

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF IDENTITY CONFLICTS BETWEEN TWA AND LUBA IN KABALO

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<https://doi.org/10.37602/IJREHC.2025.6410>

ABSTRACT

This work first presents the structural or long-term factors that underlie the conflict. This includes the overall context of the DRC, an overview of decentralization and local governance, and the context of historical relations between the Twa and the Luba. The analysis then turns to the shorter-term factors directly explaining the conflict, which includes access to land, taxation, and local governance, in addition to systematic discrimination against the Twa. This is complemented by an overview of the trajectory of the conflict since the outbreak of violence in 2012-13, and a presentation of the key actors involved. An analysis of the main threats and opportunities from a perspective of conflict transformation is then followed by specific recommendations aimed at promoting the mitigation and resolution of this conflict. A brief conclusion highlights the key role of longer-term interventions and that of the Congolese authorities in resolving the crisis.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In Kabalo territory, relations between the Twa and the Luba remain highly unequal and the tensions and violence between the two communities that have erupted since 2016 still persist in many villages.

This conflict has affected half of the localities, creating, among other things, mixed areas sheltering displaced persons and returnees, in a persistent volatile security context, in Kabalo territory. Ongoing conflict and militia abuses have forced thousands of displaced people across the country to flee their villages of origin to host families, IDP sites or overcrowded and unsanitary rural collective centres.

In 2017, the conflict caused a massive influx of more than 5,000 internally displaced people, or more than 22% of the population of Kabalo, with the exception of the villages of Kadima, Ngwena-Gar, Ngwena-May, Monde, Manyange, Kanzanze, Kyalo and Kamubangwa which gathered in spontaneous sites or in host communities.

As far as we are concerned, this study seeks to identify the causes, consequences and conflict resolution mechanisms for a cohabitation between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory.

In view of the above, the following questions fuel our curiosity:

- What is at the root of the conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory?
- What are the consequences?

- What are the antidotes to resolve the conflict and promote peaceful coexistence between Twa and Luba?

To respond to the concerns expressed in the problem, we think by way of hypotheses that:

- the social discrimination they face at the hands of Bantu populations, the long-standing economic and political marginalization of the Twa, the lack of sustainable economic opportunities, access to livelihoods, barriers to equal rights for the Twa, poor access to land, and basic social services such as health, exclusion from local political decision-making, the imposition of customary royalties have often been identified as the main causes of conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory.
- The serious violations of human rights: rape of women and children, murders, burning of houses, looting of property, destruction of fields, destruction of base infrastructure, recruitment of minors in self-defense militias, would be major consequences of this conflict.
- The involvement of leaders of the two Twa and Luba communities in conflict resolution structures; the consideration of the problems that are at the origin of conflict, the elasticity of time for the implementation of peace projects, the strong functionality of local peace councils and local customs would be the basis not only to put an end to existing instability, but also to prevent new rounds of conflicts. In order to resolve the conflict and promote peaceful coexistence between Twa and Luba in the territory of Kabalo, it is necessary to

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- To identify the causes of identity conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory;
- Identify the related consequences;
- Identify antidotes for conflict resolution between Twa and Luba.

Like the conflicts that plague our territory, the Kabalo crisis is a long-term one and has as a corollary a political, social, economic and cultural instability in the territory. The question of the overall scope of the crisis in Kabalo territory is to know what are the causes, consequences and mechanisms for resolving conflicts between Twa and Luba in Kabalo.

It is these concerns that justify our study of the causes and consequences of identity conflicts between "Twa" and "Luba" in Kabalo territory.

Work emerges from the literature on the subject of study. These are works relating to identity conflicts and those relating to power conflicts and access to basic social services. It is therefore important to review some of the work on this subject.

BOLINDA WA BOLINDA¹ measured the impact of the conflict between two major ethnic groups in the Isangi territory on its development. As a sociologist, he seeks and proposes sociological antidotes to put it back on its feet and help it develop and get out of the vicious

¹ BOLINDA WA BOLINDA, On the impact of the Topoke-Lokele ethnic conflict on the development of the Isangi Territory. Recherche d'antidotes sociologiques, Doctoral thesis in sociology, FSSAP, UNIKIS, 2000, p.108

circle of intensifying conflict characterized by discordant language about political, economic, social and cultural problems.

The author concludes that this conflict has land, political, economic and religious manifestations that demonstrate that the Topoke and the Lokele are relentlessly vying for power in this territory. The Lokele sought to keep it to the detriment of the Topoke, who demanded a fair distribution of it in all vital sectors. The author indicates a dynamo-societal path of normalization of relations between the two groups through the establishment of a frank collaboration between them based on understanding and solidarity, an alternative system of access to power.

In its study on communal violence in Kwamouth territory, Human Rights Watch (HRW)² states that this violence, perpetrated between June 2022 and March 2023 in Kwamouth territory, has left at least three hundred dead in cycles of attacks and reprisals and calls for the urgent intervention of the Kinshasa government.

This violence mainly affects the territories of Kwamouth, in the province of Mai-Ndombe and Bagata, in the neighboring province of Kwilu, with repercussions on the province of Bandundu, east of the capital, Kinshasa. Villagers from predominantly Teke and Yaka communities, both involved in a dispute over a customary fee and access to land, damaged, destroyed, looted and burned hundreds of homes, schools and health centres, as well as executions, looting and sexual violence.

