and G. FRERKS. 2002 *Women’s Roles in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Literature Review and Institutional Analysis*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

⁸⁸MCKAY and MAZURANA, *idem*

⁸⁹CARPENTER, C. 2006. ‘Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations.’ *Security Dialogue* 37(1).

⁹⁰DOLAN, C. 2002. “Collapsing masculinities and weak states – a case study of northern Uganda.” In Cleaver (ed.), *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*. London: Zed Press.

⁹¹GTZ. 2009 *Masculinity and Civil Wars in Africa - New Approaches to Overcoming Sexual Violence in War*. Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit.

⁹²SIVAKUMARAN, S. 2007. ‘Sexual Violence against Men in Armed Conflict.’ *European Journal of International Law* 18: 253-276.

3. CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION RESULTS AND METHODS

In this chapter it is obviously a question of, on the one hand, interpreting the main or major results of the research (in relation to other authors, theories, experiences and previous projects, including our own personal experiences) and, on the other hand, the importance of the results (in relation to science, decision-makers, society and stakeholders, etc.).

Let us remember that the major conflicts recorded in Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala groupements are land conflicts and those related to the traditional usage fee, the nonrespect of boundaries, inheritance between family members, economics (conflicts of interest), leadership (often conflicts between the public administration and civil society), education (as a result of the management of school fees by parents), the phenomenon of Mujakazi, and insecurity and harassment by the security services, as well as interpersonal, community and intercommunity conflicts.

DRIVERS OF CONFLICT IN KARHONGO, KAMISIMBI AND LURHALA GROUPEMENTS

As a result of the analysis of documents and the collection of additional data on the ground and from the Bukavu DJPC (the implementing partner for this project), certain factors in the political, sociocultural, economic and security domains have been identified as major problems that are root causes of conflicts in the area under study.

These mainly concern poor local governance, the lack of political will and positioning, irresponsible leadership, poverty, impunity, unemployment, the ongoing situation of parents being responsible for school fees, ignorance concerning rights and other regulatory texts, the sale of strong alcoholic drinks and the poor management and distribution of natural resources.

From an economic and cultural perspective, land and cows constitute the main assets in Shi culture, and these two elements both constitute the basis of a dowry. Having them or not having them creates significant conflicts. Thus, they become key drivers of conflicts in the Bushi region. This has also been well documented by other authors, theories and experiences, as well as previous projects, including our own personal experiences.

Table 2 presents these factors and the causes, actors and consequences in specific domains.

Table 2: Drivers of Conflict in Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements

Sector or Domain	Factor	Causes	Actors	Consequences
Security	The illegal detention and circulation of light arms, weapons of war and small-caliber weapons	Poor local governance	Armed groups, bandits, militia, PNC and local authorities	Conflicts between the governors and the governed, multiple killings, thefts, rapes and sexual violence
	Arbitrary arrests	Lack of knowledge concerning laws and regulatory texts	The PNC, ANR and FARDC	Impoverishment of the population, rural exodus
	The vagrancy and idleness of young people	Laziness, unemployment, lack of will, poor governance and delinquency	Young vagrants (men, women and young people); the authorities	Killings, disputes, theft, violence, looting and crime
	The sale and consumption of strong alcoholic drinks	Poverty, unemployment and the noninvolvement of the local authorities	Unemployed young and elderly men	Crime, theft, fighting, civil disobedience, rape and sexual violence
	Uncontrolled population movement, particularly of foreigners	Weak security services	The Directorate General of Migration, the PNC, ANR, FARDC, local authorities and local populations	Many human rights abuses, as well as killings, rapes and sexual violence
Social	Mujakazi phenomenon			
	The lack of communication between governors and the governed	A lack of knowledge concerning the rights and duties of citizens	Weak authorities	Discord and a lack of cohesion
	Parents paying the teachers' salaries			
	Social mores, traditions and customs		The custodians of customs, women and men	
	Inheritance			
Poverty	Idleness, unemployment and a lack of entrepreneurship	The Congolese state and certain citizens	Theft, conflict, jealousy, witchcraft, murder and looting	

Sector or Domain	Factor	Causes	Actors	Consequences
	Boundary disputes	Poverty and an absence of neighborly relations	The population, livestock farmers and crop farmers	Conflicts, killings and resorting to the courts and tribunals
	Wandering domestic animals		Crop farmers and livestock farmers	Poverty
	Social discrimination against women	Reactionary customs	Men and leaders	Social exclusion and violence
Political	A lack of political will	Bad faith, greed, self-interest, arbitrary justice and impunity	Governments and political actors	Alienation of human rights; revolts and rebellions
	Diversity of political parties	Social division	Candidates and citizens	A lack of deputies and ministers
	Tribalism	Lack of legal knowledge, a poor understanding and interpretation of the law on decentralization	Politico-administrative authorities, local populations	Poor efficiency and underdevelopment
	Poor management of resources (financial, human and natural)	Generalized crisis and egocentrism of the leaders	Political and administrative leaders	A range of conflicts and arrests
	A lack of salary or incentive among local leaders	Chiefs not holding meetings	Local chiefs	Irresponsibility of the chiefs
	A lack of cohesion between the politico-administrative authorities and development CSOs	Self-interest and the noninvolvement of the political authorities	Administrative authorities and development leaders	Underdevelopment
	Lack of legal knowledge	Poor information, lack of knowledge and dissemination of educational standards	The state	Crime and disorder
The economy	Traditional usage fee (kalinzi)	Self-interest and the scarcity of arable land	Mwami and traditional authorities	Ongoing conflicts
	Lack of a viable marketplace in certain groupements, as is the case for Kamisimbi	Lack of will of the politico-administrative authorities	Politico-administrative authorities	Underdevelopment

