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ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT DYNAMICS AROUND KAHUZI-BIEGA NATIONAL PARK

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PEACEFUL COHABITATION PERSPECTIVES BETWEEN KBNP, PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, AND OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS ..... **IV**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY **1**

INTRODUCTION **2**
- BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION 2
- RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND GOALS 3

METHODOLOGY **4**
- THEORETICAL BASIS AND DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS 4
  - THE KBNP 4
  - CONFLICT MANAGEMENT 6
  - CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP 6
  - CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION 7
- DEFINITION OF STUDY AREA, TARGET POPULATION, AND SAMPLE 8
- COLLECTION OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA 10
- DATA ANALYSIS 11
- RESTITUTION -VALIDATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND CONFERENCES 11
- PREPARATION OF THE FINAL REPORT 11

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE **11**

SOCIOGENESIS OF CONFLICTS AROUND KAHUZI-BIEGA NATIONAL PARK **15**
- THE ANNIHILATION OF THE LAND RIGHTS OF PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AS A RESULT OF CONQUESTS BY OTHERS AND STATE MEASURES FOR THE DESIGNATION OF LAND 15
  - THE ANNIHILATION OF THE LAND RIGHTS OF PYGMIES FOLLOWING CONQUESTS BY OTHER PEOPLES 15
  - THE ANNIHILATION OF PYGMY LAND RIGHTS FOLLOWED LAND TRANSACTIONS WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE 16
  - THE ANNIHILATION OF PYGMY LAND RIGHTS AS A RESULT OF STATE LAND DESIGNATION 16
- RESTRICTIONS RESULTING FROM NATURE CONSERVATION MEASURES 17
  - EXPULSION OF AREAS CLASSIFIED FOR NATURE CONSERVATION 17
  - RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS TO NATURAL RESOURCES AS A RESULT OF NATURE CONSERVATION MEASURES 18

TYPES OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP AND THEIR SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIPS **18**
- LAND CONFLICTS 19
- DISPUTES RELATED TO THEFT OF CROPS AND OTHER LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS 21
- DISCRIMINATION 22
- OTHER TYPES OF CONFLICTS 23
  - CONFLICTS RELATED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF CROPS BY PARK ANIMALS 23
  - RELEGATION OF IP TRADITIONS AND MARITAL CONFLICTS 23

ROOT CAUSES OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP: MULTIPLE DYNAMICS HAVE CAUSAL COMPLEXITY **24**

CAUSES OF CONFLICTS ACCORDING TO TEMPORAL CRITERION 24
DISTANT CAUSES 25
RECENT OR CURRENT CAUSES 26
CAUSES OF CONFLICTS ACCORDING TO THE CRITERION OF THEIR NATURE 27
HISTORICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CAUSES 28
LEGAL CASES 28
SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL CAUSES 28
PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES 29
POLITICAL CAUSES 29
ECONOMIC CAUSES 29

ACTORS OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP: CONTROVERSIAL ROLES FOR PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICTS 30

IDENTIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF CONFLICT ACTORS 31
CLASSIFICATION OF ACTORS 31
DIRECT ACTORS 31
CONNECTORS 32
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY 32
NATIONAL NGOS - SCIENTIFIC, HUMANITARIAN, OR DEFENDING PIP RIGHTS 33
DIVISORS 34
STRING SHOOTERS 34
LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC OPERATORS: 34
POLITICIANS: 35
LOCAL AND FOREIGN ARMED GROUPS 35
LARGE DEALERS: 36

CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS AROUND THE KBNP: UNDERSTANDING SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAILTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN AREAS AROUND THE KBNP 36

POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS 36
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS 37
SOCIOCULTURAL CONSEQUENCES 39
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES 40
EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS 40
CONSEQUENCES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS 41

INITIATIVES FOR PEACEFUL COHABITATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN KBNP AND PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES 42

LOCAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES 43
NEGOTIATION, OUTREACH 43
STATE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES BETWEEN PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, KBNP AND OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE KBNP 44
KAHUZI BIEGA NATIONAL PARK INITIATIVES 44
The KBNP Community Conservation Program through the Establishment of Community Conservation Committees (CCC) 44
School Enrollment Program for Children of PIP 45
Income Generating Activities 46
Militarized Conservation Policy and Justice 47

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES BETWEEN KBNP AND PIP48
Land Acquisition and Construction of Camps for Pygmy Indigenous Peoples 48
Dialogue and Advocacy 49
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 52
BIBLIOGRAPHY 54
ANNEX 1: RECOMMENDATIONS FROM AND VALIDATED BY RESEARCH STAKEHOLDERS 60
INSIDE THE KBNP 60
AT THE CONGOLESE STATE: NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS 60
TO SUBREGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND STATES OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION 61
TO HUMANITARIAN AND PIP ADVOCACY NGOS 61
TO ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES AND LOCAL TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES 62
TO PIP COMMUNITIES AND LEADERS 62
TO OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES 63
ANNEX 2: KAHUZI BIEGA CONFLICT ASSESSMENT FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS: ROADMAP ACTIONS AND PRIORITIES 64
GOAL 64

ACRONYMS

ADELIPO	Action for the Development and Promotion of Human Rights and Management of Interests of Pygmies Originating in the Democratic Republic of Congo
AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation
CNRD	National Council for Renewal and Democracy
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation, Reintegration and Resettlement of Foreign Armed Groups
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ERND	Environment, Natural Resources and Development
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ICCN	Congolese Institute of Nature Conservation
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit/Society for International Cooperation
ISTD	Higher Institute of Development Techniques
JIPA	International Day of Indigenous Peoples
KfW	Kreditanstalt for Wiederaufbau / Reconstruction Credit Institute
LINAPYCO	National League of Associations of Pygmies Indigenous Peoples of Congo
MSI	Management Systems International
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ORC	Other Riparian Communities
PA	Indigenous Peoples
PAJA	Judicial and Administrative Support Program
PFNL	Non-Timber Forest Products
PIDP	Integrated Program for Development of the Pygmy People
PIP	Pygmy Indigenous Peoples
KBNP	Kahuzi-Biega National Park
RAPY	Network of Pygmy Indigenous Associations

REPALEAF	Network of Indigenous and Local Peoples for the Sustainable Management of Forest Ecosystems in the DRC
ROPAC	Network of Peasant and Indigenous Organizations of Congo
SOCEARUCO	Environmental Civil Society Agro-Rural Congo
SOLIFEM	Feminine solidarity against poverty
UCPUED	Community Union of the United Pygmies for Evangelization and Development
UEFA	Union pour l'Émancipation de la Femme Autochtone (Union for the Empowerment of Indigenous Women)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCS	Wildlife Conservation Society
WWF	Worldwide Fund For Nature

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study establishes a relationship between conflicts around the KBNP and conjunctural or contextual dynamics of social, political, economic, and ecological natures. It is motivated by the need to understand and explain the current state of conflicts around the KBNP, i.e., disagreements between Pygmy Indigenous Peoples (PIP) and Kahuzi Biega National Park (KBNP), and other riparian communities (ORCs). The assessment report, in system approach, identifies the various types and causes of conflict, as well as relevant actors, consequences, and initiatives to regulate these conflicts. This conflict assessment proposes avenues for operational solutions for sustainable peace, social cohesion, and local development in areas around the KBNP inhabited by Pygmy indigenous peoples.

Without breaking with previous studies interested in the socio-economic and legal aspects of the KBNP as revealed in the literature review, this study specifically analyzes the social dynamics of conflict across quarreling identity groups from the perspective of transformation conflicts.

The study used a mixed methods approach combining qualitative and quantitative practices supported by John Paul Lederach's systemic approach to conflict transformation. Primary and secondary data collection and analysis were carried out through the operational stages of clear definition of the subject matter of study, the problem and the objectives, the determination of the study area and the sample, literature review, collection of qualitative data, collection of quantitative data, data processing and analysis, drafting of the preliminary report, restitution and validation of results, and preparation of the final report. The study area consists of two territories, Kabare and Kalehe, precisely in the villages of Bulolo, Chahoboka, Buyungule, Cibuga, and Muyange (Kabare); and Bukubi, Tchulabihao, Rwamikundu, Bumoge, Cifunzi, Kasheke, Lemera, Bulembo, Bachigoka, Bishulishuli, Bushushu, Musinga, and Buzunga (Kalehe)1. There was a total of 911 respondents, including 279 in the qualitative survey and 632 in the quantitative survey.

The survey emerged several significant results. Land related conflict were rated by 65% of respondents as the most recurring conflicts around the KBNP. Qualitative data collected also highlights this finding. Between the KBNP and Pygmy Indigenous Peoples and ORCs, land conflict is exacerbated by the denial of access to natural resources and the extension of its boundaries. This conflict has become rooted as a result of the unpreparedness of indigenous peoples in the process of relocation outside the KBNP, but also as a result of manipulations by various actors. Among ORCs and Pygmy Indigenous Peoples, land conflict is more due to the anarchic occupations of spaces by PIP households, the lack of access to land, and the untimely evictions of PIP households in occupied areas.

Results of this study noted two categorical criteria as core causes: the temporality criterion (the idea of secular possessiveness) and the criterion of nature. The first criterion highlights distant causes such as, the removal of PIP from the park without prior preparation, land compensation or accompanying measures. Recent or immediate causes include the lack of land by PIP, economic precariousness, illegal exploitation resources by PIP and ORCs in the KBNP, the feeling of discrimination and exclusion among PIP, non-compliance with the commitments made to PIP by the Government and its partners and the

[1] In accordance with current law, the village is the smallest rural territorial entity. It is the subdivision of the grouping which is itself a subdivision of chiefdom or sector.

use of PIP and local PIP associations. Based on the nature criterion causes include, historical and environmental issues, legal causes, socio-anthropological causes, psychological causes, economic causes, and political causes.

The study identified direct and indirect actors based on their positions in the production of conflicts. The first type consists of the Congolese State as a regulatory power, KBNP /ICCN as an organizing and managing power, the PIP community and ORCs, as well as the concessionaires around the KBNP. The second type consists of connecting actors (the international community, NGOs, KBNP); and dividers (national NGOs, elites, and associations of PIP) and string shooters (economic and political operators, armed groups).

Certainly, the consequences of these conflicts are numerous both for individuals and the social structure. The negative consequences affecting both economic, socio-cultural, ecological, etc. dimensions outweigh the positive effects. These include the degradation of biodiversity of the park, the increasing poverty of the populations within the study area, low levels of schooling, violence, etc.

Faced with the persistence of conflicts and the multiple consequences resulting from it, several actors have implemented conflict resolution initiatives. The actions between one another are characterized by lack of synergy, and above all, ideological contradictions, and actions. The KBNP, national NGOs, traditional authorities, and public authorities have undertaken actions such as granting some land to PIP, construction of health facilities, school enrollment program, etc. Although these initiatives have partially mitigated some material problems, lasting peace or peaceful cohabitation between KBNP, PIP, and ORCs remains a concern.

For the rapid return of peace, social cohesion around the KBNP and for local development in this area, the following program recommendations based on the approach to conflict transformation are relevant:

1. Create a permanent dialogue framework bringing together all stakeholders around the KBNP, including PIP.
2. Develop a comprehensive mapping of stakeholders/actors around the KBNP.
3. Develop PIP household mapping.
4. Organize a Pygmy intra-indigenous peoples' social dialogue in order to restore social cohesion within their community.
5. Engage local, provincial, and national authorities through advocacy in order to find progressive solutions to the problems of PIP.
6. Strengthen PIP children school enrollment programs and create literacy and vocational training programs for adults.
7. Conduct participatory action research accompanied by actions for the economic and social rehabilitation of PIP households as well as the construction of social and economic infrastructures (schools, health centers, markets, etc.).