KpwangKpwang, Robert³ conducted a study on the political-identity conflicts related to land problems in Cameroon during the war period. He stressed that the recurrence of land conflicts can be analysed by political and cultural causes. Regarding political causes, he said that the war had intensified land disputes in Cameroon. On the cultural level, he insisted on the identity crisis that amplified land disputes during the war period. It demonstrates the numerous land conflicts that have thus broken out in the West and South-West regions, first between nationals, then between the latter and foreigners, causing clashes in the Hompo tribe in Tabou (South-West) between the Kroumen and the Dagari and the Burkinabe Lobi in 1999.

MABIALA MANTUBA NGOMA⁴ has carried out a study on multiculturalism and barbarization in Zaire. At the end of his study, he considered that the political factor is the trigger of land conflicts in Kinshasa. According to the author, the ambiguous and equivocal legal scope as well as the costly formalistic considerations combined with the specifically African conception of land are the explanatory factors for the failure of land management during the post-colonial period, both in urban centers and in rural areas in Kinshasa.

1.1 The structural causes of the conflict

² United Nations. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. UN., 2007, p.43.

³ KpwangKpwang, Robert., The Cameroonian Authorities and the Management of Identity Groupings: Boundary Issues Between the Tribal Man and the Nation-Man in Cameroon after Independence and Reunification (1960-2005). In *Boundaries and History in Africa: issues in conventional boundaries and ideological frontiers* (Festschrift in honour of Verkijika G. Faso), Yaoundé, The University of Yaoundé I., 2011.

⁴ Mabilia Mantuba Ngoma, P., "Multiculturalism and barbarization in Zaire", in *Conflicts et identités, actes des journées philosophiques de Casinius*, April 1997, Kinshasa, ed. Loyola, 1998

The territory of Kabalo, with 7,000 newly displaced people in 2019, bordered Syria as the country generating the highest new population displacements. These displacements are the result of conflicts between Twa and Luba, which continue in a phase of rapid growth in Kabalo Territory. In order to promote a better understanding of the causes of the persistence of this conflict and of a silent and neglected crisis, this thesis looks at the causes of the ineffectiveness of conflict resolution structures between the Luba majority and the Twa minority in Kabalo in the transformation and resolution of the said conflict. This conflict illustrates how the marginalization of an ethnic minority group (Twa) due to the combination of limited access to resources, exclusion from local decision-making, and systematic discrimination, which leads to violence and large-scale displacement.

1.2 Historical Context of the Conflict

The conflict in Kabalo is rooted in the long-standing marginalization of the Twa. The Twa ensured their subsistence as nomadic hunter-gatherers in the areas on the margins of the forests. However, the Luba tribe, which depended mainly on agriculture for their livelihood, gradually pushed the Twa back to the ever-more remote forest areas.

In time, the Luba began to exert control over the land by establishing hereditary, hierarchical, and interrelated tribal power structures that excluded the Twa. These tribal or customary structures still underpin the configuration of local governments in the DRC to this day, particularly at the level of groupings and villages, as well as in chiefdoms. This also largely explains the absence of the Twa in positions of power in Kabalo.

During the colonial era and since independence, the cutting of forests for logging, agriculture, livestock and mining has gradually pushed the Twa out of the forests. This has triggered an increasing sedentarization of these populations. Sedentarization, accompanied by a significant reduction in access to forest resources, and limited access to land, has led to systematically higher poverty for the Twa populations compared to the Luba majority. This led the author of a World Bank study to summarize their situation in this way: "Poor, vulnerable and marginalized, this is the most appropriate description of the situation of the Twa peoples of the DRC today." This poverty and higher vulnerability also characterize the situation of the Twa in Kabalo.

1.3 The short-term causes of the conflict, its trajectory and its main actors

1.3.1 Access to land, customary taxes and local governance

In Kabalo, the vast majority of the Twa population is sedentary or semi-sedentary. The Twa are typically settled near Luba roads and villages, where they can work as day labourers and maintain partial access to forest resources. While some Twa have fields and practice agriculture, the right to land in the DR Congo remains rooted in the customary practices of the Luba chiefs. As a result, the Twa have limited access to land which is contingent on its allocation by Luba village chiefs in exchange for a customary tax (typically a variable share of the annual harvest). Luba customary chiefs also collect similar taxes on products from hunting, fishing or artisanal mining.

Although the territory administrator has the authority to create new villages within a grouping, no Twa villages have been created in Kabalo to date. The absence of Twa villages recognized by the authorities persists despite the fact that they represent 15% of the population of Kabalo (or 62,500 individuals). The Twa therefore have no established rights to land or village chiefs recognized by the state. Despite this, the Twa clan chiefs have a de facto leadership role in their communities, even though they are nominally under the authority of the Luba village chiefs. However, the lack of education and social status of Twa clan leaders outside their communities reduces their ability to influence local authorities.