Sector or Domain	Factor	Causes	Actors	Consequences
	Unemployment and poverty	Poor governance, a mentality of dependency and a lack of work ethic (idleness)	Local authorities and populations	Rebellion, the creation of armed groups and the subsequent recruitment of child and young soldiers
	A lack of connecting roads with the other groupements	Lack of will from the administrative authorities and religious leaders	Political and religious leaders	Enclavement of the groupement
	Lack of parking areas for transport	Lack of involvement by the groupement authority	Politico-administrative authorities	Underdevelopment
	Youth delinquency	Lack of employment	The Congolese state and employers	Idleness and irresponsible behavior
Environment	Chaotic tree felling	Poverty and school fees	Citizens, owners and thieves	Low rainfall
	Wandering animals	Nonrespect of environmental legislation	Livestock farmers	Conflicts between crop farmers and livestock farmers
	Lack of drinking water	Destruction of springs and the absence of water conveyance infrastructure	Congolese state and ill-intentioned people	Waterborne diseases
	Boundaries and out of control eucalyptus cultivation	Barren soil	The owners of fields	Famine, lack of cultivatable land
	Lack of agricultural policy and the use of traditional cultural methods	Lack of soil enrichment and failure to leave land fallow for certain periods	Congolese state, local authorities and local populations	Soil infertility and lack of cultivatable land, underproduction, poor soil nutrition and malnutrition
	Erosion	Lack of anti-erosion measures	The chiefs	Reduced production

Figure I. Key Factors and Drivers of Conflicts in Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala Groupements

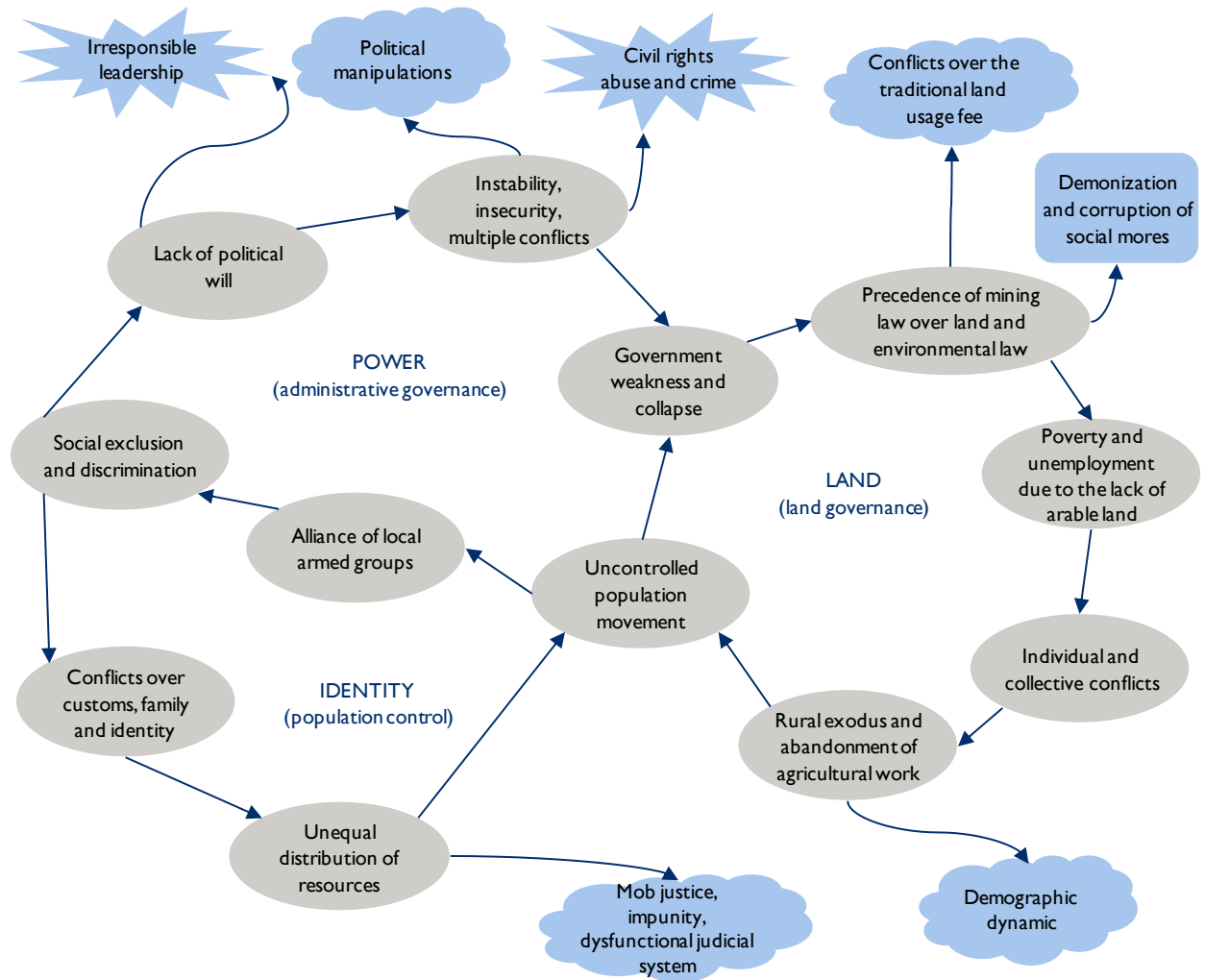
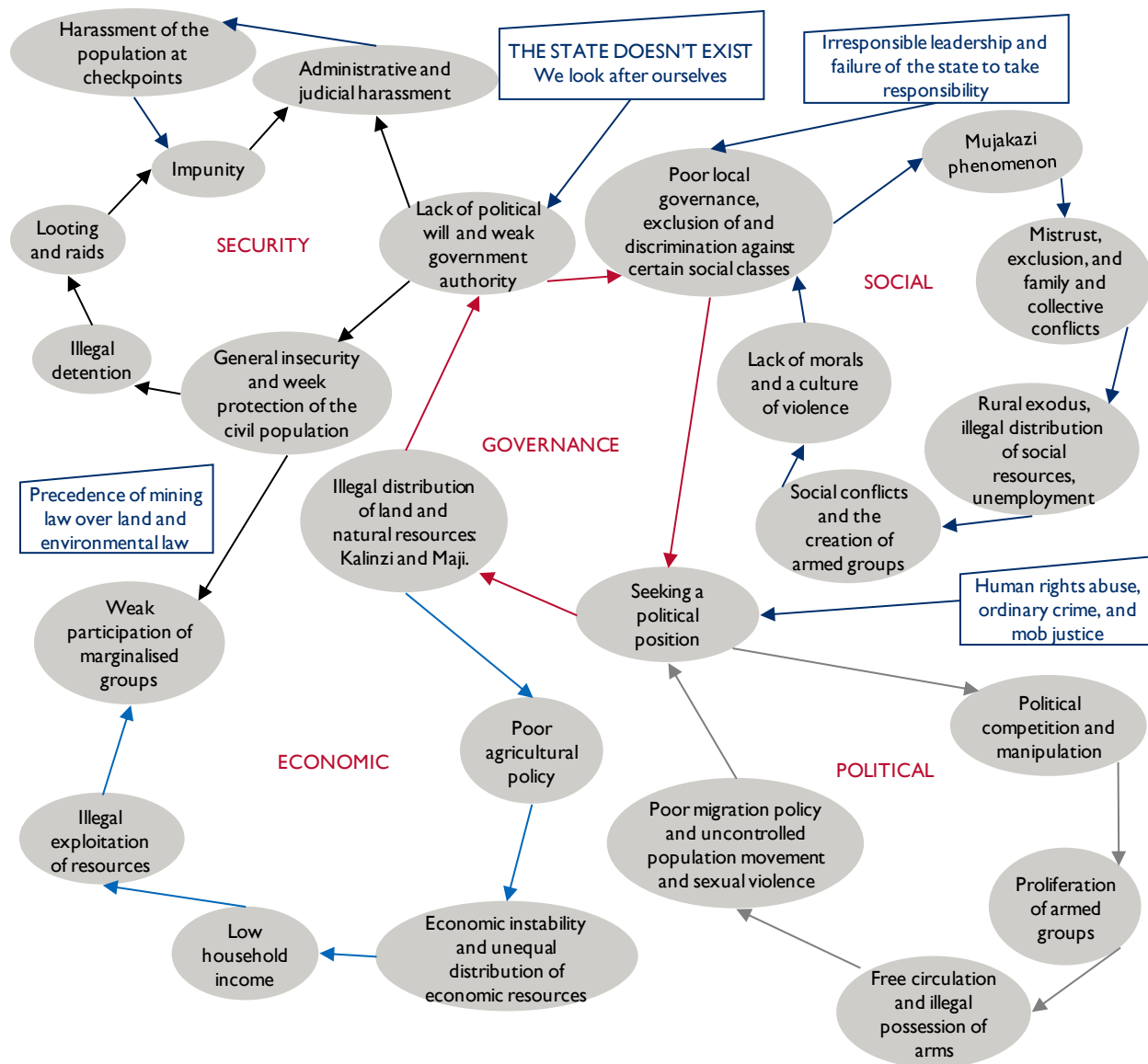