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

Established by Ordinance No. 70/316 of November 30, 1970 and becoming a World Heritage Site in 1980, the KBNP covers three Eastern Provinces of the DRC, namely South Kivu, North Kivu, and

Maniema. Thus, the KBNP has boundaries with Kabare, Kalehe, Walungu, Shabunda, and Walikale territories. The ecology of the KBNP combines diverse and complex flora and fauna and a mineral-rich subsoil. The exploitation of land, flora and fauna, and other natural resources on one hand and the cultural affirmation of indigenous peoples/Pygmies on the other, serve as the underlying sources of conflict around the KBNP. These issues contradictorily link institutional aspects (legal provisions on park management; the functioning of the KBNP) and the aspirations for self-determination of riparian populations, particularly of the indigenous and Pygmy peoples.

Indeed, by Ordinance No. 75/238 of 07/22/1975 extending the KBNP, the area of the KBNP increased from 60,000 to 600,000 ha. By this measure, Ninja's chiefdom lost three quarters of its area (Mudinga 2013). Challenges in the institutional spaces (Parliament and Ministry) and local opinions (letter of the inhabitants of Ninja) have attempted in vain to request an amendment of the ordinance to properly align with the law and to be inclusive of local populations' perspectives. As a result of the State's willingness to create the park, the population, especially being PIP, were forced to leave the inland areas they occupied.

The recent development of conflict is characterized by violence between Pygmies and KBNP park guards following their mass return to park areas and acts of biodiversity destruction (tree destruction, poaching) as well as the greater vulnerability of Pygmies. Needless to say, the cause of the indigenous peoples/Pygmies of KBNP seems to be manipulated and recovered by new actors for interests often divergent. This has resulted in new alliances, counter-alliances, or divergences around the KBNP among several actors, the most notable of which are the state through the KBNP/ICCN, human rights organizations, nature protection organizations, and local organizational initiatives.

Now just as in the past, this problem seems to have preoccupied the ICCN and some other actors. Indeed, several solutions have been implemented to put an end to the various conflicts around the KBNP. They combine coercive approaches, awareness-raising, and socio-economic support actions in favor of indigenous/Pygmy peoples and other communities bordering the KBNP. However, the results of interventions in terms of conflict transformation or lasting peace have proven to be mixed if not ineffective. Instead of creating a climate of collaboration among actors, the solutions envisioned have further exacerbated negative attitudes and violent mindsets, with many consequences for both the flora and fauna of the KBNP as well as the indigenous peoples, Pygmy peoples, and other communities bordering the KBNP.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND GOALS

The main research questions addressed are:

What are the core factors and causes of conflict dynamics around the KBNP? What effective mechanisms exist, need to evolve, or need to be built for lasting peace to prevail between the KBNP and Pygmy Indigenous Peoples and ORCs?

A subset of questions are as follows:

- What types of conflicts exist between the KBNP and indigenous/Pygmy peoples and ORCs?
- What are the root causes of these conflicts and their socio-economic consequences?
- Who are the key players in conflicts around the KBNP and their systemic interactions?

- What are the appropriate organizational and institutional mechanisms needed to end these conflicts, and to promote social cohesion and stability of indigenous and Pygmy peoples?

The goal of this study is to document and analyze the dynamics of conflicts around the KBNP and to formulate effective proposals for sustainable resolution of these conflicts. Specifically, this research will:

- Identify the types of conflicts and the root causes of each conflict.
- Identify key players/actors in conflicts around the KBNP, their positions (connectors, dividers), and their systemic links.
- Identify and discuss the consequences of these conflicts.
- Formulate innovative and operational recommendations to transform these conflicts around the KBNP to build social cohesion and economic recovery of populations in and bordering the KBNP, especially the indigenous peoples and Pygmy peoples.

METHODOLOGY

THEORETICAL BASIS AND DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

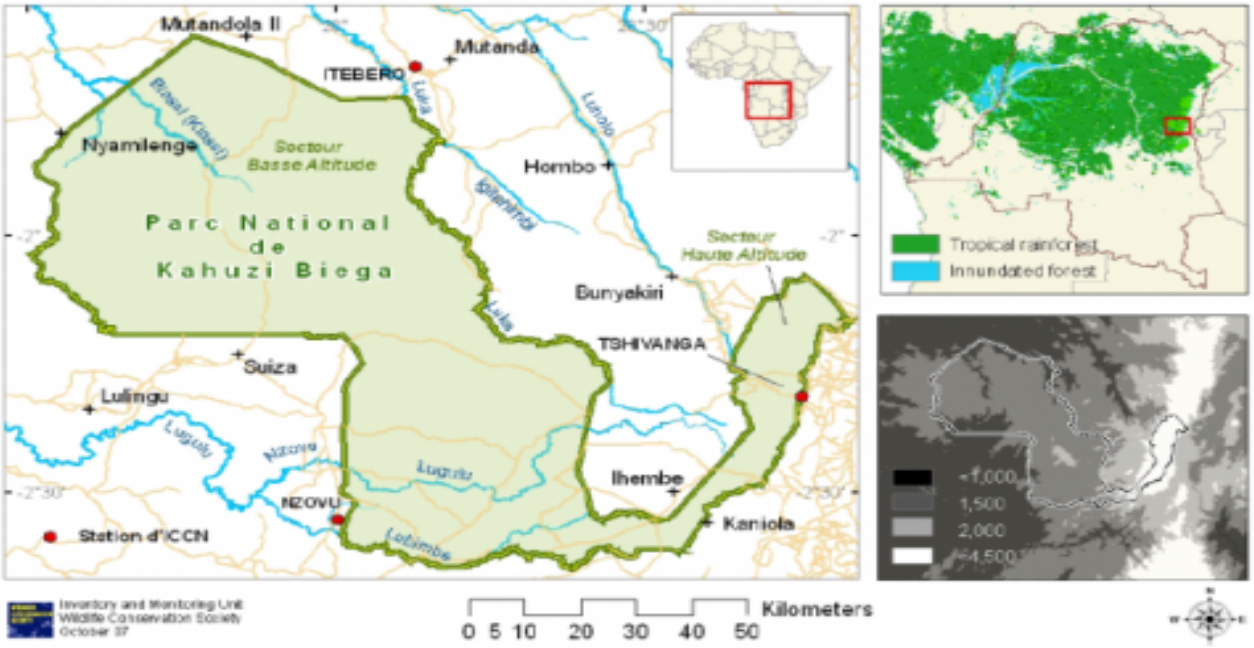
To achieve the above research goals, a rigorous and operational methodological approach has been put in place, based on empirical findings, theoretical orientation, and goals. The entire methodological approach is based on the systemic approach to conflict transformation as developed by J.P. Lederach (1995; 2014). Indeed, systemic analysis is justified by the need to determine and analyze connection networks in the manifestation of conflicts around the KBNP, actors and their positions. From Lederach (1995), transformative peacebuilding maintains and prolongs both personal and systemic change. The concept of relational networks helped determine the social organization and collective representations of riparian communities in relation to the KBNP; alliances and counter-alliances in the manifestation of conflicts, and in the search for solutions. Actors refers to individuals, groups (associations, communities), and institutions. They can be actors for peace (connecting people) or actors for conflict (dividing people). Lederach's approach supports a systematic perspective of conflict dynamics and transformation. The search for a solution through conflict transformation aims to restructure social relations that are not conducive to peace (Lederach, 1995, p. 14)

For this study, the following concepts deserve clarification: the KBNP, conflict dynamics, land conflicts, and conflict transformation.

THE KBNP

Created in 1970, the KBNP can be defined as both an area and an institution. As an area, in accordance with the 1975 Ordinance, the KBNP covers an area of 600,000 ha. It is divided into two large blocks, the high and low altitudes connected by a corridor as shown in the figure below.

FIGURE 1: KAHUZI BIEGA NATIONAL PARK[2]



The KBNP is one of the major protected areas in the DRC. It is full of many resources of flora, fauna, and minerals. Citing several authors, Kujirakwinja et al. (20..) indicates that the KBNP is among the three protected areas important for the conservation of the biodiversity of the "Rift Albertin" with 136 species of large mammals (including 15 endemic to the Albertin Rift), 335 species of birds including 29 endemic, 69 reptile species including 7 endemic, 44 amphibians including 13 endemic, 1171 plant species of which 218 are endemic (Hall et al. 1997; Plumptre et al. 2003). According to UNESCO, the park was also recognized as a Plant Diversity Center by IUCN and WWF in 1994 with at least 1,178 species listed in the high-altitude zone, with the lower part yet to be inventoried. The park is one of the few sites in sub-Saharan Africa where the plant and wildlife transition from low to high altitude is observable. It includes all stages of forest vegetation ranging from 600m to more than 2,600m, from dense humid forest of low and medium altitudes to sub-alpine forest, up to mountainous bamboo forests (https://whc.unesco.org/fr/list/137/ consulted on 06.12.2020). The KBNP is also rich in mining resources. Indeed, the ICCN annual report (2008) noted that a large part of the low-altitude sector notably towards Nzovu, Itebero, and Lulingu possesses old deposits of minerals exploited by mining companies like SOMINKI and that have today become a desired object for mining operators, digging for minerals such as Coltan (Colombo tantalite), gold, etc. However, in a joint monitoring mission report, SCC (2017) noted that in 2016 there were only two active mines, compared to 47 in 2013.

In 1980 the KBNP was inscribed on the World Heritage List according to criterion x[3]. However, as a result of the growing insecurity caused by rebellions and armed gangs since 1996, the KBNP was placed in 2017 as a World Heritage Site in Danger.

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[2] Source: Kujirakwinja et al, Strengthening the capacity of local actors in the management of natural resources through the resolution of conservation-sensitive conflicts in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, Virtigon 2013, p.16 https://www.researchgate.net/signup.SignUp.html

As an institution, the KBNP, like all protected areas in the DRC, is governed by various legal texts setting out its tasks, organization, and operating procedures. Indeed, at the end of Article 4 of Decree No. 10/15 of April 10, 2010 laying down the statutes of a public institution known as the Congolese Institute for the Conservation of Nature, with "I.C.C.N." as an acronym, the latter aims to conserve nature in protected areas in and ex situ. In this capacity, it is responsible for: ensuring the protection of fauna and flora; enhancing biodiversity by promoting scientific research and facilitating eco-tourism activities in accordance with current legislation and respecting the fundamental principles of conservation; carrying out or causing studies to be carried out and disseminated for scientific and educational purposes in the field of conservation.

In the dynamics of conflicts under analysis, the KBNP is analyzed as an institution, an actor in systemic interactions with other actors such as the state, PIP, riparian communities, etc.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Rooted in classical sociological traditions (Durkheim, Mauss, Parsons, Merton, Marx, Weber, etc.) and contemporary (Bourdieu, Touraine, Sorokin, Balandier, etc.), the study of social dynamics is based on the postulate of the movement of society which are accompanied by shocks, contradictions, dysfunctions, or adaptations, of change. In general, the analysis of conflict dynamics highlights the types of conflicts and their causes, the actors and consequences related to the dynamics of society. It is not easy to approach all the dynamics surrounding a situation. Thus, without robbing the complexity from the facts, this study addresses some contextual and cyclical aspects of the following dynamics: sociocultural (poverty, lack of land, religious practices, mediation advocacy), policies (integration into local, provincial, and national political power), economic dynamics (anarchic exploitation of natural resources and the formation of economic networks of influence), and management of the KBNP (strict conservation policy). In addition, the study is limited to the most recurrent conflicts in the area that are determined by current dynamics, including conflicts related to land and its derivatives.

CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP

Touraine's shareholder approach (1965) considers a conflict as an antagonistic relationship between two or more actors, both of whom tend to dominate the social opportunities of one of the parties. Cultural, social, political, and economic dynamics can be conflictual. Thus, the existence of a conflict assumes two perceived opposing conditions: on the one hand, actors, or more generally units of action, are delimited by borders, and therefore cannot be purely abstract "forces;" on the other, an interdependence between those units constitutes the elements of a system.

---

[3] Criterion (x): Kahuzi-Biega National Park is home to more mammal species than any other site in the Albertin Rift. It is the second most important site in the region both for endemic species and in terms of specific richness. The park has 136 species of mammals, including the eastern plain gorilla as the star and 13 other primates including endangered species such as the chimpanzee, bay colobines, and L'Hoest's and Hamlyn's old world monkeys. Other extremely rare forest species in eastern DRC are also present, such as giant genet (Genetta victoriae) and aquatic genet (Genetta piscivora). Mammals characteristic of Central African forests also live in the park, such as forest elephant, forest buffalo, giant forest hog, and bongo.

In this active and systemic perspective, conflicts around the KBNP are antagonistic and contradictory based on the control and exploitation of natural resources of the KBNP and manifested in both violent forms (arrests, killings, exile, etc.) and non-violent (negotiations, debates, legal actions) between KBNP/ICCN and riparian communities, particularly Pygmy Indigenous Peoples and other local communities.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

John Paul Lederach is responsible for abundant work in [4] the conceptualization and theorization of conflict transformation. Conflict transformation is aimed at positive peace.

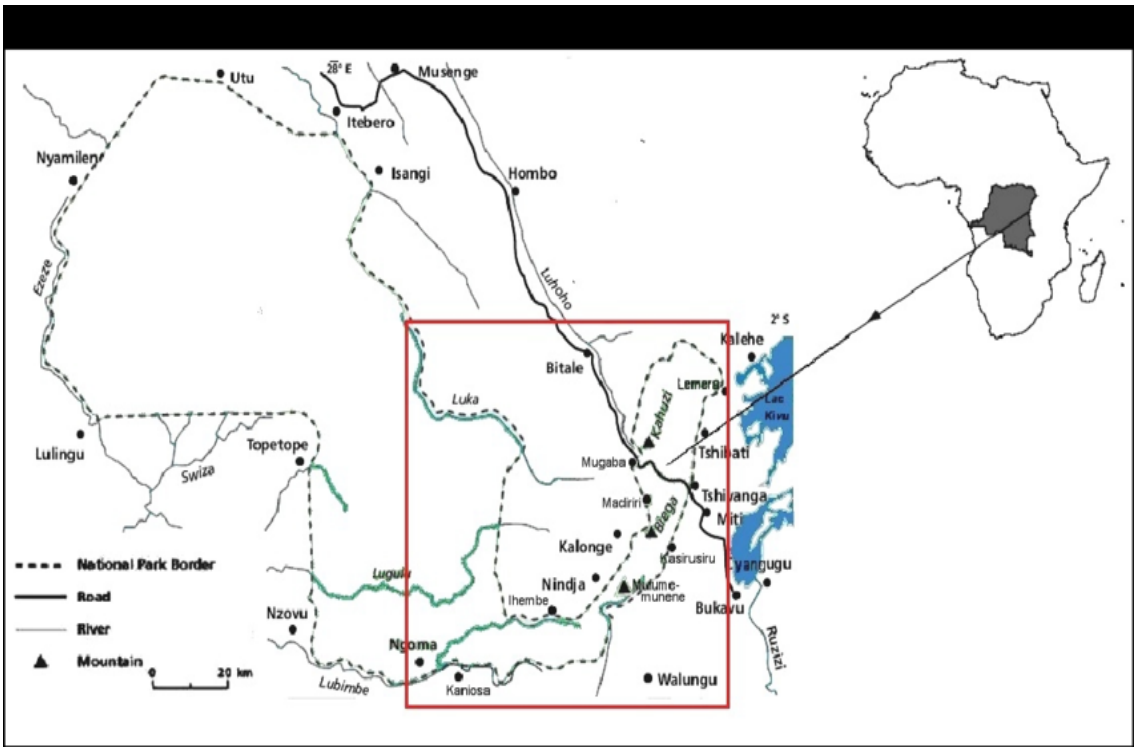
The transformation of conflicts around the KBNP consists of a process of structural change in which all actors of conflict are engaged. This change affects both the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of actors towards positive peace and local development. This new philosophy deviates from the conflictual mindset that currently characterize social interactions by bringing new perspectives to building peace for all and by all.

4 Read John Paul Lederach. Preparing for Peace. Conflict Transformation across Cultures, Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 1995.
"Just Peace. The Challenge of the 21st Century ," in State of the World Forum (ed.), People Building Peace. 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World, Utrecht, International Books, 1999.
"The journey toward reconciliation," Herald Press, 1999. The Little Book of Conflict Transformation, Intercourse, PA, Good Books 2003. The Moral Imagination. The Art and Soul of Building Peace, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press, 2005. Reconcile: Conflict Transformation for Ordinary Christians, Herald Press, 2014.

DEFINITION OF STUDY AREA, TARGET POPULATION, AND SAMPLE

The geographic scope of this study includes areas around the KBNP in the Kabare and Kalehe territories.

FIGURE 2: AREAS AROUND THE KBNP[5]



Depending on the significant presence of households of Pygmy indigenous peoples, data were collected in the following villages by territory:

- Kalehe Territory: Bukubi, Tchulabihao, Rwamikundu, Bumoge, Cifunzi, Kasheke, Lemera, Bulembo, Bachigoka, Bishulishuli, Bushushu, Musinga, and Buzunga.
- Territory of Kabare: Bulolo, Chahoboka, Buyungule, Cibuga, and Muyange.

Sampling was done at two levels: rational sampling and probabilistic sampling. Rational sampling determined the number of subjects to be contacted in the qualitative survey. Based on the criteria of environmental residency, social position, and membership of the PIP community or other riparian community, 279 subjects were identified from various local positions, including: traditional and local authorities, teachers, religious leaders, doctors and nurses, farmers, leaders of local PIP associations, etc. A total of 195 individuals were met through one-on-one interviews and 84 people using focus groups were conducted in the study area and in the city of Bukavu according to the distribution below.

[5] Map of Kahuzi-Biega National Park (MUBALAMA, 2010) and location of KBNP in the DRC map. The red frame indicates the area of this study.

FIGURE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

Activity:	Kabare	Kalehe	Bukavu	Total
Individual interview	57	109	29	195
Focus group discussion	24	36	24	84
Total/participants	81	145	53	279

Given the context of the covid-19 pandemic, the number of participants per focus group was limited to a maximum of 12 subjects.

This process identified a sample of 632 adult members of households located in villages inhabited by PIP. These persons were individually contacted. For example, a household survey was conducted in villages/localities located in and around the KBNP. In order to have a sufficiently representative sample, the first step was to establish an exhaustive list of villages/localities within a radius of 10 km around the park. Subsequently, due to the inability to cover all local areas, 17 villages/localities were randomly drawn. To calculate the numbers of households to be surveyed in each village/locality, data from population estimates obtained from the Provincial Health Division were used. The minimum number of households to be surveyed per village/locality was determined using the following formula:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 Np(1-p)}{(N-1)e^2 + 9(N-1)}$$

With:

n: the minimum sample size.

Z: a critical value corresponding to a given confidence level (1.96 for a confidence level of 0.95).

N: the total number of households per village/locality.

p: Proportion of the main indicator (default 0.5)

e: the margin of error.

FIGURE 4: SAMPLE SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION

	Population	Estimated number of households[6]	Number of households surveyed
Chahoboka	2634	527	36
Buloho	2634	527	36
Cibuga	837	167	27
Buyungule	837	167	27
Muyanze	2496	499	36
Rwamikundu	703	141	25
Bumoga	1444	289	32
Cifunzi	4051	810	38
Kashesha	1121	224	30
Bitale	1937	387	34
Bunyakiri	999	200	29
Bushushu	2043	409	34
Kasheke	1466	293	32
Cibanja	1527	305	32
Musinga	1527	305	32
Ishoku	2033	407	34
Ihoka	2033	407	34
		Total	**548**

Source: South Kivu Provincial Health Division, 2020

COLLECTION OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

Qualitative data collection was conducted from 13 July to 15 August 2020 in the study area and in Bukavu using observation, maintenance methods, focus group, and photo technology.

6 The number of households in each village was estimated on the basis that one household has an average of 5 people.

Real-time observations monitored for conflict realities in the area with a focus on occupied spaces, housing, quality of life, available infrastructure, resource exploitation, agriculture, markets, etc. To illustrate some striking aspects of the lives of target populations, photographs were taken by researchers after free and informed consent of the respondents.

With regard to individual interviews, semi-structured exchange sessions were organized with pre-selected individuals using an interview guide. An interview lasted between 60 — 90 minutes on average.

Focus group interviews were conducted with invited participants and were facilitated by one or two researchers using a question guide. A focus group session lasted between 90 — 120 minutes.

From August 25 to September 02, 2020, quantitative data collected facts and opinions from 632 randomly selected households in the study area. Prior to the implementation of the quantitative survey, a questionnaire was developed and tested. In addition, 15 investigators were recruited and trained to support researchers in administering the questionnaire. Quantitative data was collected using the *Kobo Toolbox data collection software.* The investigators used parameterized tablets to transcribe the information provided by the investigators. With these tablets and the virtual storage platform, all information was geolocated and stored before processing and interpretation.

DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data were analyzed using the content analysis method. Effectively, all raw data was transcribed by researchers prior to the interpretation process using an ad hoc matrix. This approach has made it possible to identify the most significant results in terms of facts, opinions, and the subjective and objective attributes of the actors, while comparing the results with existing and accessible literature.

Quantitative data was analyzed using SPSS and Excel data analysis software.

RESTITUTION -VALIDATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND CONFERENCES

On November 10, 2020, about fifty key stakeholders, through selected representatives, took part in a restitution session — validation of the significant results of the study. In addition, two scientific days were held from 16 to 17 November 2020 to submit to scientific debates some results of the study. Both activities resulted in the validation of the results but also in the accuracy of certain information less clarified by the results reported.

PREPARATION OF THE FINAL REPORT

The process of restitution-validation of the results was followed by the preparation of the final report. The draft was submitted to the partner's commentary review before being seen by external readers. Their observations and comments have improved the quality of this final version of the report.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature review for this report is two-fold: 1) the overall context of protected areas in the Central Africa Region, and 2) specific conflict dynamics of the KBNP region in eastern DRC. Three key pieces highlight the limitations to implantation, before and during colonization, and in the aftermath of

independence in CAR (Aili Pyhala, 2016; Doumenge C. 2015) and around the world (Colchester, 2003). The large number of protected areas is due to the international community's awareness of threats to biodiversity, reflecting the growing focus on environmental protection in general and specific ecosystems in particular. This situation has also led several African states to establish protected areas within their territories. However, in most cases, the choice and arrangements for zoning protected areas have been made without sufficient precautions, including the relocation of indigenous peoples without accompanying measures. This reality explains various conflicts related to the establishment of conservation areas (Menge-Medou, 2002; FPP, 2008).

