ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN UBUNDU TERRITORY IN 2018

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ABSTRACT

The electoral period is subject to several activities that interest the youth of Ubundu in 2018, the youth of Ubundu were attracted by the electoral activities which characterized the violence observed in the behavior of the youth in the acts and threats of politicians against other politicians in relation to the interests of the population. Instrumental violence is the one that interested us most in this study because it targeted a specific objective, used for a specific political purpose.

The youth of Ubundu Territory were attracted by this ideological conception where it was the instrument and symbol of liberation and the founding of a nation, we moved to a conception which manifests itself by brutal domination, oppression and appropriation in its different forms known in Africa: criminal (Ex. of the DRC, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea), greedy (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique), ethnocentric (Kenya, Togo. Cameroon) or genocidal (Rwanda).

Keywords: electoral violence, electoral campaign, political communication.

INTRODUCTION

Etymologically, the word "violence" comes from the Latin "violentia", which means the use of brute force to force an individual or a group of individuals to bend to its will. This use of brute force can be symbolic, verbal and/or physical. The perpetrator of this violence is either an individual or a group of people, a state. This brute force can be characterized by the use of natural force (e.g. violence exerted by one individual on another) or the use of the repressive apparatus of the State (this is the case of violence exercised by the State through the defence and security forces). This last form of violence is the only legitimate one in a state governed by the rule of law, according to Max Weber.

Violence can be the act of the rulers or the governed[1]. In the broad sense, it is any form of physical or moral coercion with a view to forcing another subject of international law to accept a treaty commitment, to enter into an obligation against his will. The synonyms of the concept of violence are then aggression, coercion, use of force, retaliation, repression and terrorism.[2]

Several types of violence are distinguished. Their definitions, sometimes contradictory, vary according to time, environment, place, social and technological developments, etc.

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[1] Debbasch C. et al., *Lexique de politique,* Dalloz (7th edition), Paris, 2001, p. 444
[2] SALOMON J., *Dictionary of Public International Law*, Bruylant, Brussels, 2001, p1134

According to CRETTIEZ Xavier, violence is the intentional use of physical force, threats against others or oneself, against a group or community, which results in or is at high risk of causing trauma, psychological damage, developmental problems or death[3].

According to Larousse illustré, the concept of violence comes from the verb violer, which means: to transgress, to infringe, to enter a place despite a prohibition. Thus, violence means the brute force of animate beings or things, coercion exerted on a person by force or intimidation[4]. If we can easily identify violence; it is not easy to define it.

In the media, as NDJANGO Ongombi points out[5], violence is often confused with crime, war, terrorism, torture or various more discreet forms of oppression such as economic exploitation. Violence is evidenced either by acting out or by threats. Both acts and threats are violent and involve a belief system about the actions of others. Violence can be perpetrated either by an individual or by organized groups.

For Michaud[6], violence is a direct or indirect action, massed or distributed, intended to harm or destroy a person, either in his physical or psychological integrity, in his possessions, or in his symbolic participations.

In its literary sense, violence (from the Latin violentia), is the use of brute force to coerce (one or more people). We are talking about the use of violence. It is a brutal aggressiveness by actions or words, an act characterized by the use of brute force[7]. It is the force of any kind exerted by an individual, a group or a state against another individual, a group or a state whose autonomy is reduced by the resulting fear[8].

From this perspective, conceptualization must take into account the tangible manifestations of violence, its actors, its issues, the discourses that refer to it, in public opinion or the media, the policies that conform to it, the law that adapts to it, and the modes of approach[9].

For WIEVIORKA[10], there are three types of violence:

- Passionate violence, responding to anger, an impulse, belonging to the realm of immediacy, discontinuous and disproportionate in its exercise. Sometimes it is only violence with a political aim or banal political violence;
- Identity-based violence: it aims to offer an identity to those who practice it at the same time as it aims to deny the identity of those who suffer it. It implies ethnic violence and;
- Instrumental violence refers to calculated violence aimed at a specific objective, used for a specific political purpose.