1.4 The trajectory of the conflict

The recent violent conflict between Twa and Luba erupted in 2012-2013, following the marginalization of an ethnic minority group due to a combination of limited access to resources, exclusion from local decision-making, and systematic discrimination. It was these factors that triggered the hostilities between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory. The failure of the public authorities and security forces to intervene constructively led to the formation of militias by the leaders on both sides, and a series of reprisal massacres in Kabalo territory.

Violence continued to grow between 2013 and 2015, spreading to the two sectors (Lukuswa and Luela-Luvunguy) of Kabalo territory, and causing significant population displacement. Some of the incidents that took place in Kabalo territory during this period have been well documented by Human Rights Watch⁵ and provide compelling examples of the dynamics of conflict in Kabalo. These multiple incidents have triggered humanitarian interventions to try to mitigate the conflict. Local peace committees were established and the organization of a peace forum in Kabalo in December 2015 with the support of MONUSCO, the organization of community activities, etc. However, these efforts have failed to mitigate and resolve the conflict and violence in Kabalo territory. It then intensified in 2017 by extending to the territories of Kalemie and Moba and generating even more massive displacement of populations. Currently, the Twa militias mainly control the outlying areas, while the Luba militias control most of the areas close to urban centres and capitals. Violent incidents by the Twa and Luba continue to be reported regularly.

1.5 Key players

At the local level, Twa communities compete against village chiefs, groupings and Luba communities. As explained above, the conflict is centred on the control of local resources (i.e. access to land and the use of local taxes), political representation (i.e. demands for recognition by Twa village chiefs) and an end to discriminatory practices. Other key actors include the heads of ETDs, as well as the territorial and provincial authorities who generally support the Luba customary chiefs. These authorities, despite statements in favour of peace, are not perceived as neutral, and often try to hide or minimise the situation. The authorities also openly blame the Twa organizations (CSOs) for inciting violence.

⁵ Report on the work of the forum for peace, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence between the Twa and Luba communities in the Kabalo Territory, February 2017, pp. 7-14.

In this conflict, men remain the main perpetrators of violence, while violence against women from the opposite group is frequent and used on both sides. Women are marginalized in both Luba and Twa communities, and have limited influence over community and local decisions.

Before talking about the root causes of conflicts, their consequences on social cohesion and the existing mechanisms for managing conflicts in Kabalo territory, it is necessary to give a global overview of the factors of connection and division between communities.

1.6 Connection and division factors in the area

Understanding what divides people is key to understanding how outreach programs can help reduce the negative impacts of conflict. Although divided by conflict, people also remain connected across subgroup lines. Similarly, it has been found that all societies have institutions and individuals whose task is to maintain peace between groups.

Table 1: Connection and division factors in the area

Type of Conflicts	Large connectors	Large dividers
Tribal identity conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnicism; marriage between Luba men and Twa women - humanitarian assistance (joint markets/fairs organized for the Luba and Twa at the same time); - schools; churches; health facilities; - the representation of the Twa in the coordination of civil society; - the mode of management of customary power in the Mbuli group (recognition of the Twa as chiefs of certain villages)/Lukuswa sector; - the designation of the Twa as brother "Ndugu" or by his proper name; - belonging to the same ethnic and/or professional group; - common difficulties; - common values/customs - mutual insurance companies (grouping by tribe, ethnicity, clan and families); etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnicity, marriage between Twa men and Luba women; - access to water points and rivers; - access to customary power and natural resources; - traditional beliefs and ancestral dogmas; - partiality of customary justice between Twa and Luba; - the use of the Twa as low-cost labour by the Luba; - debts; - the naming of the Twa peoples as "Mbote"; - sexual violence against TWA women by the Luba; - rumours; - false beliefs and stereotypes; - the attitudes of contempt of the Luba towards the Twa; - The formation of mutual societies according to tribe, ethnicity, clan and family); - armed groups with tribal ethnic tendencies; etc.
Humanitarian Conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Humanitarian assistance (joint markets/fairs organized for the Luba and Twa at the same time); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -tokens distributed by unserved humanitarian workers (beneficiaries notice that they do not appear on the list on the day of

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The exclusion of Twa leaders in the identification of beneficiaries of the market-fair, food and other benefits; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the distribution of aid even though they have tokens); -Poor targeting; humanitarian work approach; -importation of labour; -poor understanding of vulnerability criteria by aid recipients; -identification of beneficiaries based on affinities or family ties by Luba village chiefs and local committees; Host families of displaced people not assisted by humanitarians
<p>Land conflicts related to natural resources</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Common access to natural resources (mines, forests, rivers for fishing); - the convergence of economic and political interests; - the council of old village elders; - the map delimiting administrative entities dated from the Belgian era; - access to arable land; - the secondary prosecutor's office; - The territorial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Natural resources (minerals and forests); -access to and/or management of customary rights; -the matrilineal regime; -the existence of several versions of the maps delimiting administrative entities (old maps of the Belgian era and other maps newly delivered by the Ministry of the Interior of DR Congo); -the boundaries of unclear administrative entities; -customary justice; -the control of mining quarries; -the use of children in mines; -mining companies; -customary power; -the greed/greed of the political, administrative and military authorities in the management of mining quarries; -the secondary prosecutor's office; -corruption; -the proximity or contiguity of the villages
<p>Power and succession conflicts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Convergence of economic interests and political opinions; - access to customary royalties; - access to customary power; - the secondary prosecutor's office; - The territorial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Politicians; - the secondary prosecutor's office; - the territorial ; - the enthroner sons in search of customary power; - access to natural and economic resources;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - le leadership ; - Corruption
WASH conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Construction of water points; - drawing drinking water from the same source of drinking water; - community sanitation works for water points; - The various committees of water points 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Drinking water springs/wells and rivers; - community sanitation works for water points; - the various committees of water points; queues; - the attitudes and behaviour of some women from village leaders to water points; - polygamy; -the construction of water wells near rivers; -water leaks at the site of water collection or drawing
Witchcraft Conflicts	Common practices in the invisible world;	Exaggerated deaths of children under 5 years of age; prayer rooms; Diseases related to bad spells
Conflicts between herders and farmers	Common difficulties related to livestock management in villages;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Breeding/wandering of animals; - Corruption
Conflicts related to polygamy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Marriage; - the centre of common interests; - Common challenges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Drawing water from water points; - Women become adulterers, i.e. a man with 10 wives will not have the ability to sexually satisfy all women at the same time, sometimes women from polygamous marriages engage in prostitution outside their homes.