Figure 2. Systemic Analysis of Conflicts in the Kamisimbi, Karhongo and Lurhala Groupements



STAKEHOLDER CAPACITY TO TRANSFORM CONFLICTS

The groupements of Kamisimbi, Lurhala and Karhongo in Walungu territory have the capacity to transform conflicts, starting with both the traditional and modern structures presented in the “[Local Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation Capacities](#)” section above. Some of them, however, present certain limitations. For example, this is the case for the traditional chiefs and civil society (the case concerning the Lurhala groupement) who seem to have lost not only their legitimacy, but also their credibility among their populations, having been subordinated to the political power in our country. The loss of time and money, as well as the weakening of family ties, pushes the populations to resort to peaceful conflict transformation structures.

We suggest positive coexistence between, on the one hand, the local authorities and their populations and, on the other hand, between the populations themselves.

PARTICIPATORY CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THROUGH THE CREATION OF COMMUNITY AND INTERCOMMUNITY SAFETY NETS

The model is aimed at strengthening capacity and knowledge transfer to reduce conflict and negative practices in Walungu, and more specifically, in the three subject groupements. The awareness-raising sessions must operate under the paradigm of the Human Rights and Wellbeing Charter and the Lisbon Treaty, which promotes development and communication.

The development of Walungu territory and the social cohesion of its inhabitants depend on personal as well as collective recovery and the development of positive societal attitudes about collective recovery. This is the key driver for peace and harmonious coexistence.

From a program perspective, founded on the principle of people participating in creating the conditions for lasting peace and aiming to strengthen the internal cohesion of groups in resolving problems and building their skills, this awareness-raising will create bridges between the different crises, different actors and different sectors. This principle, which has proved vital in bringing integrated and lasting solutions, will fall within the scope of maintaining peace and development, as well as general support for educating young people and ensuring their protection.

Therefore, it is imperative to make use of the “overarching approach” including collaboration with the administrative, military, local and provincial authorities, and technical collaboration with national and international partners. Coalitions composed of local authorities, members of local associations, different military representatives and the PNC, and community members are absolutely essential to this process.

In terms of implementing this program, this also represents an opportunity to create proximity between the local authorities (heads of villages, towns, groupements, chefferies or cities) and the territorial administrative authorities (territorial administrators) and, as a consequence, the provincial authorities. This situation contributes to consolidating their collaboration, fosters the exchange of reliable information and seeks appropriate solutions thanks to organized meetings and talks.