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[3] Xavier CRETTIEZ, *Les formes de la violence*, La Découverte, Paris, 2008, p18

[4] LAROUSSE ILLUSTRE, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, Librairie Larousse, Paris, 2007, 1067

[5] NDJANGO ONGOMBI, *For a New Era of Inter-Community Cohabitation in Ituri*, Edition BUTRAD, Kisangani, 2005, p12

[6] MUCHAUD, A., *La violence,* in Encyclopédia Universlis, Corpus 18, Pais, 1988, p915

[7] MICROFOFT, *Encyclopédie Encarta*, CD Rom, 2006

[8] DEBBASCH, C. et Alii, *Op.cit.* p444.

[9] ALCUD, D., et al.., *Dictionnaire de sciences politiques et sociales*, Edition Dalloz, Paris, 2004 p404 [10]

[10] Wieviorka, M., *La violence*, Hachette Littératures, Paris, 2005, p. 19.

It is this last category that interests us in the context of our reflection. Thus, we say that violence seems to have lost its ideological charm to remain only with a negative impact. This is how the meaning of violence has changed and from an ideological conception in which it was the instrument and symbol of "liberation" and the "foundation of a nation", we have moved on to another conception that manifests itself in brutal domination, oppression and appropriation in different forms: criminal (formerly Zaire, Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea), greedy (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mozambique), ethnocentric (Kenya, Togo, Cameroon) or genocidal (Rwanda).[11]

Thus, the violence that stems from the meaning of politics derives from the principle of legitimacy and illegitimacy. This is true to the extent that what is consented to and approved by the peoples is legitimate and, illegitimate, that which does not derive from the consent of the peoples and, therefore, constitutes a violation of their fundamental rights.

1. Three phases of the electoral process
2. Violence: seen in the biblical sense
3. Relationship between ethnicity, violence and democracy
4. Rationale for the study
5. Data presentation and interpretation of results
   a. Data presentation
   b. Preparation, content and form of questions
   c. Stripping and data processing technology
   d. Interpretation of the results

1. The phases of the electoral process

Any form of violence related to the electoral process is referred to as electoral violence. There are three phases of the electoral process, namely: before, during and after the elections. At each of the different phases of the electoral process, incidents can occur, although often minor at the beginning, but which, by dint of their accumulation, can lead to real electoral violence or even a political crisis.

In the pre-election phase, all acts of violence are often inherent in a lack of consensus on the rules of the electoral game. Regarding the electoral phase, the violence results from the conduct of the election and is often the work of political activists recruited from their political parties. During the post-election phase, they are mainly related to the counting and contestation of the results of the vote.

Electoral violence (verbal and/or physical) is largely due to the lack of dialogue and consensus during the previous phases of the electoral process and, in particular, on the electoral rules.

Electoral violence, regardless of its geographical dimension, can have a serious impact on the peace and stability of an entity. "Violence, whether local or national, negatively affects social

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[11] ABBIK, J., *Violence, the State and Ethnicity in the Horn of Africa: At the Local and Global Level*, Autre part (15), 2000, p146-147.

stability and if not well controlled can, juxtaposed with other conflicting divisions, lead to anarchy and civil war."[12]

2. Violence: Seen in the biblical sense

Douglas, notes that "violence is as old as mankind itself, its various manifestations can be seen in all generations."[13] The biblical story of the struggle between God and Satan, the murder of Abel by Cain, and the rise and fall of the kingdoms, clearly show how violence has been an integral part of human development. This point of view is supported by John KEEGAN when he states that "the history of the world is, to a large extent, a history of wars, conflicts and violence... the great statesmen who punctuate this history are generally men of violence".[14]

On the scale of historical times, Philippe BRAUD emphasizes that "violence would have constituted, with the epidemic grades whose aggravation it favors, a brutal factor of demographic reduction. The incessant struggles, he notes, that tore apart the traditional societies of pre-Columbian America, sub-Saharan Africa or Polynesia would have contributed to the reduction of the population.[15]

BRAUD adds that in Western Europe, "the Hundred Years' War and the Religious War have, according to the expression of the statics, mopped up the surpluses of the population for several centuries. Ancient tyrannies, conquering empires, modern totalitarian regimes are at the origin of appalling exterminations whose modus operandi is only deferred."[16] The disintegration of power also unleashes murderous forces such as the massacres in Lebanon, Congo-Kinshasa, Liberia, etc. So, basically, state weakness unleashes the violence of all against all.