The important literature on KBNP (Cholchester 1994; Deroche 2008; Kapupu 2001; WA 2001; Nobirabo 2009) illustrates this dilemma of imbalance between state conservation projects and indigenous rights. It addresses, among others, the following topics: the local economy among Pygmies (Wilondja & Radjabu, 2017; Mapendano, 2001; Kulondwa, 2001; Muley & al., 2003), the legal contexts of the KBNP (ERND, 2015; Mudinga, Ngendakumana, & Ansoms, 2013; Lapika, 2009; Barume, 2003; Nobirabo, 2009; Couillard & Jéremie, 2009; Milenge, 2014), socio-anthropology and history of indigenous peoples of the KBNP (Deroche, 2008; Hauser, 1953; Bulambo, 1999; Kahindo, Lejoly & Mate, 2001; Lewis, 1999; Maret, Schebesta, 1936), sociology of conflicts around the KBNP (Nelson & Lindsay, 2003; Jethro, 2014; ERND, 2015; Lyombo & Sinafasi, 2017) as well as conflict development or transformation interventions around the KBNP (ICCN, 2019; Fréguin-Gresh, 2017; Nishuli & al., 2012; Kujirakwinja, Shamavu, & al., 2013). Most of these studies note that the eviction of Pygmy indigenous people has transformed the KBNP into an area of conflict and describe the issue of land as the factor that primarily determines the dynamics of these conflicts. Almost all socio-anthropological studies claim that Pygmies (Bacwa, Bambuti, Batwa) are the first inhabitants of the forests of central Africa, that they led a traditional way of life there (Bahuchet, 1991) dominated by nomadism (World Bank, 2009; Gustave, 2008), explaining their strong attachment to occupied areas, especially the forest they consider to be everything in terms of protecting their traditional practices (Kapupu 2001). It was from these forests that they were evicted for the benefit of partition and conservation of nature.

With regard to the legal context of the KBNP, it is often identified in many studies as the trigger for conflicts between the KBNP and Pygmy indigenous and riparian populations. Indeed, this conflict inducing normative framework consists of laws and conventions7 from colonial times as well as independence, instituting a regime of prohibitions but considered contrary to the legitimate rights of indigenous people and residents. But the most controversial texts remain essentially Ordinances No. 70-316 of 30 November 1970 and No. 75/238 of 22 July 1975 establishing and extending the KBNP respectively. In particular, Ordinance No. 75/238 of 22/07/1975 extending the area of KBNP from 60,000 to 600,000 ha, in addition to the expulsion of the IPs, resulting in the loss of ¾ of the area of the chiefdom of Ninja. The above-mentioned steps at various levels to correct this situation have so far remained in vain. The expulsion, carried out without prior consultation or accompanying measures, affected the indigenous Pygmy economically. They lost their land rights (rights of enjoyment and ownership), their right to hunt and fish, their movement rights, their rights to culture, their water rights, and their rights to cut timber over the entire extent of the land designated as a park. Thus, they suffer

[7] For illustrative purposes we can cite the Convention on the Conservation of Fauna and Flora of 8 November 1933, the Decree of 26 November 1934 establishing the Institute of National Parks of Congo, Ordinance-Law 69-041 of 22 August 1969 and Law No. 14-003 of 11 February 2014 on the conservation of nature.

from marginalization, the spiral of poverty, food insecurity, extra-judicial executions, breaking their links to their spiritual sites, deprivation of access to justice and remedies, and almost absent education (Isumbisho, 2020). Forced to settle down (Ndih, 2004; Guillermou 1992), they have become a cheap workforce for host communities (Lewis 2001; Ndih, 2004; Wilondja and Radjabu, 2017) and engage in "unprofitable, precarious, and low-investment activities." (Wilondja and Radjabu 2017; World Bank, 2009; Ndih 2004; Guillermou 1992; Lewis 2001; Lewis 2001; ICCN 2008; Wilondja-As-Ngobobo and Radjabu, 2017; FPP, RNR, & DPA, 2016). This has led to difficult conflicts between Pygmy indigenous people and park managers and local residents, and even with local government. This results in a lot of misunderstanding, revolt, and predatory behavior associated with a very strong sense of confiscation of resources.

As a result, the KBNP is the object of multiple interest from poachers, clearers, even rebel movements and armed forces (IUCN-KBNP, June 2017). These populations remain affected by the dramatic consequences of these conflicts, whose violence even on a large scale has become cyclical or even chronic. These conflicts mobilize society into almost antagonistic blocs and are updated through various modalities. Rights recognition demands have amplified with the international recognition of indigenous rights. It manifests itself on two levels: normative and jurisprudential. At the normative level, many legal instruments, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples expressly recognize the rights of indigenous peoples to their ancestral lands, from which they cannot be dispossessed without their consent and prior compensation. At the case law level, in view of the distrust of some national courts of indigenous rights, human rights courts now admit the right to "restitution of ancestral lands expropriated without compensation, including in the name of the establishment of a "wildlife reserve[8];" and further emphasize that a title to land is not a prerequisite to its existence[9]."

In order to mitigate these recurring conflicts around the KBNP, many initiatives, both institutional and private, have been implemented. They are linked to the radical change that has taken place in recent decades to reconcile protection of protected areas with development, for example, . integrated development and conservation projects (Menge-Medou, 2002). The introduction of the integrated conservation to development (CoCo) approach (ICCN et al, 2008) in 1985 was followed by the launch of the first participatory management structures in 2000 with several other strategies implemented in the past two decades focusing on conflict resolution, at local and institutional levels [10] (ICCN, Cohabitation pacifique entre le KBNP et les populations riveraines. Dialogue de haut niveau sur la Cohabitation pacifique entre le KBNP et les populations riveraines, 2019). These resulted in the adoption of several recommendations for peaceful cohabitation Parks and Communities across riparian areas.

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[8] Communication 276/2003, 4 February 2010, Center for the Development of Minority Rights acting on behalf of *the* Endorois Community v. Kenya, [ww. ihdra. org].

[9] Sawhoyamaxa Indigenous Community v. Paraguay. Judgment of 29 March 2006, Series C No. 146, para. 128. See also Yakye Axa Indigenous Community v. Paraguay. Judgment of 17 June 2005, Series C No. 125; and Moiwana Village v. Suriname. Judgment of 15 June 2005, Series C No. 124; Forest Peoples Programme, Protected Areas and Indigenous Peoples' Rights, "Applicable International Legal Obligations," February 2008, p.6.

[10] Congolese Institute for Nature Conservation, (2015), *high-level forum on governance and enhancement of Kahuzi Biega National Park*, Bukavu available at: *https://parcnationalkahuzibiega.wordpress.com/2015/07/11/un-forum-de-haut-niveau-sur-la-gouvernance-et-la-valorisation-du-KBNP/*.

With regard to private initiatives, they are mainly the result of support provided by NGOs either to the KBNP or to the indigenous Pygmy peoples, depending on whether their area of intervention is nature conservation or the defense of indigenous rights. However, not all of these initiatives produced the desired results for reasons widely documented in this literature.

Consequently, conflict dynamics remain active and continue to amplify in recent years by the return of the PIP to the KBNP in 2018[11] and then by the recent incident of 30 November 2020 in Kabamba during a demonstration by the indigenous people calling for the release of their leader. Twelve alleged perpetrators of several attacks in the KBNP were identified. The victims included four dead, including three Pygmies and one FARDC soldier, and several injured in both camps, with burials in Kabumbiro, Kalehe territory.[12] [13]

This upsurge in conflicts is the absence of an in-depth study on dynamics focusing particularly on an approach to conflict transformation for durable solutions. This study analyses these dynamics in relation to the permanence and production of conflicts around the KBNP. It demonstrates that these dynamics are sometimes economic, political, social, or even a new form, but systemically linked to conflicts. First, economic dynamics are essentially linked to the exploitation of natural resources such as minerals, timber, etc. (IUCN-KBNP, June 2017) and whose motivation remains across national and provincial networks. Secondly, political dynamics are the result of exclusion and lack of representativeness in provincial and national institutions and the electoral process (BM, 2009). Indeed, the latter is now being used as a means of integrating PIP in many countries. This is particularly the case of Burundi; whose Constitution provides by cooptation certain seats in Parliament and Senate for the benefit of the Pygmy indigenous peoples. Thirdly, the social dynamics that fuel conflicts around the KBNP are, among other things, violent demands of the PIP and the non-compliance with commitments from high-level forums (failure of different dialogues), the most recent of which dates back to 2019.

Finally, new dynamics around the KBNP are linked to strict institutional conservation policy[14] instead of community conservation, the initiatives of armed groups in the IPs, and the incursion of concessionaires within the boundaries of the KBNP.

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[11] Global Movement for Tropical Forests, Batwa indigenous residents and returning to their ancestral lands in Kahuzi Biega National Park, Eastern DR Congo, available at https://wrm.org.uy/fr/les-articles-du-bulletin-wrm/section1/les-riverains-autochtones-batwa-et-le-retour-sur-leurs-terres-ancestrales-dans-le-parc-national-de-kahuzi-biega-est-de-la-rd-congo/, accessed on 02 December 2020 at 12h10'

[12] https://laprunellerdc.info/sud-kivu-retour-sur-des-echauffourees-qui-ont-fait-3-morts-chez-les-pygmees-et-un-militaire-fardc-tue-a-kabamba-kabare/ , accessed this 02 December 2020 at 12h°°.

[13] https://www.election-net.com/sud-kivu-mise-en-terre-de-trois-pygmees-tues-dans-une-manifestation-a-kabamba-kalehe/ from 02 December 2020 at 12:15.

[14] According to the North American model of strict protection, a national park should not be inhabited, even by those born there.

SOCIOGENESIS OF CONFLICTS AROUND KAHUZI-BIEGA NATIONAL PARK

Conflicts around the KBNP mainly involve park managers, Pygmy Indigenous Peoples (PIPs), and ORCs, mostly Bantu populations. Farmer traders and economic operators, mainly in the mining and forestry sectors, also appear to some extent.

The backdrop of conflict shows the divergence of interests and practices that have gradually emerged as a result of changes in the spatial occupation of land that has become not only a national park, but also as a pathway relating to access natural resources. This divergence culminates into conflicts of significant magnitude and takes root in three major historical facts: 1. the conquest by the Bantu populations of the spaces once occupied by the Pygmies, 2. the state measures (colonial power and independent Congolese State) to dominate the land and 3. the classification of certain areas for nature conservation purposes. The first and second events resulted in the annihilation of the land rights of the Pygmy populations. The third has resulted in a reduction in the rights of locals to access natural resources in areas established as protected natural conservation areas. These facts have led to the emergence of conflicts between PIPs, ORCs, and protected area managers. In the case of KBNP, deprivation of land rights, means of survival, and a framework of socio-cultural development further exacerbates conservation issues that lack any adequate conflict mitigation policy.

THE ANNIHILATION OF THE LAND RIGHTS OF PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AS A RESULT OF CONQUESTS BY OTHERS AND STATE MEASURES FOR THE DESIGNATION OF LAND

THE ANNIHILATION OF THE LAND RIGHTS OF PYGMIES FOLLOWING CONQUESTS BY OTHER PEOPLES

Conflicts between Pygmies and other communities are rooted in ancient history. Indeed, Pygmies are undoubtedly presented as the first inhabitants of the forests of Central Africa despite the absence of precise landmarks in history. This fact is confirmed in particular by the constant and unanimous oral accounts on this subject[15]. The Pygmies have occupied since time immemorial, before all the other peoples, the lands that later became the present Democratic Republic of Congo. They thus have the status of first occupants and have exercised attributes of land rights, including the use and enjoyment of land, even though they cannot rely on titles established under modern law to be authentic.