From the table above, it should be said that there are more dividers than connectors in Kabalo territory. Actors wishing to work in the region will have to focus particular attention on these dividers so that the aid provided is not the source of major divisions but is an opportunity for peacebuilding in the region.

1.7 The causes of conflicts

For each conflict, there are of course specific causes. The table below presents the root causes of the qualitative approach; data from focus groups, individual interviews, restitution of the results of the study and data collected in the participatory workshop on conflict analysis and transformation held in Kabalo territory.

Table 2: Major causes of conflicts, results of the qualitative approach

Direct causes	Indirect causes
Tribal identity conflicts	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inequality of customary justice between Twa and Luba; - Underestimation of the Twa by the Luba, (according to the Luba, the Twa are primitive, indigenous, dirty peoples and do not have the same rights as the Luba); - The exploitation of the Twa as low-cost labour by the Luba; - The exclusion of the Twa in the management of customary affairs; - The fear linked to the matrilineal system (if a Twa marries a Luba girl, in the event of succession, the nephew will succeed to his uncle's customary power, whereas for the Luba, a Twa cannot one day become a customary chief); - Tendency for some tribes to want to live themselves; - the intolerance of certain tribes and ethnic groups; - The Quest for Power; - Political and personal interests; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The level of education/lack of education of the Twa contributes to mutual misunderstanding; - History related to the Twa way of life; Poverty; - Twa labor at a lower cost; - Political manipulations; - The creation of tribal self-defence groups (the "Buzolezole" for the Twa and the "Elements" for the Luba); - The stigmatization of the Twa, i.e. the Twa, testifies that the fact of calling them "mbote" is for them a basis of marginalization linked to their past/history. They prefer to be called by their name than to be called "Mbote";
Humanitarian Conflicts	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor targeting; - Import of personnel and manpower; - Working approach; - Diversion of aid (in some cases); - Community wait-and-see attitude towards humanitarian aid; - Bias in the expectations of humanitarian personnel from local communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political manipulations; - Failure to comply with the principles of admissibility; - Non-involvement of stakeholders in the processes of the project cycle; - Less follow-up involving stakeholders; - Informing humanitarians about conflict-sensitive programming; - Insufficient salaries for humanitarian staff; - Poverty
Land conflicts related to boundaries	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presence of natural resources; - Soil fertility/arable land; Presence of forests favourable to hunting; - Lack of knowledge of administrative boundaries by customary chiefs; - Economic interests related to land/customary rights/customary royalties; - Non-compliance with the closes/non-payment of customary fees; - Failure to respect the boundaries and absence of the boundary maps between the Twa and Luba villages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The predominance of the customary system over the written law/land law which is accompanied by ignorance; - The ambiguity of the Congolese legislative framework and the permanent uncertainty about the attribution of the competences of customary chiefs in land matters; - Inequitable access to resources and arable land; - The hidden interests of certain authorities in the management of boundary conflicts
Power and succession conflicts	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Leadership and the quest for power; - Sexual violence, i.e. some village chiefs are victims of destitution of their power because of violence committed against their constituents or family members; - Failure to respect lineages and custom; - Ancestral dogmas; - Access to and management of customary power; - Political and economic interests; - Corruption and poverty; - Non-respect for the hierarchy/usurpation of power related to mining resources; - Inequitable access to economic resources, arable land and power; - Failure to meet the vital needs of the population in the use of basic social infrastructure; - Mineral resources, arable land favourable for hunting; - Political and personal interests; - Contiguity of the villages; - Traditional beliefs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Corruption of administrative and judicial authorities; - Manifest social inequalities; - Poverty; - Policies; - Unemployment; - Interference by the political, administrative and military authorities; - Domination/Monopoly; - Protection of ancestral land from aggressors; - Political and cultural positioning; - The honors linked to power.
<p>WASH conflicts</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unequal access to water points between Twa and Luba; - Insufficient water points; - Drying up of water points/Leakage of water at the catchment site; - Pride of some beneficiaries of drinking water sources/non-participation in community work; - Domination/feeling of superiority of women vis-à-vis others with regard to the social ranks occupied by their husbands; - Collection and management of small contributions to water points (100FC per canister). This is at the root of the tensions between the committees of the cleaned villages and the local committees on the management of water points; - Lack and absence of traceability/no transparency in the management of funds collected at water points; - State sector interference in the management of water points 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Concubinage/settlement of polygamy conflicts at water points; - Distance between water points and villages very long; - Failure to involve local populations in prospecting and in the choice of places to build water wells; - Attitudes and behaviour of humanitarians; - Personal interests on the part of some humanitarian workers; - No rotation of committee members in the management of water points; - Lack of capacity building of water point management structures; - The community's wait-and-see attitude to humanitarian aid
<p>Witchcraft Conflicts</p>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traditional beliefs; - Prayer rooms; - Jealousy; - Hatred; - Preservation of power; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty; - Experience/having degrees in the mystical world; - Political and cultural positioning;
Conflicts related to polygamy	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Custom and manners; - Search for manpower (women for the fields); - Mimicry; - Unemployment; Power; Sterility; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reception of visitors; - Lack of recreational facilities; - Encouragement of women; - Women's behaviour