MAINDO MONGA NGONGA affirms that "violence has ceased to be a monopoly of the State: it is now accessible to all popular categories, and even marginalized groups who do not hesitate to use it, even against their relatives, violence has become an ordinary and legitimate means of political protest and demands."[17]

Basically, most states are not constituted by voluntary aggregation. Many democratic advances or social gains have been snatched away by mass violence, riots, even insurrection or civil war. "There has always been a temptation to name differently the violence that one considers legitimate and the violence that one condemns, one's own and that of others. Between condemnation and justification, this work is one of memory and the will to forget."[18] On this subject, Robert DAHL maintains that "politics is generally considered as an arena in which

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[12] AFRICAN UNION GROUP OF THE WISE, " *Conflicts and Political Violence Resulting from Elections. Consolidating the Role of the African Union in Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution", The African Union Series, New York: International Peace Institute, December 2012, p40-41.*

[13] Douglas, C. et al., *Vilolences et ordres sociales*, Nouveaux Horizons-ARS, Paris, 2010, p. 35.

[14] KEEGAN. J. *History of the war. trans. dagomo,* Paris, 199, p. 459.

[15] BRAUD. P., *Sociologie politique*, l'Harmatan, Paris 2004.

[16] BRAUD. P., *Violence politiques,* Paris, Editions du seul Cursives, 2004.

[17] MAINDO MONGA NGONGA, *Des conflits locales à la guerre régionale en Afrique Centrale, le Congo-Kinshasa Oriental 1996-2007,* Paris, l'Harmatan, 2007.

[18] DRAUP. P., quoted by MAINDO MONGA NGONGA. *Op.cit.*

adversary, or even enemy, parties engage in a perpetual and merciless struggle with the aim of conquering power, preserving it and ensuring its domination over those who have lost it".[19]

3. Relationship between ethnicity, violence and democracy

From this perspective, political life is perceived as a practice and a place of deceit, cunning, violence and ruthless cynicism in the Territory of Ubundu.

APPOLOS M[20] examined the relationship between ethnicity, violence and democracy in Kenya. His problem was to demonstrate how the contradictions of a regime based on ethnicity provoked the violence of the marginalized and misgoverned masses. He concludes his analysis by arguing that it is through violence that democracy has been made possible in Kenya.

4. Rationale for The Study

BANEGAS concludes, at the end of its investigations, that the Ivorian post-electoral violence was only caused by the political manipulation of the Muslim mass by former Prime Minister Ouattara, under the pretext of their extermination during the exercise of power by Christians, represented by L. Gbagbo. The author castigated the political will of the (Muslim) opponents who trampled on the gains of democracy by killing, looting and destroying basic infrastructure during the hostilities. For the author, these clashes risked paving the way for a religious war between Muslims and Christians.

Georges FLEURY[21] focused his reflection on the comparison of violence during the presidential elections of 1995 and 1999 in Algeria. His analyses showed how the election in 1995 of Liamine ZEROUAL as head of the country provoked much more confrontation than that of 1999. The opposition contested the results of this election in which the Algerian population had participated massively.

The opposition described the 1995 election as a semblance of a democratic game in favour of Liamine ZEROUAL to place him in power. The authorities have increased their repressive capacity by developing militias.

5. Presentation Of Data and Interpretation of Results

a. Data presentation

Our survey population is made up of the inhabitants of Ubundu Territory. We consider here, the survey population, also called the survey universe, the set of human groups concerned by the objectives of the survey and from which the study sample will be divided[22]. It goes without saying that in the humanities, it is difficult to carry out an investigation on the considerable set of subjects or elements that such a procedure causes many difficulties, sometimes insoluble.