[15] "The first occupation of the country undoubtedly remains that of the Pygmies. While this fact is general for Zaire as a whole, it must be acknowledged that elsewhere the memory of this occupation is not always so obvious. In this region, the Pygmy element is omnipresent in oral narratives." I. Ndaywell è Nziem, History *of Zaire. From the ancient heritage to the contemporary age,* Louvain-la-Neuve, Duculot, 1997, p.218.

History also indicates that Pygmies were pushed back to areas described as the most disadvantaged following the arrival of numerically and technologically stronger Bantu populations[16]. The extent of the space occupied by the Pygmies was thus reduced due to the arrival of other peoples[17].

THE ANNIHILATION OF PYGMY LAND RIGHTS FOLLOWED LAND TRANSACTIONS WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE

Relatively recent history provides information on land transactions made without the knowledge of Pygmies that have reduced the extent of their land rights. Even before the formation of the independent state of Congo, contacts were reported between Europeans (missionaries and traders) and local populations. Local chiefs sold land to Europeans, including those in Pygmy occupied areas, on the basis of contracts with questionable content[18].

Other local community lands, including the Pygmies, were acquired by Europeans under the regime of land without a master. According to their lifestyle of moving from place to place in search of game or forest resources, the Pygmies temporarily left a space without the idea of abandoning it permanently. Upon their return, they were unpleasantly surprised to learn that their former space had been allocated to others for considering it as land without an owner. This situation was accentuated by the fact that the Pygmies did not have a system of individualization or marking of occupied land comparable to modern law mechanisms of boundary or development.

THE ANNIHILATION OF PYGMY LAND RIGHTS AS A RESULT OF STATE LAND DESIGNATION

Another major fact that greatly contributed to the stripping of land rights of Pygmies is the state measure of land designation.

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[16] "The arrival of the Bantu had the effect of pushing the indigenous people back to the most disadvantaged regions. The aggressive aspect of this contact is obvious. It is reflected in the attitude charged with contempt if not condescension that the Bantu sometimes still display. They always take care, despite this context of interbreeding, to maintain the cleavage between the two communities. Thus, to get rid of the child who insisted that tales be told to him during the day, to frighten him, he was threatened not to grow up, that is to say, to be reduced to the rank of Pygmy," I. Ndaywell è Nziem, *Op.cit.,* p. 51.

[17] "Thus, the history of the relationship between the Pygmies and the Bantu is also, and perhaps first of all, made of mixing, technical, and cultural integration. It is also marked by repression and subjegation. Indeed, the fringe forest-savannah most conducive to the traditional life where the Pygmies happily lived and they will now penetrate further into the forest, where always the Bantu will follow them, in order to establish their control over the ground and gradually become the inherent owners of them. On the basis of these village routings, the Bantu will develop hierarchical social and political structures spread over vast inter-village spaces, while the Pygmies will keep up to the present day an egalitarian and very lightly hierarchical mode of organization. They will gradually lose their languages, to acquire the languages of Bantu or Sudanese origins of their neighbors, while creating dialects for their own use," World Bank, *Democratic Republic of Congo, Strategic Framework for the Preparation of a Pygmy Development Program,* Report no. 51108-ZR, December 2009, pp.14 and 15.

[18] "These are characterized by misunderstandings as to the nature of the rights transferred: while it just seemed to be a sale for Europeans, it was rather an authorization to occupy land for the traditional Congolese chiefs," P. Nobirabo Musafiri, "Dispossession of Rights Indigenous Land Rights in the DRC: Historical and Future Perspectives," *Land Rights and Forest Peoples of Africa. Historical, Legal, and Anthropological Perspectives,* Forest Peoples Programme, June 2009, p. 2.

The independent State of the Congo decreed private and state ownership of land. Private property could be individual or collective. All other lands are part of the state domain. Pygmy populations have not been able to benefit from the recognition of land rights due to their nomadic way of life that does not specifically mark or materialize into land tenure. The Pygmies were therefore unable to have recognized lands despite the protective norms of the Final Act of the Berlin Conference, which provided for, in article 6, "the preservation of the lifestyles of indigenous peoples and tribes" and the Ordinance of 1 July 1885 which provided for the preservation of the lifestyles of indigenous peoples and tribes that noted, "no one has the right to dispossess the indigenous people of the lands they occupy."

The Congolese State, after independence, in turn decreed the nationalization of the land, thereby eliminating all private land ownership for the sole benefit of State land ownership (Law of 20 July 1973). In the same wake, it was decided that all the lands of local communities, including the Pygmies, be nationalized, that is, to be now part of the private domain of the State. This measure, which now leaves only a right of benefits to members of the local communities, is still suffering from considerable murkiness on account of the terms of benefits never having been specified.

RESTRICTIONS RESULTING FROM NATURE CONSERVATION MEASURES

EXPULSION OF AREAS CLASSIFIED FOR NATURE CONSERVATION

One of the facts that may have exacerbated conflicts around the KBNP is the eviction of people who lived on lands classified as a national park.

Conservation measures in colonial times, despite the lack of restrictions on people's rights, did not systematically provoke forced displacement of people. They even provided for exemptions for populations with their habitat in forests affected by conservation measures. Even the post-independence measures of the Nature Conservation Act 1969 that prohibited human activity in national parks made an exception for locally inhabited populations.

It was the implementation of conservation measures that did not take into account the anticipated exemptions for Pygmy peoples and other populations that had their habitat on lands classified as a national park category. This is the main problem encountered at the KBNP from where Pygmies were expelled in the late 1970s and early 1980s by several methods, abandoning them to vagrancy (ERND, 2017). From that moment onwards, the Pygmies that inhabited the KBNP ceased to have a fixed address, stable habitat, sufficient supplies, or even a space for cultural development to settle for solutions as precarious as the other.

This situation is very difficult to experience or feel, especially since the expulsion has not been preceded by clear information, let alone adequate relocation and resettlement measures, and previously assessed by all stakeholders. Some go so far as to declare that the violation of the Land Act of 1973 and the Public Expropriation Act of 1977, which prescribe, respectively, the preliminary investigation of land vacancies and prior and fair compensation in such circumstances (S. Mugangu, 2008).

The resentment felt by Pygmies can be further accentuated by the fact that they feel they are victims of double standards. Indeed, Bantu populations who also found themselves within the boundaries of the KBNP during its expansion in 1975 refused to relocate and park managers were not ever able to do

anything about it. This is the case for two thirds of the chiefdom of Nindja who find themselves in the new boundaries of the park (S. Mugangu, 2008).

Without tenure of land, Pygmies are reduced to occupying land belonging to other predominantly Bantu riparian communities under several modalities, including lease contracts whose obligations are not always easy to fulfil, and ultimately culminate in ongoing conflicts, of which many become violent.

It is this cumulation of challenges that were used to justify the forced return of Pygmies to the KBNP in 2018 (Report of the High-Level Dialogue, 2018) and most recently in 2020.

RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS TO NATURAL RESOURCES AS A RESULT OF NATURE CONSERVATION MEASURES

Nature conservation measures have led not only to the loss of tenure but also to restrictions on access to natural resources. These losses pose a tremendous problem in view of widespread poverty across Pygmy populations who traditionally live off of food credits in the park forest at no cost and depended on medicinal or craft resources to produce small products such as baskets for a small income.

This situation leads to conflict, as some Pygmies attempt to fraudulently procure resources in the park, which exposes them to repression from guards supervising the park. Some Pygmies choose, in the absence of access to the park and its resources, to steal agricultural products from other riparian populations, leading to violent confrontations.

TYPES OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP AND THEIR SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIPS

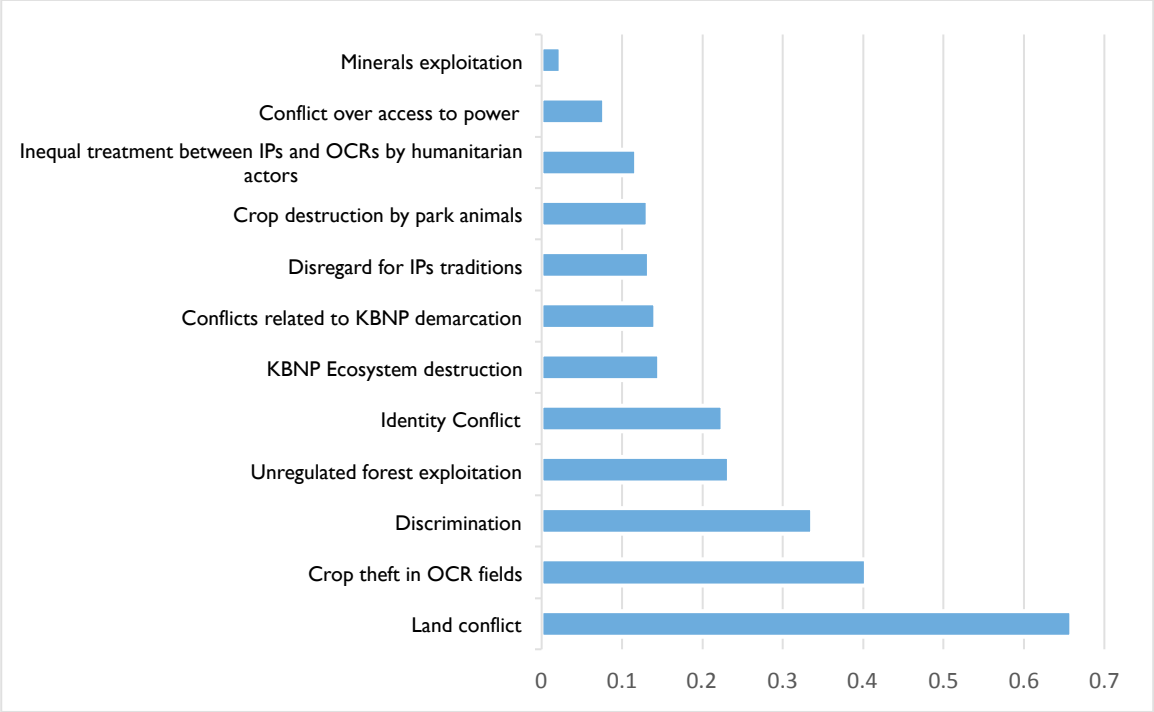
There are several conflicts that disrupt peace and social cohesion between the KBNP and coastal populations, especially the Pygmy indigenous peoples. This section elaborates on the typology of the most recurring conflicts and identifies systemic links with the social, economic, political, and co-management dynamics of the KBNP.

FIGURE 5: MOST FREQUENT WORDS IN THIS TYPOLOGY OF CONFLICTS

Source: Our data analysis

The graph below highlights the statistical findings of recurring conflicts between the KBNP and riparian communities.

FIGURE 6: MOST RECURRING CONFLICTS BETWEEN KBNP AND PIP AND OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES.



Source: Quantitative Survey Database

Types of conflicts selected by 30% or more of survey respondents, include land conflict (over 65%), crop theft (40%) and discrimination (over 30%). Other types of conflicts such as the anarchic exploitation of timber and other park resources, the delimitation of the KBNP, the relegation of PIP traditions, the destruction of crops by park animals, and unequal treatment by humanitarian workers were all selected by 12 to 15% of respondents. These results are corroborated by previous studies in Kabare and Kalehe that found conflicts between KBNP and riparian populations often involve land, woods, fungi, medicinal plants, minerals, fields, livestock (Radar N. et al, 2012). contempt, devaluation of cultures, denial of rights, violence, and spoliation (World Bank, 2007).