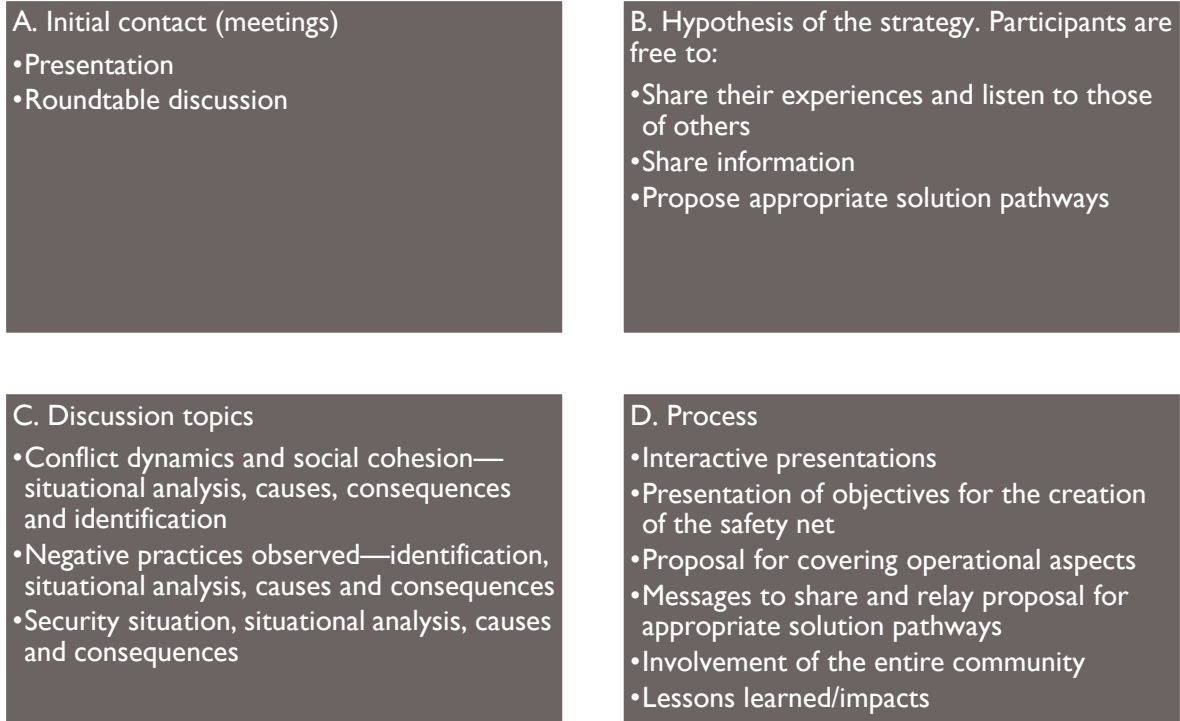
From a technical perspective, the verification and counter-verification of information and allegations related to community conflicts will in particular be completed through the active participation of the territorial administrative authorities throughout all phases of the program and thus will contribute to peace and a harmonious coexistence.⁹³

⁹³ The safety net in question is not unlike a spider’s web—a plan woven to map the relations between the different members of a community on the one hand and intercommunity relations on the other hand. This enables all community members to be reached through interpersonal awareness-raising. The aim is to prevent conflicts as a result of development plans established by and within the communities.

CREATION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SAFETY NETS IN COMMUNITIES

The community safety nets will enable eradication of community conflicts, eradication of negative practices and stabilization of the security situation.

Figure 3: Elements Needed for the Creation of Safety Nets



RENEWAL OF THE CULTURE OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

To respond to the competitive world and community needs that represent the primary conditions for the development of a country, partnership between communities must be assured. A favorable and organized environment will enable the entire population to respond to the overarching challenges at both the local and provincial levels. The population of Walungu is the victim of political decisions, influence and manipulation.

Figure 4: Awareness-Raising and Knowledge Transfer Plan



Figure 5: Plan for Creation of the Community and Intercommunity Safety Net

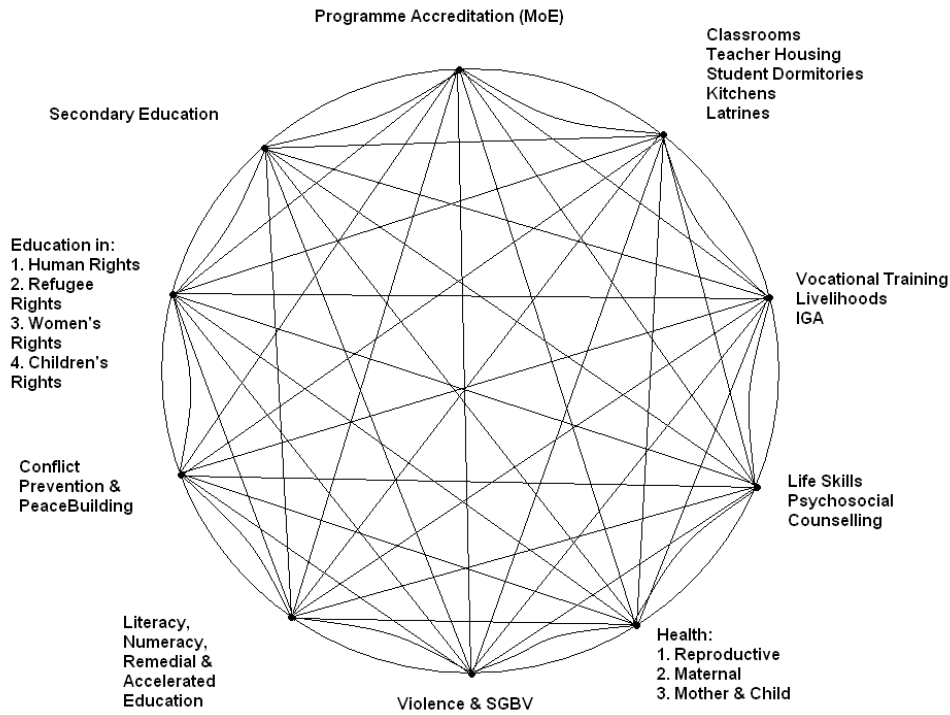


Figure 6: SPR Project with the RET



In all the phases worked through by the facilitators and participants during the PAR process, with a view to conflict transformation in the geographic spaces involved in our study, the beneficiaries took ownership of the results that the research led to. This has been boosted by the fact that all inhabitants of these three groupements and the surrounding groupements have taken an interest in the activity and have followed the basic principles of peacebuilding—that is, “managing a conflict when it is still in an embryonic state” and “being prepared to change one’s mind and opinions to prioritize peace and harmony in society.” It is this change in attitude that is the irrefutable proof of conflict transformation.

In the Kamisimbi groupement, for example, to manage conflicts better, the community has established a village savings and loan association (VSLA), the main role of which is to bring inhabitants together around a common economic interest that also gives them the opportunity to discuss burgeoning conflicts, manage current conflicts and monitor past conflicts to prevent their recurrence. The result of this VSLA has been the creation of a solidarity fund to respond to both the happy and unfortunate events that occur in the lives of community members.