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[19] DAHL. R. *Quoted by Ngoma Binda, Political Participation,* Kinshasa 1995, IFEP and FKA Edition, p. 52.
[20] APPOLOS M. *« Ethnicity, violence and democraty », in Africa development.* Vol XXVI. N°2, 2001, p3.
[21] Fleury, G., *La Guerre en Algérie,* Payot, Paris, 1996, p.16.
[22] MUCHELI R., *Questionnaires dans l'enquête psychosociale,* Paris, EME, 1971, p75

That is why we use the sampling technique to have a representative sample.

For this study, to draw our sample, we used a cluster sample. As defined by d'HAINAUT. This technique consists of including in a sample the population in miniature, representative of the total population.

In other words, the clusters must be heterogeneous within and similar to each other, i.e. we have worked with men and women because when we talk about the population, we are dealing with both sexes (male and female). This will allow us to generalize the results obtained to the entire population.

Table 1: Representation of our sample by gender and by Community/Chiefdom

No.	Community/Chiefdom	Sex		Frequency
		Masculine	Feminine	
01.	BAKUMU KILINGA	4	3	7
02.	BAKUMU MANDOMBE	4	3	7
03.	BAKUMU MANGONGO	4	3	7
04.	BAKUMU OBIATUKU	4	3	7
05.	MITUKU BAMOYA	4	3	7
06.	MITUKU BASIAKATE	4	3	7
07.	WALONGOLA BABIRA	4	3	7
08.	WALENGOLA BAKEKA (Chefferie)	4	3	7
09.	VALENGOLA LILO	4	3	7
10.	WALONGOLA LOWA	4	3	7
11.	ARABISE OF KIRUNDU(Chiefdom)	4	3	7
12.	CITE D'UBUNDU	4	3	7
Total		**48**	**36**	**84**

This sample was distributed over 12 Communities and/or Chiefdoms. Taking into account our cluster technique, the sample drawn from these Communities and/or Chiefdoms is heterogeneous, that is to say, 7 subjects per Collectivity and/or Chiefdoms, 4 men and 3 women and in total, we have 48 men and 36 women who give us a sample of 84 subjects.

In Table 2, we show the distribution of our subjects according to or according to the types of activities.

Table 2: Distribution of the sample by type of activity.

Community/Chiefdom	Types of activities				Total
	Resourcefulness	Commerce	Agriculture	Official	
BAKUMU KILINGA	2	1	2	2	7
BAKUMU MANDOMBE	1	1	3	1	7

BAKUMU MANGONGO	2	1	1	3	7
BAKUMU OBIATUKU	3	2	2	1	7
MITUKU BAMOYA	1	1	2	3	7
MITUKU BASIAKATE	1	2	1	3	7
WALONGOLA BABIRA	2	1	1	3	7
WALENGOLA BAKEKA (Chiefdom)	1	2	3	1	7
VALENGOLA LILO	1	1	2	3	7
WALONGOLA LOWA	1	2	1	3	7
ARABISE OF KIRUNDU(Chef's holiday)	2	1	2	2	7
CITE D'UBUNDU	1	1	1	4	7
TOTAL	**18**	**16**	**21**	**29**	**84**

There is a diversity of activities; we preferred to choose those that are most remarkable to us. Reading this table, civil servants are more dominant, i.e. out of 84 subjects in our sample, 29 are civil servants, 21 are farmers, 18 are resourceful including other activities that we have not mentioned and 16 other subjects are traded.

Table 3: Distribution of the sample by level of education.

Level of education	Frequencies	Percentage
Academic	27	32
Secondary	45	54
Primary	12	14
Total	**84**	**100**

b. Elaboration, content and form of questions.

In the formulation of our questions, we opted for a mix of closed and open questions in relation to the objectives of the work in order to adapt the content of these questions to the orientations of the study. Closed-ended questions have the advantage of being easily understood by the subjects who can answer without difficulty.