Based on significant results informed by the dynamics highlighted in this study, the sections below analyze land conflicts, conflicts related to theft of crops and other livestock products, discrimination, conflicts related to crop destruction by park animals, conflicts related to cultural relegation and matrimonial contradictions.

LAND CONFLICTS

Land disputes in and around KBNP, as the report of the Brussels Justice and Peace Committee (2017) well noted, presupposes all conflicts that are related to parcels of land — its soil and its subsoil — and involve at least two parties with opposing claims on these plots.

This type of conflict has been living, feeling, sinking, and drooling for more than a decade now in South Kivu (Mugangu 2008; Pourtier, 2009; Justice and Peace, 2017). As in several locations in South Kivu, the territories of Kabare and Kalehe are among the most affected areas of this conflict (ADEPAE and Kaganda 2014). As part of these two territories, the KBNP and its surroundings do not escape this reality. In addition to the 65% of respondents prioritizing land conflict as the single most concern, several interviewees in our key informant interviews and focus groups also noted this as the most recurring type of conflict around the KBNP, and among the KBNP, PIP and ORCs, as well as between PIP and ORCs.

Across the KBNP and PIP and ORCs, land conflict is defined as the prohibition of access to the natural resources of the KBNP, the removal of people from the park, and the extension of the boundaries of the park. Thus, for PIP, the object of the conflict is essentially land as we can read in the statement below "...our fight is land and nothing else. Let the limit be made from Kalago" (Interview from 07/14 to 07/21 2020 with a PIP). The expression of land conflict is marked by a successive and almost total exodus[19]of PIP and repressive actions by PIP and other community members in relation to accessing the park for resources or cultural needs.

Land-related events between the KBNP and PIP and ORCs are the anarchic logging, illegal mining of minerals, and poaching. Several studies and reports have demonstrated the systematic destruction of KBNP ecosystems through illegal logging and mineral exploitation and poaching during the rebellion period (Oli Brown and Robert Kasisi 2007). Significant advances in protection have been observed in the recent period prior to the return of PIP to the park in 2018, which again resulted in the destruction of fauna and flora and mineral mining. Contradictions in perceptions, policies, and behaviors around the KBNP explain the land conflicts. Indeed, for PIP, the KBNP represents their "ancestral land" with which they would maintain not only mythical and cultural ties, but also a community resource for their economic activities and survival. Thus, according to this representation, the exploitation of the resources provided by the KBNP would fall under the law of PIP as evidenced by this statement: The KBNP is our land given by God, same as for other communities. It was the KBNP that took the land of our ancestors. He cannot forbid us to cut the woods or medicinal leaves (FGD of July 2020 in Kalonge).

According to a KBNP official, PIP is more involved in poaching or felling of trees, and less in the extraction of minerals where they are used by others (Interview of 28/7/2020 in Bukavu).

The exodus is the basis of the status of "permanent land tenant" of PIP. Some PIPs have been able to obtain space by purchasing but are often in conflict with their neighbors due to spoliation attempts and those who rent land are in a "master-slave" relationship (Guillermou 1992; Yaifono 2019). The massive and forced return of PIP to the KBNP in 2018 due to the state's failure to comply with the commitments to allocate land to them and also the alleviation of strict conservation measures exacerbated this land conflict and led to serious consequences.

Unlike riparian communities that complain about the reduction of their spaces by the extension of the park, the KBNP has extended its boundaries in our fields (July 2020 FGP in Miti/Kabare), PIP lacks land for housing, for the practice of economic and sociocultural activities: We do not have the land to stay on or to make the fields (interview of 07/15/2020 in Kalonge). The results of the quantitative surveys

[19] There are still some PIP households in the unsecured areas of the KBNP, especially on the Nindja side.

cite this land dispute between IP and KBNP at the rate of 80%. In line with the results of several authors who have worked on the issue of IP, including Yaifono (2019), who clearly points out that the IP rely on the forest for their income, medicines, and cultural identity; the issue of land is fundamentally linked to the creation of the park and the exit of the PIP within it. In addition to PIP and other communities, the KBNP and the concessionaires accuse each other of spoliation. A response from a humanitarian NGO told us that among these large farmers saying they are being robbed, some say true, but others are taking advantage of the situation to expand their domains. This lack of clear and visible delimitation by all plunges the direct neighbors to the KBNP into a war that turned violent through 2017 with large farmers. Several cows were reportedly seized by the eco-guards during the removal of farmers from the so-called KBNP spaces. That is why some state the need to review the boundaries of the park in this process of seeking sustainable social cohesion[20].

Between IPs and ORCs, the conflict between the boundaries of parcels or fields is ongoing. The tenant status[21] of PIP does not give them much openness and decision-making space. This status restricts them in terms of land use and makes them weak in potential disputes against landowners in neighboring communities. In addition to the owners, some humanitarian workers, according to a Buyungule respondent, "act malignly and buy plots in their own names when they get funding. At the end of the project, they come to resell some parts [areas of land] and this angers the Pygmies concerned. Others, tenants or not, are simply ruined and run off by their more powerful neighbors."

To some extent, ORCs are victims of land shortages by PIP because some see their parcels (mostly neighboring) occupied anarchically by the latter in the name of cultural nomadism. According to one respondent from Katana, it all begins, often, with the use for cultivation that PIP initiates on neighboring plots and then construction follows (FGD July in Katana).

Alongside and as a consequence of the land conflict, other conflicts are recurrent and undermine the social cohesion between the communities around the KBNP, such as the conflict linked to the theft of crops and the discrimination of PIP.

DISPUTES RELATED TO THEFT OF CROPS AND OTHER LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

According to Lewis (2001) crop stealing is also a serious conflict in areas around the KBNP. It opposes the PIP community and ORCs. It happens when a PIP or group of PIPs grab agricultural products from neighboring communities to harvest, generally for food. "We are driven by hunger," declare all the PIP encountered in qualitative interviews and in the quantitative survey. In general, PIP has no other sources of income other than the agricultural labor force leading to increased poverty within their communities. As noted by the NGOs defending the Pygmy Indigenous Peoples (2014), "the conditions in which they

[20] This will be further provided in the chapter on mechanisms for resolving and/or transforming conflicts.

[21] More than 60% of respondents highlighted this reality.

live are very precarious, justified by their state of poverty and vulnerability." This is marked in Lewis's (2001) philosophy of qualifying the PIP societies as "immediate return."[22]

While in conflict with PIP perpetrators and their community on these permanent flights, the victims attribute responsibility for the violence to the KBNP because it denied access to the park to PIP, because when the PIP was in the park, we grew and harvested beans quite well, it was exceptional and a real joy for all the villages (July interview in Muyange). This phenomenon is becoming increasingly widespread to the point that the IPs have made it a real occupation. In groups, they steal in broad daylight, often armed with machetes and spears. Currently, they have moved from the simple theft (lifting) in the fields to hunting domestic animals.

In addition to the above-mentioned material factors, this behavior can be well attributed to a lack of economic adaptation to the sedentary lifestyle; it appears as a survival of theft. A woman from the village of Chahoboka said "she lost two of her chickens in a week, the following week, her children saw an IP throwing a stone at another hen. It was killed but the lady took it to eat it with her children. She immediately understood how her other 2 chickens were lost. In this conflict report, the PIP denounces an excess of certain accusations: We Pygmies do not steal cattle, the Bantu steal among themselves and accuse us (...), also, we only steal during the day, the night theft in the fields and the houses are mainly committed by the Bantu." This conflict has negative effects on social cohesion.

DISCRIMINATION

In reviewing Wikipedia, we learn that social discrimination is a process related to making a distinction concerning a person or a social category by creating so-called "discriminatory" boundaries, i.e. producing a rejection aimed at social exclusion on criteria such as social or ethnic origin, religion, gender, level of intelligence, state of health, etc. This social discrimination arises around the KBNP and undermines social cohesion between the KBNP and the riparian communities, and everything else between them.

Between PIP and ORC, this discriminatory conflict (More than 45%) is as old as the introduction of PIP society into urban areas already occupied by the ORCs. This discrimination has been exacerbated by the fact that the Pygmies, coming from their hands, are "forced" to settle down while the Muntu are already well settled and have sufficiently amassed in the same area (Guillermou 1992; Lewis 2001; Ndih 2004 ; World Bank, 2009).

The KBNP Pygmy is invited or forced to join the inhabitants of the groups close to the park while the latter already have a well-organized structure, customs and traditions well known to all, some forbidden as well. Pygmies, with its culture near to its people are obliged to live with these more or less modern people. The Pygmy people undergo unimaginable reproaches: unable to wash regularly, live in miserable conditions without comfort, forced to do work that demands much physical strength, thief and is violated, they are illiterate and primitive. All this leads to the Pygmy having a great distrust of Bantu populations.

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[22] They are contrasted with the so-called "delayed return" agricultural, pastoral, or capitalist societies in which labor is invested over long periods before a harvest is produced or consumed, where it is organized hierarchically and where its vital goods are individual possessions.

In addition, PIP are discriminated against because of the special treatment given to them by the state and NGOs. The Pygmy is described by members of the riparian communities as "a person belonging to the government" because "one often feeds him; they are often given money; they freely cultivate cannabis; they are rarely imprisoned when committing errors." The Muntu deems not fit to associate himself with the Pygmy, and the Pygmy reinforces this social distance by not associating with the others. They forbid their children to maintain relationships with those of the Bantu. Other communities believe that "the Pygmy feels comfortable and happy only next to his own." The results found by GITPA (sd), Ndih (2004), Lewis (2001) support this observation.

In addition, members of other communities have a different perception of discrimination. Indeed, they consider themselves forgotten among the residents of the KBNP by the state and by NGOs. They are not consulted in case of decision making or formally informed of new arrangements; they are not even aligned in case of humanitarian donations from (or transiting through) KBNP. They are, according to one respondent "those who live with PIP and who support their excesses of drinking, cannabis... But when great exchanges have to take place, civil society living with PIP is forgotten, etc. Also, when new jobs are to be filled, the other villages (the regas precisely) are solicited but the men of Kabare and Kalehe are set aside."

Positive discrimination reserved for PIP reinforces the attitude of mistrust with ORCs. Organizational dynamics in support of PIP, as well as the interventions of the KBNP in favor of some PIPs by excluding ORCs, particularly in the field of education, explain the strengthening of this sense of distrust of PIP.

Guillermou (1992), observes that land disputes and discrimination are the most violent because the reaction of each other is done with more energy from generation to generation. They are part of the daily realities of these peoples in conflict with the KBNP.

In addition to these conflicts, this study identifies other types of conflicts that continue to undermine social cohesion and peace around the KBNP. These include the destruction of crops by park animals, relegation of Pygmy culture, and marital conflicts.

OTHER TYPES OF CONFLICTS

CONFLICTS RELATED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF CROPS BY PARK ANIMALS

The animals in the park, especially baboons, sometimes escape the vigilance of eco-guards and will devastate the cultures of local communities. Such incidents have recurred for years and are stopping due to the absence of a buffer zone between the park and the lands of individuals and local communities. According to our investigators, the KBNP no longer pays for damage caused by wildlife in the fields of riparian peasants as it did in the past. This causes some farmers to no longer exploit their fields closest to the park.