1.8 Consequences of conflicts

The conflicts identified affect communities in Kabalo territory at various levels, paralyzed by identity tensions characterized by population movements. Men, women, children, young and old, all are victims of the horrors of tribal-ethnic identity conflicts. Confrontations between armed groups with tribal ethnic tendencies had generated population movements followed by the destruction of basic public infrastructure (such as schools, health centres, bridges, etc.), looting and burning of houses or entire villages. It should be noted that in this context of conflict, school-age children are certainly affected by forced recruitment into armed groups and the school dropout rate is often high as a result of displacement, destruction, looting and occupation of schools.

The table below illustrates in detail the rights that are violated as a result of the recurrent conflicts in the area.

Table 3: Rights violated as a result of the conflicts between Twa and Luba in Kabalo

Rights violated in conflicts	Percentage
Access to drinking water	29,90%
Access to education	29,40%
Women's rights	17,40%
Safety in the environment	28,90%
Access to food	19,40%
Access to land	17,90%
Access to the health centre	14,40%
Children's rights	17,40%
Access to employment	7,00%
Other	10,90%

In addition, the risk of the spread of epidemics is too great in displacement sites, especially cholera in its traditional homes, especially if state health services are not prepared where humanitarian actors cannot intervene. Access to basic social services, especially in the Water, Hygiene and Sanitation sector, pits "Luba" women against each other, children against adults and Twa women against Luba women at water points. Twa women are sexually exploited at a lower cost by Luba men. With regard to the position in society, the differences between men

and women are obvious. Women are reduced in household activities and in field work. In the education sector, children are used as labour in schools in exchange for points or the payment of school fees. Twa children are targeted for sending them back to school due to lack of school fees. Access to essential health services, in the event of blood transfusions for children and women during childbirth, poses serious problems. Several cases of death are recorded in the peripheral structures of the Kabalo Health Zone. Child workers in the mines are deprived of various rights, including access to education and protection under the paternal roof.

1.9 Executions, looting, and sexual violence

The conflicts identified affect communities in Kabalo territory at various levels, paralyzed by inter- and intra-community tensions characterized by population movements. More than 250 people have been killed in intercommunal violence since June 2021 in Kabalo territory, the human rights NGO Human Rights Watch (HRW) said.

This violence mainly affects the territory of Kabalo, with repercussions on other neighboring territories. HRW estimates that this communal violence, perpetrated between June 2021 and March 2022 in Kabalo territory, killed at least 250 people in cycles of attacks and reprisals. Villagers from the Twa and Luba communities, both involved in a dispute related to the marginalization of one community by another, damaged, destroyed, looted and burned hundreds of homes as well as schools and health centers.

Some members of the Congolese security forces deployed to stem the violence reportedly committed abuses, including extrajudicial executions, looting, and sexual violence.

1.10 Stigmatization of the Twa by the Luba

According to LOMBEYA⁶, stigma is a social process by which an individual or group is labeled and categorized negatively based on certain actions. It can take different forms, including discrimination, social exclusion, isolation, violence and marginalization.

There are different kinds of stigma, such as social, psychological, and structural stigma.

Social stigma occurs when a person is rejected or ignored because of certain characteristics or actions like race. Psychological stigma manifests itself in the form of prejudices and stereotypes that harm the self-esteem and self-confidence of the stigmatized person. Structural stigma occurs when discriminatory systems or policies prevent a group from accessing resources and opportunities.

The consequences of stigma can be severe and long-lasting. Stigmatized people may suffer from depression, anxiety, stress, or self-esteem disorders. Stigma can also lead to avoidance behaviour, prejudice or discrimination.

1.11 Resurgence of identity conflict in the Kabalo Territory.

⁶ LOMBEYA BOINDA, K., *Cohabitation between host communities and Arabized peoples in the Kisangani region*, Doctoral Thesis in Sociology, FSSAP, Unikis, unpublished, 2023, p.179.

The humanitarian situation in Kabalo in November 2017 was marked by massive population displacement movements in Kabalo Territory, where the security situation remains volatile and unpredictable following the continuation of the Twa and Luba identity conflict in Kabalo Territory, and armed groups "HAPA NA PALE" and "MALAIKA" from Kabalo Territory, respectively. This has revived psychosis among the population of the said territory.