On the other hand, open-ended questions allow you to obtain richer answers on any study problem if they are well designed. Thus, by adding questions of justification or motivation of answers to the closed questions, we can obtain additional information necessary to understand the answer given by the subject.

c. Stripping and Data Processing Technique.

To analyze the survey data, we used two techniques depending on whether they were closed or open-ended questions. For the former, we used simple analysis, i.e. the search for the frequencies of yes/no responses for each respondent. For the second, we used content analysis

by adopting the definition of BARDIN,[23] which defines it as a set of communication analysis techniques aimed at systematic and objective procedures for the prescriptions of the content of the messages obtained indicators allowing the influence of knowledge relating to the conditions of production and perception of these messages.

In this work, opinions have been transformed into percentages to allow comparison. The formula used is as follows:

$$P = \frac{f \, x \, 100}{N}$$ in which[24] :

P = Percentage f
= frequency

N = Total number of subjects

d. Interpretation of the results

At this level, we use the tables containing the frequencies and percentages relative to the point of view of the population questioned on the aspect of the problem that is the subject of this study.

Table 5: Level of public acceptance of the image of the politician as a factor in success or failure in political communication.

Acceptance	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	68	81
No	16	19
Total	**84**	**100**

Reading this table, we noticed that 81% of our subjects, or 68 out of 84, have a positive acceptance of the image of the politician as a factor of success in political communication, while 19% or 16 out of 84 say that not necessarily, given the socio-economic situation in which we live, it does not allow everyone to have an objective vision in the thing being watched.

Table 6: Relating to the opinion of the population on the conduct of the Elections

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Happy	50	60
Unhappy	34	40
Total	**84**	**100**

From this table, 50 subjects or 60% are satisfied while 40% or 34 subjects out of 84 are dissatisfied with the conduct of the elections.

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[23] BARDIN., *L'analyse de contenu,* PUF, Paris, p43

[24] BENE KABALA., *Cours de Statistique descriptive*, (unpublished) G2 Soc., FSSAP, UNIKIS, 2008-2009, p15

Table 7: The criteria that our respondents used to choose their National Deputy and President of the Republic candidates

Criterion	Frequency	Percentage
Ethnicity	11	13
Money	23	27
Competence	11	13
Political family	28	34
Origin	11	13
Total	**84**	**100**

This table reveals that the criteria for choosing National Deputies and President of the Republic are diverse.

e. *Ethnicity:* among our respondents, 13% made their choice on the basis of ethnicity. As we can see, it is quite regrettable, in a country that wants to be democratic and in search of competent and responsible leaders who must take into account the ability of everyone to work for their country, that some voters have not resisted the tribalist sentiment that often locks in politics.

However, choosing someone from your tribe is not bad, but they still need to be competent.

f. *Money:* a voter's vote can be done according to his greed, thus, 27% of the subjects surveyed suffered from admitting that they voted according to the money received from the hands of certain candidates.

g. *Competence:* this being an important quality of a leader, a serious voter must necessarily take it into consideration. In this regard, 13% of respondents say they voted with this aspect in mind.

h. *The political family:* among our respondents, 34% voted according to their political party. Indeed, it is quite normal that a militant who defends the ideology of his party, the project of society and the program of action of the latter, should be determined, as a voter, to vote for a candidate of his party.

i. *Origin:* Being a citizen of the same District or territory may influence the vote.

The main question was worded as follows:

- Why did political communication during the 2018 electoral campaign lead to violence by young people in Ubundu Territory?
- HP: Political communication has led to violence among young people because of political intolerance and instrumentalization, and leadership conflicts.

The main objective was to identify the root causes of youth violence based on political communications in Ubundu Territory during the 2018 campaign.