RELEGATION OF IP TRADITIONS AND MARITAL CONFLICTS

The PIP, despite several years of life outside the forest (currently KBNP), remain attached to their culture. In their interactions with other local communities, they value the Pygmy cultural identity whose values are passed on from generations and managed by oral tradition. As Lewis (2001) said, the KBNP Pygmies had access to the park until very recently, relative to their Rwandan and Burundian

counterparts, making their abandonment still rigid to continue some essential activities within the park. Even those who have not known the park as a living environment strongly agree on the basis of explanations received from their parents. However, PIP respondents and other local communities recognize a relegation of Pygmy culture considered primitive and esoteric. PIPs are not allowed to practice their traditional rites on rented spaces. From time to time, these unaccepted cultural practices are the basis for conflicts between individuals or communities. This dimension of conflict would focus on the civilizational dynamics for which PIP is considered by other local communities to be inappropriate. This reinforces the sense of discrimination and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1995) quite permanent in the PIP community on the one hand, but also a sense of legitimate domination on the part of other communities over PIP.

Matrimonial conflicts are characterized by disagreements about a dowry or the maintenance of a wife. Local communities accuse PIP of abduction of women without paying dowry because of poverty, while PIP blame their neighbors for not paying dowry out of contempt and failing to properly maintain their Pygmy wives because of stigmatization: "I can't accept that my son marries a Pygmy, and if he does so out of disobedience, I would never give a dowry to her parents," said a Bantu respondent in Kalonge. Neighbors are also taxed to use PIP women as slaves and to repudiate them with their offspring after a few years of conjugal union. For PIP, marrying a Bantu woman is an asset of integration and an honor: "We young Pygmies, despite poverty, we marry, sometimes forcibly, Bantu women, to be accepted and respected" (FGD of July 2020 in Miti). Several social tensions around matrimonial issues and cultural tolerance affect social cohesion between the PIP community and other local communities.

ROOT CAUSES OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP: MULTIPLE DYNAMICS HAVE CAUSAL COMPLEXITY

The causes of conflicts around the KBNP are nurtured by economic, social, political, and conservation dynamics that explain both conflict-genic representations as well as the incompatible behaviors of the actors. Conflicts in and around the KBNP are not at first glance from values, but from interests, most of which are not related to the existence of the park but rather those related to cohabitation between the KBNP and the riparian population (Radar N. et al 2012).

The causes of conflict are neither homogeneous nor static. They vary from one village to another and from one territory to another. Thus, the needs of riparian populations that may be the cause of conflict are not necessarily the same among high elevation riparian populations as those of low altitude, although there are similarities.

The results of both qualitative and quantitative research lead us to subdivide the causes of conflicts around the KBNP into two categories: causes by temporal criteria (distant and recent causes) and causes by natural criteria (immediate or recent causes).

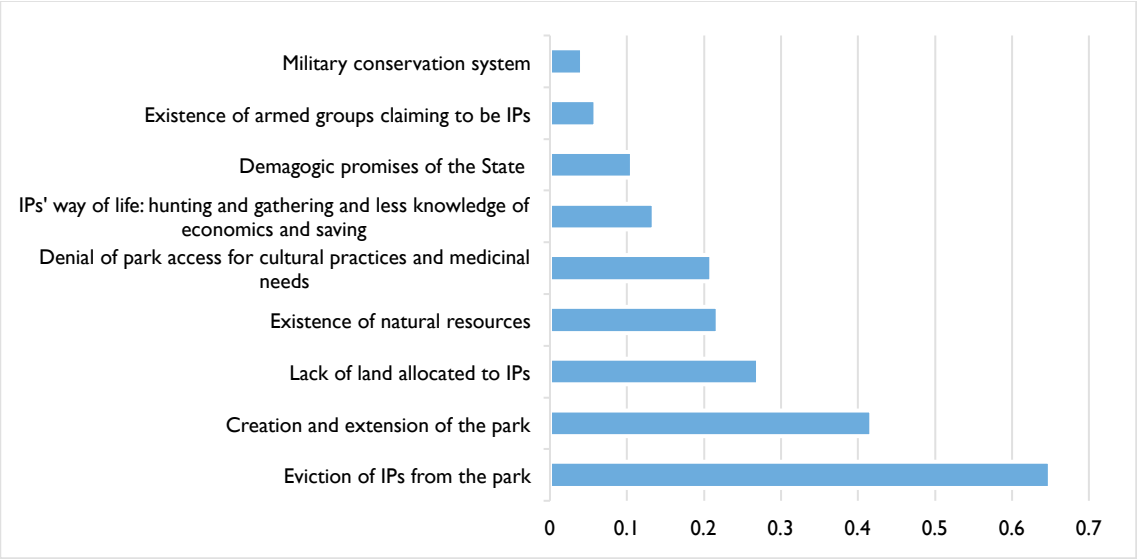
CAUSES OF CONFLICTS ACCORDING TO TEMPORAL CRITERION

According to this criterion, one can distinguish between distant causes and that of more recent or immediate causes.

DISTANT CAUSES

The distant causes are the origin of the conflict between the KBNP and the Pygmy Indigenous People and ORCs around the KBNP.

FIGURE 7: DISTANT CAUSES OF CONFLICT SURROUNDING THE KBNP



According to the above results, the removal of PIP communities and the extension of the park are the distant causes of conflicts around the KBNP. These causes are discussed in the socio-genesis of these conflicts as discussed in Section IV above. Other subsequent causes with significant statistical value are the lack of land by PIP and the lust for minerals existing within KBNP.

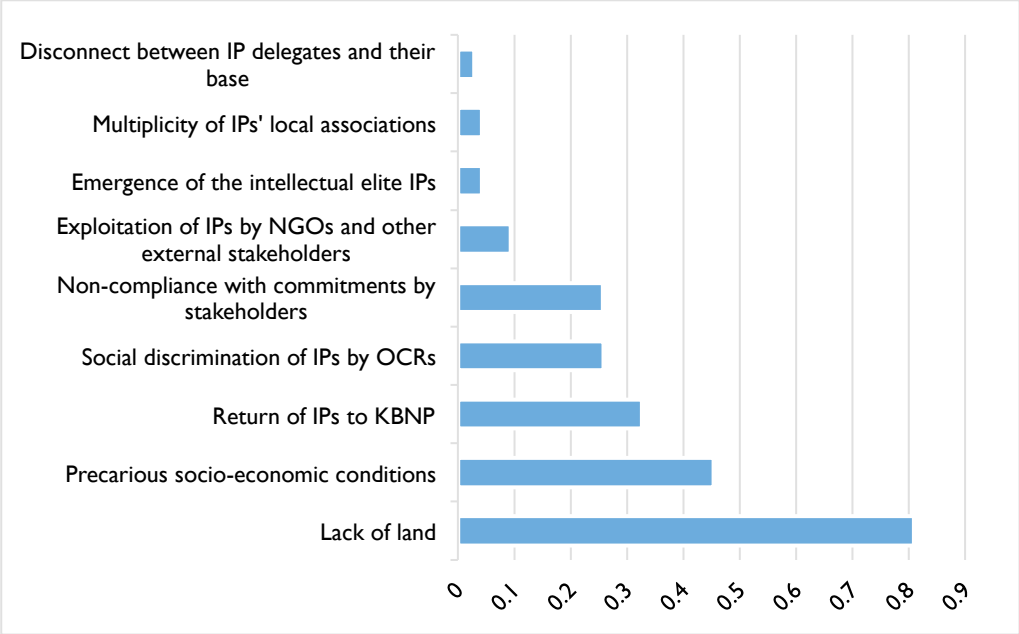
Congolese environmental policy opted for the creation in 1970 of the Kahuzi-Biega National Park, resulting in the removal of populations living within defined perimeters, including the PIP. However, measures to evict populations within the KBNP have not been followed by compensatory mechanisms, particularly from a land perspective, to facilitate a new integrative social, economic, cultural, and political start for the expelled communities. These results are similar to those found by Rutakayingabo, Muhigwa, Mubalama, Alinirhu, & Ramamonjina (2020); Kujirakwinja, Shamavu, Twendilonge, Balagizi, & Muhigwa, (2013) and Mudinga, Ngendakumana, & Ansoms, (2013).

This removal of PIP from spaces considered to be their 'natural setting of life' pushed them to pursue their traditional way of life (gathering) in the fields of ORCs. Two types of civilization are observed, that of the hoe and that attached to the spear. The civilization of the spear represents the way of life of the PIP. The former boils down to hunting, picking up, fishing, and gathering. In the representations of PIP, there is a tacit authorization to carry out collection, gathering, hunting, and fishing activities wherever resources are available. This leads to the absence of the notion of private property, as well as borders or limits. This situation puts the expelled Pygmies of the KBNP in trouble as they are constantly in conflict with members of ORCs. They take part in theft in the fields of others, sometimes equipped with melee weapons.

RECENT OR CURRENT CAUSES

As noted in Figure 8, recent or immediate causes of conflicts between the KBNP and PIP and ORCs include the lack of land by the PIP (over 80% of respondents), socioeconomic precariousness (nearly half of respondents), the illegal exploitation of resources by PIP and ORCs in the KBNP (over one-third of respondents), the feeling of discrimination and exclusion among PIPs and, the non-compliance with the commitments made to PIP by the government and its partners both of which are about 25% of the response rate.

FIGURE 8: RECENT OR CURRENT CAUSES OF CONFLICT SURROUNDING THE KBNP



The link between the distant and recent causes of conflicts around the KBNP presents a continuum justified by a certain permanence of emerging but dynamic conflict-genic factors, including the socialization of PIP to the claim against the background of symbolic violence and victimization, the influence of armed groups, the influence of national and regional economic markets, the inability of the KBNP to address the socio-economic specifications of PIP and ORCs, the lack of community land in the areas of withdrawal of PIP, and the affirmation of traditionalism[23] among the local communities and in PIP.

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[23] Traditionally oriented action is a *conscious and deliberate assertion of traditional norms, in full knowledge of their traditional nature, alleging that their merit comes from this traditional transmission from a sacred initial orientation.* E. Shils : « Tradition and Liberty : Antinomy and Interdependence », *Ethics*, Í8 (3), 1958, pp. 160-161. Thus, communities around the KBNP, including PIP, develop this protectionism of traditions which limit acculturation. It is in this sense that Weber points out that... *wherever traditionalism manifests itself, the sanctity of tradition, the emphasis is placed solely on activity and economic action as inherited from the ancestors... What acts even more strongly is the magical stereotyping of activity, the deep fear of introducing any change in the way of life to which*

Fifty years after the expulsion of the first cohort of KBNP PIP, Pygmy households live in permanent wandering in areas around the KBNP, particularly in the Kabare and Kalehe Territories in South Kivu. They do not have definitive settlements but rather they rent land, usually cramped, for housing and agriculture by means of their labor force on the basis of precarious contracts. Temporarily occupied land does not allow PIP households to engage in sustainable economic activities (mainly agriculture and livestock), resulting in poverty and exploitation by members of other local communities. Similarly, the increase in population in some areas around the KBNP, particularly in the Kabare Territory, has significantly reduced the availability of land so that several households in local communities do not have enough land for agricultural activities and housing.

Precarious living conditions encourage PIP households to return to the KBNP, despite prohibited access and security deterrence arrangements, in order to seek certain resources essential to their economic, social, and psychological balance and survival. *We return to the KBNP to search for anything to support our families* (FGD of July 2020 in Kalonge). For riparian communities also in poverty, they seek to find some resources in the park.

In PIP communities, the exploitation of resources at the KBNP is seen as a legitimate act and a right. However, for the KBNP, any human presence in the park perimeters due to exploitation is a violation of the law and punishable by such. This contradiction of perceptions and interests arises from the ongoing conflicts between the PIP and the KBNP on the one hand, and between the KBNP and the local communities on the other. In PIP communities, these conflicts are a means of pressure to claim their rights violated by the Congolese State and the international community which, according to a Chief of PIP, "have driven them out of the KBNP and do not honor their older and more recent compensatory commitments" (interview July 2020 in Buyungule).