Among these events are births, marriages, family celebrations, illnesses and deaths. And during each meeting, the inhabitants made the most of the opportunity to present to the peace committee one or two cases of individual or family conflicts that are emerging or ongoing and need to be looked at. This initiative is a success and constitutes a real participatory conflict transformation model.

Incidentally, this fund is managed collectively by eight people: one president, three keyholders, one secretary, one treasurer and two bookkeepers. The cash deposit box itself has three padlocks and therefore three different keyholders. Opening the cash deposit box requires the presence of all eight members. This is a sign of good management and transparency.

4. PERSPECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

PERSPECTIVES

Social cohesion among the members of the three groupements mentioned in our study is essential for lasting peace and development. However, it remains a long, complex process.

Therefore, we would like the SPR project to be extended to other groupements in Walungu territory, our area of research. Furthermore, it would seem desirable to envisage the creation and startup of different peace committees, as well as other peace support structures and frameworks for ongoing dialogue, the role of which would be to mediate eventual conflicts, with a view to maintaining peace and positive social cohesion.

These local peacebuilding capacities and dialogue frameworks are also known under the names: peace committees and/or cells, community conflict mediation and dialogue frameworks, technical mediation groups and conflict transformation, etc.

SOLUTION PATHWAYS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

KAMISIMBI, KARHONGO AND LURHALA GROUPEMENTS

- Prioritize and give precedence to the established peace committees in place of modern jurisdictions.
- For the Karhongo and Lurhala committees, follow the example of those in Kamisimbi concerning the creation and transparent management of the VSLA with a view to perpetuating the actions after the SPR project.
- For the populations of these three groupements, continue to take ownership of and perpetuate the gains made through the SPR project, with a view to peace and living in harmony.
- Report in a timely manner any actions that run counter to ethics and other abuses, sources of conflict in their respective milieus.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- Put the principles of good local governance and democracy into practice, particularly as concerns management of the issue of the traditional usage fee and the equitable distribution of natural resources.
- Strengthen the community dialogue, on the one hand, between the local authorities and their respective bases and, on the other hand, between the different social strata themselves.
- Vigorously denounce the Mujakazi phenomenon, as well as mob justice.

- Engage in advocacy actions with the provincial government as regards the translation of the land and environmental code into local languages and ensure its dissemination.

SPR PROJECT

- Extend this project to the remaining groupements in Walungu territory and beyond.
- For the peace committees, always keep a copy of the resolved conflicts and send it to the chefferie.
- Intensify the capacity building of the local authorities (traditional and politico-administrative) in Walungu territory in general and in the three groupements as regards conflict analysis and conflict transformation mechanisms and problems in their communities.
- Establish local peace and conflict transformation committees and ensure their perpetuity.

CONGOLESE STATE

- Restore the rule of law through responsible state institutions, at the local, provincial and national levels, which are capable of making the reform process a success.
- Totally eradicate armed groups and combat the circulation of light arms, weapons of war and small-caliber weapons, which represent multiple sources of insecurity in the region.
- Fiercely oppose corruption and impunity in all its forms.
- Bring the phenomenon of the “school bonus” to an end, as well as the parents managing the teachers, which is a major factor in the low educational level, in the violation of the right of all to an education and in the alienation of the Congolese education system from the right to a free basic education in accordance with article 43 of the Constitution of the DRC.
- Ensure that the state and the Bwami simplify and promote the easy purchase of land deeds.
- For conflicts between crop farmers and livestock farmers, it is essential to create zoning between agricultural and pastoral activities in the groupements affected by this type of conflict.

DJPC

- Involve the entire chefferie and territory in conflict management.
- Include this project in its routine activities.

WALUNGU CIVIL SOCIETY

- Keep to its traditional mission, correctly fulfill its role and no longer consider itself a power that is parallel to the public administration and traditional institutions.
- Request financial aid to launch a high-level legal action, by joining up with other platforms to establish a civil party and challenge the land law as well as the traditional law in the constitutional

court. This would remove the ambiguity in Congolese land legislation, with the aim of changing these two laws. This is because they are at the root of many recurring and ongoing conflicts in locations throughout the DRC in general and in Walungu territory in particular.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The success of any lasting conflict transformation and social cohesion policy in South Kivu province in general and Walungu territory in particular will depend on the establishment of responsible state institutions, both locally and nationally, which are capable of ensuring this reform process is successful.

So long as men walk the earth, conflicts will always exist. However, if these conflicts remain within an acceptable limit and are well managed, the groupements of Karhongo, Kamisimbi and Lurhala will find an improvement in their community life and, consequently, in their social cohesion and development.

Properly settled conflicts enable the group to improve their organization of work in a context in which there are no winners. It is also down to the heads of the groupements, local leaders and other important stakeholders to have their conflict transformation capacity built and to take the necessary measures to find adequate solutions to any conflict, whether or not it is far-reaching.

Thanks to good communication, several conflicts have been resolved to the extent that the persons concerned demonstrate a certain level of reciprocal confidence.

For its part, the conflict resolution process enables the facts to be established with the aim of creating proximity between opposing parties, to the satisfaction of each.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A.TOURAINE, Production de la société [A product of society], Paris, Le seuil, 1973.
- G.BAJOT, Pour une Sociologie relationnelle [Towards a relational sociology], Paris, PUF, 1992.
- ALONSO, H. 1993. Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the US Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- ALPE Yves, Lexique de sociologie [Sociology handbook], Ed. Dalloz, Paris, 2005.
- ANDERLINI, N. S. 2007. Women Building Peace, What They Do, Why It Matters. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- AROSSI, S. 2009. "Women, Peace, and Security: Moving Beyond Feminist Pacifism." Paper presented at Panel on Destabilising Gender in Conflict, Peacemaking and Care. Political Studies Association Annual Conference.
- BELL, C. and C. O'ROURKE. 2007 'Does Feminism Need a Theory of Transitional Justice? An Introductory Essay.' International Journal of Transitional Justice 1:23-44.
- BOURDON, B., Dictionnaire Flammarion de la langue française [Flammarion French Language Dictionary], Paris, New Edition, 1999. Cited by Bosco MUCHUKIWA.
- BOUTA, T. and G. FRERKS. 2002 Women's Roles in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Literature Review and Institutional Analysis. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
- CARPENTER, C. 2005. "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." International Studies Quarterly 49(2): 295-344.
- CARPENTER, C. 2006. 'Recognizing Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations.' Security Dialogue 37(1).
- CDJP, rapport des analyses des conflits dans le groupement de Kamisimbi, Bukavu [Conflict analysis report on the Kamisimbi groupement, Bukavu], 2018.
- CDJP, rapport des analyses des conflits dans le groupement de Karhongo, Bukavu [Conflict analysis report on the Karhongo groupement, Bukavu], 2018.
- CDJP, rapport des analyses des conflits dans le groupement de Lurhala, Bukavu [Conflict analysis report on the Lurhala groupement, Bukavu], 2018.