With regard to the main question, respondents gave the following answers:

Table 8: Causes of youth violence based on political communication during the 2018 election campaign

No.	Assertions	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Hegemonic conflicts between the leaders of different political parties.	42	50
2.	Role conflicts between leaders within the same party	12	14
3.	Instrumentalization of activists within the same political party	19	23
4.	Intolerance between supporters of different political parties	11	13
	Total	**84**	**100**

It appears from this table that out of 84 subjects surveyed concerning the causes of violence based on political communication during the 2018 electoral campaign: 42 or 50% said that hegemonic conflicts between the leaders of different political parties are at the root of this violence. The instrumentalization of activists within the same political party comes in second place, according to the expression of 19 subjects surveyed, i.e. 23%. 12 subjects or 14% are attributed role conflicts between leaders within the same party. 11 subjects, or 13%, did not hide their intentions to denounce intolerance between supporters of different political parties.

Based on the answers put forward by our respondents, we can say that our main hypothesis is confirmed and the main objective pursued has been achieved.

Specific question 1 was posed as follows:

- How does this political communication manifest itself among young people?
  Specific Hypothesis 1 was worded as follows:

Political communication manifests itself in speeches, insults, hatred, humiliation and separation from one political or tribal camp to another.

The specific objective 1 pursued is to show how political communication manifests itself in Ubundu Territory during the 2018 campaign.

The respondents' answers to this specific question 1 are as follows:

Table 9: Manifestations of political communication during the 2018 election campaign

No.	Assertions	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Hate speech	25	30
2.	Speeches of humiliation	13	15
3.	Speeches of separation of the tribal camps	8	10
4.	Speeches and insults	34	40

5.	Speeches separating the political camps	4	5
Total		**84**	**100**

Reading this table shows that out of 84 subjects surveyed concerning the manifestations of political communication during the 2018 electoral campaign: 34 responses or 40% concerned speeches and insults; 25 subjects or 30% of the responses were put forward about hate speech; 13 subjects or 15% of the responses were declared for humiliating speeches; 8 subjects or 10% of the responses were put forward about discourses of separation of the tribal camps as well as 4 subjects or 5% of the responses were invoked for speeches of separation of the political camps.

From the answers put forward by our respondents, we can say that our specific hypothesis 1 is confirmed and specific objective 1 is achieved.

Specific question 2 was posed as follows:

- What violence has been recorded among young people as a result of this political communication?

Specific hypothesis 2 has been worded as follows:

The violence recorded among young people following political communication is pitched fights between youth camps, looting and burning of movable and immovable property, verbal aggressiveness of young people.

The specific objective 2 pursued is to identify the violence recorded among young people following this political communication.

The respondents' answers to this specific question 2 are as follows:

Table 10: Violence recorded among young people following this political communication

No.	Assertions	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Pitched fights between activists from different political parties	35	42
2.	Assault and battery between the young people	35	42
3.	Looting and burning of movable and immovable property	8	9
4.	Population displacement by Fear of reprisals	6	7
Total		**84**	**100**

Reading this table shows that out of 84 subjects surveyed concerning the manifestations of violence during the 2018 electoral campaign: 35 subjects or 42% of the responses were put

forward about the pitched fights between activists of different political parties; 35 subjects, or 42% of the responses, were reported for assault and battery between the young people; 8 subjects, or 9% of the responses, attested to looting and burning of movable and immovable property and 6 subjects, or 7% of the responses, were put forward with regard to population displacement for fear of reprisals

Based on the answers put forward by our respondents, we can say that our specific hypothesis 2 is confirmed and specific objective 2 is achieved.

CONCLUSION

Violence is one of the dominant themes of many debates today focused on the evolution of contemporary fashion.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the electoral campaign period has become calamitous following the repetition of acts of violence due to political intolerance. Despite its nature and its stakes, the election is incompatible with violence because it represents the alternative of gaining political power by arms rather than by the ballot box.

On the contrary, the election campaign has become a time when peace gives way to disputes, hate speech and clashes between social groups.

The 2018 elections were marked by numerous acts of violence that cost the lives of many Congolese citizens in various circumstances, and the Territory of Ubundu was not spared. These atrocities meant that the 2018 campaign lost its democratic character and was no longer a moment of conviviality between candidates and voters.

As can be seen, the violence of the masses during the 2018 elections in Ubundu Territory was orchestrated by young people. So, the climate was high tension following the various clashes between the young people.

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