Indeed, while the displaced populations of Kabalo territory had begun to organize return movements to the villages of origin in favour of the cessation of hostilities observed, the Twa militiamen of Kabalo territory again made incursions into the areas of return, pushing the newly settled Luba returnees to abandon their villages once again. This is how a new wave of massive displacement movements had just shaken the territory of Kabalo, plunging these populations, already bruised by previous events, into increased vulnerability.

1.12 Precarious humanitarian conditions requiring a rapid response

These people live in precarious conditions that require a rapid response, mainly in the food security, shelter and education sectors for which vulnerability has reached the alert threshold. It is the groups of Maloba, Nzoa and Mbao that have been victims of this resurgence of clashes. Three people from the poisoned arrows died and villages were burned in this area of return. Hundreds of new displaced households have been registered in Lwizi and the city of Kabalo. Some schools in the interior that have taken back their former teachers and displaced students have just momentarily opened their doors in the city of Kabalo.

Other return movements were reported in Kende, Muleke, Longa, Kibembelela I and II, Yuda and Kakola in the Kasinge grouping; in Katelwa, Zovu, Musimbay and Lumbulumbu in the Mbuli group; in Kisala, Lwala and Beya in the Mbao grouping, in Kayumbu and Kamubangwa in the Kabula grouping.

1.13 The education sector severely affected by the recent conflicts between Twa and Luba

According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), between 2016 and 2018, 149 schools out of the 344 existing schools in Kabalo were destroyed during the bloody inter-community clashes between the Twa and the Luba. This situation has meant that of the 30,853 (thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-three) children enrolled in the 344 existing schools in Kabalo, 7,230 (seven thousand two hundred and thirty) school-age children, or 21.6%, have interrupted their studies.

UNICEF reports that only 9 schools with 110 classrooms have been rehabilitated to date in Kabalo territory, with funds from various bilateral and multilateral partners. Thus, 4,058 children who had dropped out of school were able to benefit from the recovery courses. These children have been integrated into the formal school system.

1.14 Children who have dropped out of school represent a danger for the Kabalo Territory

The largest number of children who have dropped out of school are in the territories of Kabalo, and represent a potential danger to this territory. For UNICEF, there is a risk that they will be recruited into armed groups that are still active in the vicinity of their living environments. The

various reports of education actors and parents' committees of different provincial subdivisions of EPST Tanganyika 2 reported in March 2019 at least 5,450 children, including 2,304 boys, recruited into armed groups in Kabalo territory.

The education sector in Kabalo territory has been experiencing major disruptions for almost 11 years as a result of various conflicts that began with the activism of Mai-Mai groups (local self-defence militias) and have recently worsened with the bloody clashes between the Twa and the Luba. These clashes have caused significant population displacements, forcing many children to interrupt their studies. UNICEF, through the RRMP (Rapid Response to Population Movements) project, is supporting the rehabilitation of the education sector in Kabalo.

1.15 How to go about it

Civil society organizations working for the return of cohesion between communities believe that building peace in Kabalo territory requires effective responses to the problems identified by involving all actors, including rural communities, their leaders and authorities at all levels. "Faced with this situation, it is necessary to set up a transitional justice committee, mobilize funds to support social cohesion projects, promote peace and citizen tolerance, revitalize inter-community baraza and empower communities," said the social mediators we met.

In this perspective, the wish of community leaders is to favor long-term interventions to enable communities to recover their rights and to set up mechanisms for peaceful coexistence. This requires taking into account the specificities of each community, of course, but above all the establishment of local authorities as provided for by the legislation creating the ETDs.

2.0 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Thus, we used a method and techniques.

2.1 Study environment



Graph 1: Administrative map of the territory of Kabalo

The Kabalo Territory, in the Province of Tanganyika, is the geographical area of our research. The choice of this space is necessary, because Kabalo is the territory for which we have seen the resurgence of identity conflict between the two communities Twa and Luba and the return of militias, which have led to serious human rights violations and the forced displacement of thousands of people;

2.2 Study population

We have chosen to focus our work on the Twa and Luba, mainly in the territory of Kabalo, to the heads of the United Nations agencies and NGOs, as well as to the heads of public services of the State, associations and opinion leaders. It raises the issue of the causes, consequences and mechanisms of conflict resolution between Twa and Luba in Kabalo Territory.

We justify the choice of this population by the fact that the United Nations agencies and NGOs, already in charge of assembling the respondents, will therefore facilitate the task that falls to us with such a large population, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is the territory for which it has been noted the upsurge of conflicts between Twa and Luba and the return of militias to the Territory of Kabalo, that have resulted in serious human rights violations and the forced displacement of thousands of people;

2.3 Method

Two approaches were used to collect information in the field. The qualitative approach, which consists of collecting data through focus groups and key interviews. The quantitative approach, which is based on the collection of information by survey. 100 people were interviewed through the focus groups and 45 through the interviews.

2.4 Data collection techniques

As we seemed to be more compatible with the current study, the conversational approach⁷ presided over the collection of data for this research.