- CENTRE OLAME, Les affres de la guerre au Sud-Kivu : Le viol, un affront à notre culture... à la conscience universelle [The agony of war in South Kivu: rape, an affront to our culture... to universal conscience] Bukavu, Editions Olame Nka Nyanja, 2004.
- CHARLESWORTH, H. 2008. 'Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-building' *Feminist Legal Studies* 16: 347-361.
- CHINKIN, C. 2004. Peace Processes, Post-Conflict Security and Women's Human Rights: The International Context Considered. Ninth Torkel Opsahl Memorial Lecture. Belfast: Democratic Dialogue.
- COCKBURN, C. 1998. *The Space between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. London: Zed Books, Ltd.
- COCKBURN, C. 1999. Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence. Background paper for Conference on Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence. Washington, D.C., World Bank, 10 to 11 June.
- COHN, C., and others. 2004 'Women, Peace and Security.' *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 6(1): 130-140.
- DOLAN, C. 2002. "Collapsing masculinities and weak states – a case study of northern Uganda." In Cleaver (ed.), *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*. London: Zed Press.
- DROY, Isabelle, femmes et développement rural [Women and rural development], cited by the Centre Olame [Olame Centre], p. 33.
- DURKHEIMIEN., cited by V. Nga Ndongo, in "l'opinion camerounaise", [The Cameroonian Opinion], PhD in Sociology thesis, Paris, Nanterre, volumes 1 and 2, 1999.
- E. Le BRIS et al., (S/dir), *L'appropriation de la terre en Afrique Noire ; Manuel d'analyse, de décision et de gestion foncière* [The appropriation of land in Black Africa; Manual for analysis, decision-making and land management], Paris, Karthala, 1991.
- EDOU MVELLE (A.R), le pardon et la justice post- conflits en Afrique. Étude comparative des dynamiques des acteurs et des institutions du dedans et du dehors (Afrique du Sud, Rwanda) [Pardon and post-conflict justice in Africa. A comparative study of the dynamics of internal and external actors and institutions (South Africa, Rwanda)], DEA [Diploma of Advanced Studies] dissertation, University of Yaoundé, 2008.
- FERREOL G., et al, *Dictionnaire de sociologie* [Sociology Dictionary], Colin, 1991.
- FRANCESHET, S. 2004. 'Explaining Social Movement Outcomes, Collective Action Frames and Strategic Choices in First and Second Wave of Feminism in Chile.' *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(5): 499-530.
- GALTUNG, J. 1996. *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict Development and Civilization*. London: Sage.

- GALTUNG, J. Transcendance et transformation des conflits, introduction au métier de médiateur [Conflict transcendence and transformation, an introduction to the role of mediator], (Translated by Tagou Célestin), Presses des Universités Protestantes d'Afrique Centrale [Central African Protestant Universities Press], Yaoundé, 2010.
- GIERYCZ, D. 2001. "Women, Peace and the United Nations: Beyond Beijing." In Skjelbaek, I. and D. Smith (eds.), *Gender, Peace and Conflict*. London: Sage, pp. 14-31.
- GILLIGAN, C. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- GOLDSTEIN, J.S. 2003. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GTZ. 2009. *Masculinity and Civil Wars in Africa—New Approaches to Overcoming Sexual Violence in War*. Eschborn: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit.
- HELMS, E. 2003. 'Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women, NGOs and International Intervention in Post War Bosnia-Herzegovina.' *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(1): 5-33.
- JASON STEARNS ET COLL. *Les banyamulenge : Insurrection et exclusion dans les montagnes du Sud-Kivu* [The Banyamulenge: Insurrection and exclusion in the South Kivu mountains] (London: Institut de la Vallée du Rift [Rift Valley Institute], 2013), pp. 14–20. 10 South – Kivu,
- John Paul Lederach et Michelle Maiese, "Transformation des conflits : un voyage circulaire avec un objectif précis" [Conflict transformation: a circular journey with a precise objective] This article is an abridged version from Knowledge Base Essay Conflict Transformation, published on <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation/?nid=1223>, translated by Bertrand Ligny.
- KALONGA, L. *Désarmement, démobilisation et réintégration des enfants –ex soldats. Échec au Sud-Kivu ?* [Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former child soldiers. Failure in South Kivu?] L'Harmattan, France, Paris, 2016.
- KALUNGA M., et KAZADI K., *les méthodes en Sciences Sociales et Humaines. Une relecture de la critique de la scientificité subjective* [Methodology in Human and Social Science. A reinterpretation of the critique of subjective scientificity], EDUPC, Lubumbashi, 2013.
- KARHAKUBWA, B. *La construction de la paix et le rôle de la MONUSCO* [Peacebuilding and the role of MONUSCO], Ed. CAPG, Bukavu, 2015.
- MARRET J.L., *Fabrication de la paix, nouveaux conflits, nouveaux acteurs, nouvelles méthodes* [The fabrication of peace, new conflicts, new actors, new methods], Paix, Paris, Ellipses, 2006.
- MATHIEU P., et J.C WILLAME, "Conflits et guerres au Kivu et dans la région des Grands Lacs" [Conflicts and wars in Kivu and the Great Lakes region], in *Cahiers africains*, no. 39-40, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999, pp.201-212.