The analyses were carried out on the basis of the triangulation of the information collected through the following five sources of information:

- Individual interviews with 55 out of 60 people planned, in the sites covered by the study.
- 17 focus groups out of 15 planned, organized in the axes of the study.
- 4 restitutions out of a planned one organized in the area to three joint agencies in Kabalo, to community leaders and technical services; and to the territorial administrators of Kabalo.

3.0 STUDY RESULTS

⁷ Chamich, M., Management of conflicts related to natural resources in the arganeraie of the Sous (Morocco) (unpublished), Doctoral thesis in Rural Studies, University of Toulouse, 2008, p.176.

3.1 Major conflicts identified in the area

Table 4: Major conflicts in Kabalo territory

Strife	Percentage
Tribal ethnic conflict	36,80%
Conflict related to social services (Water, Hygiene and Sanitation, Education, Health, Protection)	35,80%
Conflict over humanitarian aid	32,30%
Power Conflict	28,29%
Land conflict	24,40%
Witchcraft conflict	24,40%
Succession Dispute	10%
Conflict linked to the cohabitation between herders and farmers	9,50%
Conflict over access to natural resources	7,00%
Religious conflict	5,5%
Conflict with the security members of the NC, FARDC, ANR	5,00%

For the interviewees, the main types of major conflicts in the territory of Kabalo are: tribal-ethnic conflicts, conflicts of power or "sultanate", conflicts related to humanitarian aid, conflicts related to basic social services (Water, Hygiene and Sanitation, education, health, protection); conflicts related to humanitarian aid; power conflicts; land conflicts; conflicts related to witchcraft; inheritance disputes; conflicts related to cohabitation between herders and farmers; conflicts over access to natural resources; religious conflicts; and conflicts with the police (FARDC, PNC) and the National Intelligence Agency (ANR).

3.2 Major causes of conflict - results of the quantitative approach

Table 5: Major causes of conflicts in Kabalo territory

Major causes of conflict-	Percentage
Poverty	25,4%
Tribalism	22,4%
Injustice	21,4%
Difficult access to basic social services	10,9%
Discrimination	32%
Lack of consideration of one community over another	17,9%
Political interest	16,9%
Economic interests	6%
Local customs	18%
Difficult access to land	10,9%

The results of the survey represented in the table above give the major causes of the recurrent conflicts in the territory of Kabalo; among others: Poverty (25.4%), tribalism (22.4%), lack of justice (21.4%), lack of consideration of one community over another (17.9%), political

interests (16.9%), difficult access to basic social services (10.9%), difficult access to land (10.9%), economic interests (6%).

3.3 Consequences resulting from the quantitative approach



Figure 2: Consequences of conflict in Kabalo territory

Apart from the data available on past population movements as indicated above, the graph below gives an overview of the various consequences of the conflicts identified during the household surveys and presents in a decreasing manner the major consequences of the conflicts in the territory of Kabalo.

3.3.1 Impact of conflict on women, girls, boys, children and men

Table 6: the rights that are violated as a result of the recurrent conflicts in the area.

Rights violated as a result of conflicts	Percentage
Access to drinking water	29,90%
Access to education	29,40%
Women's rights	17,40%
Safety in the environment	28,90%
Access to food	19,40%
Access to land	17,90%
Access to health care	14,40%
Children's rights	17,40%
Access to employment	7,00%
Other	10,90%

The conflicts identified affect communities in Kabalo territory at various levels, paralyzed by inter- and intra-community tensions characterized by population movements. Men, women, children, young and old, all are victims of the horrors of tribal-ethnic conflicts. Confrontations between armed groups with tribal ethnic tendencies had generated population movements followed by the destruction of basic public infrastructure (such as schools, health centres, bridges, etc.), looting and burning of houses or entire villages. It should be noted that in this context of conflict, school-age children are certainly affected by forced recruitment into armed groups and the school dropout rate is often high as a result of displacement, destruction, looting and occupation of schools. In addition, the risk of the spread of epidemics is too great in displacement sites, especially cholera in its traditional homes, especially if state health services are not prepared where humanitarian actors cannot intervene. Access to basic social services, especially in the water, hygiene and sanitation sector, pits Bantu women against each other, children against adults and Pygmy women against Bantu women at water points. Pygmy women are sexually exploited at a lower cost by Bantu men. With regard to the position in society, the differences between men and women are obvious. Women are reduced in household activities and in field work. In the education sector, children are used as labour in schools in exchange for points or the payment of school fees. Pygmy children are targeted for expulsion from schools due to lack of school fees. Access to essential health services, in the event of blood transfusions for children and women during childbirth, poses serious problems.

Several cases of death are recorded in the peripheral structures of the Kabalo Health Zone. Child workers in the mines are deprived of various rights, including access to education and protection under the paternal roof. The table above illustrates in detail the rights that are violated as a result of the recurrent conflicts in the area.

3.3.2 People/structures involved in conflicts

Table 7: People/structures involved in conflicts

People/structures involved in conflicts	Percentage
Family members	61,80%
Customary authorities	24,40%
Other	26,90%
Humanitarians and NGOs	23,90%
Members of the other ethnicity	13,90%
Farmers	11,40%
The witch doctors	9,50%
The Government	8,00%
Non-Origins	6,50%
Politicians	5,00%
Breeders	4,50%
The administrative authorities	4,50%
Law enforcement officers	4,00%
Self-defense groups	3,50%
Teachers	3,00%
Religious authorities	3,00%
Rebel groups	2,50%

Civil society	2,00%
The displaced	2,00%
Pupils	1,50%

In response to the question of which people/structures are involved as actors or catalysts in conflicts; The interviewees testified, as shown in a decreasing manner in the table above, that family members, customary authorities, humanitarians, members of the other ethnic group, farmers, witch doctors, the government, non-natives, politicians, herders, administrative authorities, law enforcement agencies, self-defense groups, teachers, Religious authorities, civil society, displaced people, and pupils and students are involved in the conflicts.

However, as the table above indicates, it should be noted that family members, customary authorities and humanitarians are much more involved in the conflicts compared to other categories of subjects in the territory of Kabalo.

4.0 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The relevance of research depends on the methods and tools used to conduct it, the biases generated and the possibilities of reducing these biases. However, it has the disadvantage of only allowing access to what is declared and does not allow access to real practices. In addition, it is not possible to deepen or clarify the information collected.

Similarly, our sampling was not built on the basis of a probabilistic technique to ensure the representativeness of the population in the sample obtained. The generalization of the results obtained cannot therefore be made without taking into account this limitation, which constitutes a bias for our investigation. These limitations moderate the interpretations that can be made of the quantitative data collected, but do not take away anything because our research allows us to understand the causes and consequences of conflict as well as their resolution mechanisms in Kabalo territory.

Although the graph relating to the major conflicts in the territory of Kabalo separately presents some conflicts, land conflicts, conflicts related to access to natural resources, conflicts of power, succession conflict; in terms of dynamics and causes; These conflicts interact despite the typologies presented differently in the subsequent graph.

Regarding the types of conflicts, it should be noted that there are only 4 (four) main major conflicts identified in the territory of Kabalo, including: tribal ethnic conflicts (36.80%), conflicts related to basic social services (water, hygiene and sanitation, education, health, protection (35.80%)", conflicts related to humanitarian aid (32.30%), power conflicts (28.90%), land conflicts (24.40%) and conflicts related to witchcraft (24.40%).

Among the major causes of recurrent conflicts in Kabalo territory, the most recurrent are poverty (25.4%), tribalism (22.4%), lack of justice (21.4%), attitudes and behavior (20.9%).

Overall, the various consequences of the conflicts identified during the surveys present in a decreasing manner the major consequences of the conflicts in the territory of Kabalo. Hence, 40.80% refer to mistrust, 37.80% to tribal hatred and xenophobia, 36.30% to population displacement and 35.30% to poverty.

5.0 CONCLUSION

This study, carried out in the territory of Kabalo, allowed us to identify the factors that are at the root of the ineffectiveness of the projects implemented by the main actors (state services, NGOs and local leaders) committed to peace in the territory of Kabalo.

In view of this questioning, we have pushed our scientific curiosity very far by asking ourselves the following questions:

In view of the above, the following questions fuel our curiosity:

- What are the causes of conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory?
- What are the consequences?
- What are the mechanisms to be used to resolve the conflict and promote peaceful coexistence between Twa and Luba?

To respond to the concerns expressed in the problem, we think by way of hypotheses that:

- the social discrimination they face at the hands of Bantu populations, the long-standing economic and political marginalization of the Twa, the lack of sustainable economic opportunities, access to livelihoods, barriers to equal rights for the Twa, poor access to land, and basic social services such as health, exclusion from local political decision-making, the imposition of customary royalties have often been identified as the main causes of conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory.
- The serious violations of human rights: rape of women and children, murders, burning of houses, looting of property, destruction of fields, destruction of base infrastructure, recruitment of minors in self-defense militias, would be major consequences of this conflict.
- The involvement of leaders of the two Twa and Luba communities in conflict resolution structures; the consideration of the problems that are at the origin of conflict, the elasticity of time for the implementation of peace projects, the strong functionality of local peace councils and local customs would be the basis not only to put an end to existing instability, but also to prevent new rounds of conflicts. In order to resolve the conflict and promote peaceful coexistence between Twa and Luba in the territory of Kabalo, it is necessary to

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- To detect the causes that are at the root of the identity conflict between Twa and Luba in Kabalo territory;
- Identify the related consequences;
- Identify the mechanisms for resolving the conflict between Twa and Luba.

Thus, in order to reach the explanation and verify our mortgages, we have resorted to the dynamist method of Georges Balandier because it seems to us to be the best suited to the present study.

In the field, our method was supported by documentary techniques, disengaged direct observation, semi-structured interviews and Focus groups to encourage open discussions based on research themes.

After the investigation and analysis of the data, we arrived at the following results:

- 36.80% agree on the tribal ethnic conflicts;
- 35.80% are conflicts related to basic social services (Water, Hygiene and Sanitation, Education, Health, Protection),
- 32.30% of conflicts are related to humanitarian aid;
- 28.90% are power conflicts;
- 24.40% are land conflicts; and
- 24.40% are witchcraft-related conflicts.

In view of these results, it must be said that our initial hypotheses are all verified and confirmed.

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