- MCKAY, S. and D.MAZURANA. 2004. *Where Are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique: Their Lives during and After War*. Montreal: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development.
- MOSER, C. and F. Clark. 2001. *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. London: Zed Books.
- MUCHUKIWA B., et al, *L'État africain et les mécanismes culturels traditionnels de transformation des conflits* [The African state and cultural-traditional conflict transformation mechanisms], Bukavu, 2015.
- MUCHUKIWA B., "Identités territoriales et conflits dans la province du Sud-Kivu" [Territorial identities and conflicts in South Kivu province], in *R.D. Congo*", publishers, Globethics.net, Switzerland, 2016.
- MUCHUKIWA, B. *Identités territoriales et conflits dans la province du Sud-Kivu, RD Congo*, Geneva, Globalthics.Net, 2016.
- MUGANGU, S., "Espaces et dynamiques des conflits au Nord-Kivu et au Sud-Kivu" [Conflict spaces and dynamics in North and South Kivu] by MURHEGA Mashanda Job, in his work entitled *Dynamique des Conflits et construction de la paix durable au Nord-Kivu et au Sud-Kivu en République Démocratique du Congo* [Conflict dynamics and lasting peacebuilding in North and South Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo], published by the Centre de Recherches Universitaire du Kivu [Kivu University Research Centre], December 2009
- MUGANGU, S., *La crise foncière à l'Est de la RDC, L'AFRIQUE DES GRANDS LACS* [The land crisis in eastern DRC, GREAT LAKES AFRICA]. ANNUAL REPORT 2007-2008.
- MUKCHIKIWA, B., *pouvoirs locaux et contestations populaires dans le Territoire d'Uvira au Sud-Kivu* [Local powers and public protests in Uvira territory, South Kivu from 1961-2004], unpublished, PhD thesis, Institute of Development and Policy Management, University of Antwerp, 2004.
- MULENDEVU, M, *pluralisme juridique et règlement des conflits fonciers en RD Congo* [Legal pluralism and the settlement of land conflicts in DRC], Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013, 319 cited by Bosco MUCHUKIWA.
- MULOWAYI, D. *Manuel et lexique de Sociologie* [A Sociology Manual and Handbook], Presse Universitaire de Kananga [Kananga University Press], Kananga, 2013.
- MULUMBATI, N., *Manuel de sociologie générale* [General Sociology Manual], Éditions AFRICA, 1980.
- MULYUMBA WA MAMBA, B., *Des mécanismes traditionnels d'éducation des enfants à la paix et la résolution des conflits dans la région des grands lacs* [Traditional mechanisms for educating children about peace and conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region], Héritiers de Justice, Bukavu, 2001,

- MULYUMBA WA MAMBA, B., “Apport des méthodes traditionnelles dans la résolution des conflits actuels” [Using traditional methods in resolving current conflicts] in communication, Workshop on conflict resolution approaches, Christian Aid, Bukavu, April 2000.
- MULYUMBA WA MAMBA, B., Mécanismes locaux et traditionnels de résolution [Local and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms] from Mécanismes culturels traditionnels de transformation des conflits [Traditional and cultural conflict transformation mechanisms] Bukavu, S.D., p. 12
- PARASHAR, S. 2009. “Feminist International Relations and Women Militants: Case Studies from Sri Lanka and Kashmir.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22(2): 235-256.
- PORTER, E., 2007. *Peacebuilding: Women in International Perspective*. London: Routledge.
- POTIN, Y., La gestion des conflits [Conflict management], in cahiers des droits de l’homme et la paix en région des grands lacs [Journal of Human Rights and Peace in the Great Lakes Region],
- POTTER, M. 2004. *Women, Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Paths to Peace through Empowerment of Women*. Belfast: Training for Women Network.
- REHN, E. and EJOHNSON-SIRLEAF. 2002. *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peacebuilding*. New York: UNIFEM.
- RUDDICK, S. 1989. *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- SAIDI ALO-I-BYA SANGO et Nelson BYA’ENE, Modes traditionnels de transformation des conflits dans les communautés tribales du Sud-Kivu (Cas des Babembe, Bafuliru et Bahavu) [Traditional conflict transformation methods in South Kivu tribal communities (A case study of the Babembe, Bafuliru and Bahavu tribal communities)], CERUKI, Bukavu, 2007.
- SHEPHERD, L.J. 2008. *Gender, Violence and Security*. London: Zed Books.
- SIVAKUMARAN, S. 2007. ‘Sexual Violence against Men in Armed Conflict.’ *European Journal of International Law* 18: 253-276.
- TOURAINÉ, A., ‘conflit social’ [Social conflict] *Encyclopédie Universalis*,
- WATONGOKA L., *Cours de Sociologie à l’usage des étudiants du premier cycle en Sciences Sociales et Humaines* [Sociology course for students in the first cycle of Social and Human Science studies], USK, Bukavu, 2003.

ANNEX A.

Figure A-I. Map of Ngweshe Chiefdom, Walungu Territory

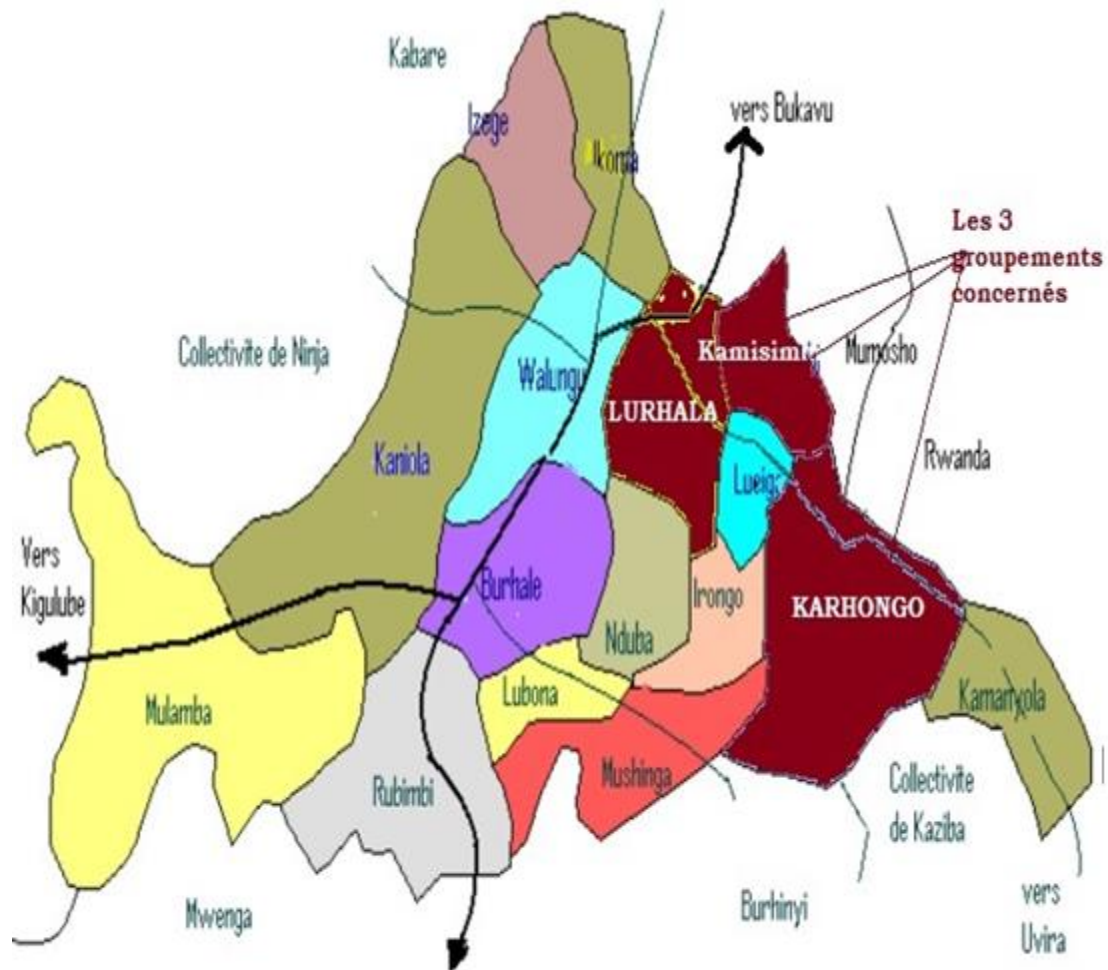


Fig 1: Carte de la Chefferie de Ngweshe, Territoire de Walungu
Source: Bureau du Groupement de Lurhala, Service d'Etat-civil, rapport annuel 2018

Source: Lurhala groupement, Vital Statistics Bureau, Annual report 2018

Figure A-2. End of a Dialogue and Reconciliation



Fig 2: Conclusion d'un dialogue et réconciliation

Figure A-3. Group of Participants Engaging in Full Dialogue: Male-Female Representation



Fig 3. Seance de dialogue

Figure A-4. Smaller Group in Harmonization Debate About Important Matters That Must Feature in the Agreements To Be Signed



Figure A-5. DJPC Facilitators of Debates with a Moderator and an ALERT Consultant

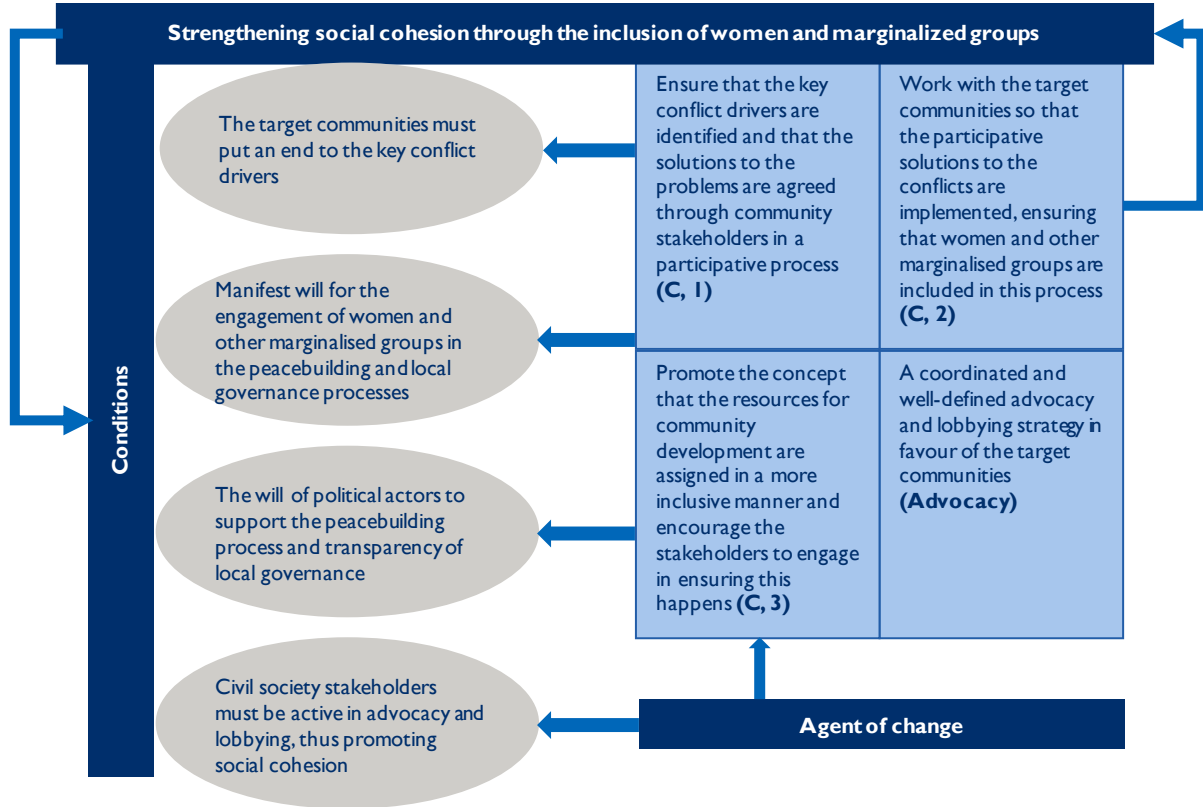


Figure A-6. Last Stage of the Dialogue: Communication of the Results Summary and Harmonization of the Texts for Signature



ANNEX B.

Figure B-I. Key Indicators



Note: This illustration has been taken from the key indicators of the SPR project.