The precarious situation of the PIP and the subsequent demands underlie the motivations of the social action projects of humanitarian organizations and the defense of PIP rights. Beyond advocacy and humanitarian actions, some organizations are instrumentalizing PIP for the purpose of maintaining them and mobilizing external funding. This dichotomous posture of NGOs is underlined by both their PIP beneficiaries, local authorities, and the KBNP. Indeed, according to a customary authority in Kalehe, NGOs are taking advantage of the situation with PIP to make money (interview 27/7/2020 in Kalehe). In the same vein, a KBNP official did not hesitate to clarify the following: "NGOs are the ones who maintain the conflict situation between the PIP and the KBNP" (interview of August 2020 in Tshivanga).

CAUSES OF CONFLICTS ACCORDING TO THE CRITERION OF THEIR NATURE

According to the natural criterion, the following causes can be distinguished: historical and environmental causes, legal causes, socio-anthropological causes, psychological causes, economic causes, and political causes.

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one is accustomed... M. Weber quoted P. Bourdieu, "Traditional society. Attitude to Time and Economic Conduct," *Sociology of Labor*, 5 (1), 1963, p. 42.

HISTORICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CAUSES

Historical and environmental causes include the creation of the KBNP, its establishment as a common heritage of mankind, the extension of its boundaries to the detriment of surrounding populations including PIP, and the need to protect ecosystems within the designated area of the park for environmental interest. All communities around the KBNP, including local authorities, place the origin of the conflicts in the creation of the KBNP and especially the extension of its boundaries which resulted in the eviction of PIP and local communities and the expropriation of the land of riparian populations, as evidenced by this statement of a traditional authority: The extension of the KBNP has been too detrimental to PIP and local peasant communities, and is the basis for all the conflicts we regret today. (Interview on 28.7.2020 in Kabare).

LEGAL CASES

Legal cases lie in the regime of prohibitions, which are deemed inadmissible by the PIP as contrary to their legitimate rights, in the regime of exemption from these prohibitions, and in the regime of guarantees whose benefit has never been applied to the benefit of PIP. The prohibitions regime consists of the series of unauthorized human activities in protected areas of the integral conservation category, such as national parks. The prohibitions appear consistently in the texts of colonial times as those after independence. Mention should be made of the Convention on the Conservation of Fauna and Flora of 8 November 1933, the Decree of 26 November 1934 established by the Congo Institute of National Parks, Ordinance-Law 69-041 of 22 August 1969 and Law No. 14-003 of 11 February 2014 on the conservation of nature.

Despite the restrictive regime, the legislation provided for the guarantee of a procedure for prior compensation and resettlement under equivalent conditions but has never been exercised.

SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL CAUSES

This section highlights the representations of KBNP by PIP as a fundamental repository of the Pygmy cultural system, the culture of nomadism among PIP, the increase in the PIP population around the KBNP, the lack of access to basic social structures (schools, health centers, etc.), instrumentalization of the PIP cause by NGOs, dichotomic and the dysfunctional associative dynamics in PIP.

Indeed, the mobilization of some PIP leaders by NGOs to defend their rights in national and international jurisdictions or political bodies is perceived as instrumentalization: It is these NGOs that deceive PIP for their financing interests by setting them against the state, declared a provincial elected official (August 2020 interview in Bukavu). For their part, some PIP leaders and ORCs accuse NGOs of embezzling PIP funds for personal purposes, as confirmed by this statement recorded in all qualitative interviews: *NGOs are getting rich with PIP funds*. This conviction is the basis for the creation of associations specific to PIP. The said associations act in dispersed order and create new conflicts within PIP communities: "We have created our association to have funding like the NGOs of Bukavu but the whites[24] do not invite us" (interview with a leader of an association PIP in Kalonge: July 2020). In

[24] The "white" here expresses the lessor.

addition, for a customary authority in Kalonge, there are open conflicts between the representative of the Kalonge PIP and the leaders of the associations, and between them themselves, because of the interests of the NGOs that claim to help them. Such intercommunal conflicts are on the rise and may lead to increased violence.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES

One can note a strong awareness of the link between the space constituting the KBNP and the existence of the PIP as a culture and as a people, the permanent and transmitted symbolic violence, the feeling of exclusion, exploitation, discrimination, and marginalization among PIP.

In the collective memory of PIP, there is hope for a reconquest of the KBNP by PIP. They continue to believe that this World Heritage belongs to them, as a PIP student met in Bukavu said: "The park belongs to us, we wait a day, when the Congolese government dies, for us to recover our field."

POLITICAL CAUSES

Lack of proper political structures and non-integration of PIP into the traditional political structures of riparian communities, lack of representation in provincial and national political bodies, and non-compliance of state commitments to PIP are interrelated causes of conflicts around the KBNP. There are no affirmative action policies for PIP in the DRC. This does not promote access to power or decision-making bodies at all levels. According to a local leader of the Kalehe PIP, "the PIP community has no representation in the institutions, even in the administration in Bukavu." Among PIPs this creates a sense of exclusion and discrimination by the state against their social group, further decreasing opportunities for local decision making on behalf their people. In other countries such as Burundi, the co-optation of the Batwa (Pygmies) or their appointment to government is used as a strategy for integration and mitigation of conflicts.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

Economic causes include the lack of land for agricultural activities, precarious living conditions, poor integration of PIP into formal jobs, and the demand of the natural resources of the KBNP.

Land aspects as well as the precarious living conditions and economic disintegration of the communities bordering on the KBNP, especially PIP, have been informed in the preceding points. It would be an understatement to say that these conditions encourage riparian communities to seek access to park resources as a substitute for the lack of other economic opportunities to exploit. The natural resources of the KBNP are coveted and fuel conflicts based on the divergent interests of the actors[25].

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[25] As Mudinga notes (op.ct.), *Kahuzi Biega National Park in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) continues to be subjected to anthropogenic pressures despite co-management efforts undertaken with local populations from the 1985 onwards. According to Nishuli (pers. com.), Chief of the Park, the number of gorillas changed from 258 to 130 in 2000, 100 in 2004 and 119 in 2009; the number of elephants changed from 350 to 2 traced in 2004 solely in the high altitude area. The situation at low altitudes has remained very little under control, following the presence of armed groups that create severe insecurity (Nishuli, 2009). The Coltan boom*

Economic disparities emerge from the above causal analysis that conflicts are interrelated and interdependent to the point that it seems difficult to determine their hierarchy as noted in remarks expressed by a PIP community member at a focus-group in Kalehe: " because of lack of land and especially our tradition, we do not cultivate , ... we harvest in the fields, in our imagination we know that everything belongs to us... Being poor, we have nothing to give like Kalinzi (customary right of access to land) ... our eviction from the park imposed on us a different lifestyle. In order to put pressure on the Congolese government and to meet vital needs, we decided, after consultation, to return to our field (KBNP), our mother earth." (FGD of 6/10/2018). They are dependent on contextual dynamics (state fragility, poverty, etc.) or cyclical dynamics (rebellions, armed groups, etc.). However, it should be noted that the expulsion of PIP from the KBNP without any awareness-raising and without substantial land compensation, the lack of land for housing and farming, and the use of the PIP situation around the KBNP by NGOs and local associations, seem poignant to the creation of conflicts between the KBNP, the PIP and other neighboring communities.

In sum, the above analysis focuses on the complexity, plurality, and interdependence across these drivers of conflicts between the KBNP and PIP and ORCs. The next section discusses the actors involved in and supporting such drivers of conflict.

ACTORS OF CONFLICTS AROUND KBNP: CONTROVERSIAL ROLES FOR PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICTS

The KBNP is both a material resource, a symbol that can justify the actions and perceptions of actors for diverse, convergent, or contradictory interests. The actors and their roles identified in the current dynamics are perceptible in conscious or unconscious systemic networks in harmony or in contradiction with the institute. Considering the autonomy of the actors, Crozier and Friendberg (1977) note with relevance that even in situations of constraint, men not only do not adapt passively to circumstances, but they are capable of playing on them and using them much more often than is actively believed. Thus, any rule or formal prescription that appears to be a constraint is diverted from its meaning by actors to defend and protect themselves. In this study, actors are determined in relation to their actions that influence the production of conflict. In other words, the analysis of the actors of conflicts around the KBNP depends on the roles they play in the production of such conflicts. This chapter will essentially identify and define the actors (1) and discuss, through a classificatory and systemic approach, their respective roles in the creation of conflicts around the KBNP (2).

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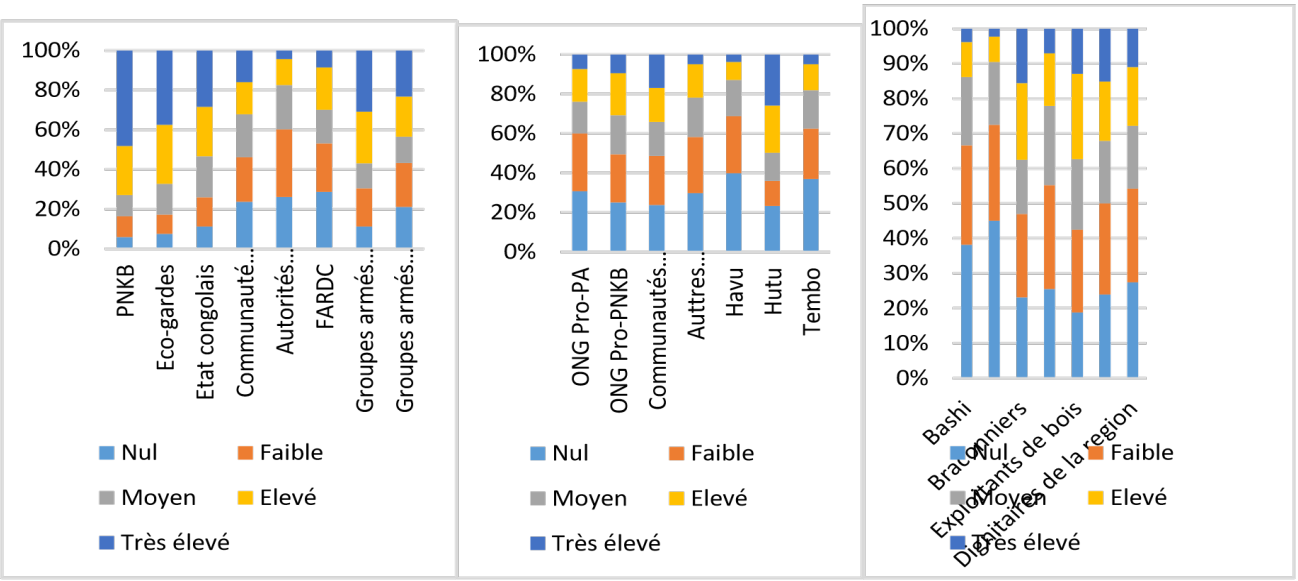
in 2001 reportedly spilled more than 10,000 mining diggers into the park (Meder 2001). It is also estimated that "approximately 10,000 bags of charcoal are sold every year, in the northern part of Kabare territory alone. This represents nearly 1,700 trees and corresponds to more than 90 ha of deforestation in the corridor region alone." (D'Souza, 2003) Several conflicts around the KBNP are related to management and access to natural resources. Several authors make the same observation on this subject as mentioned by Kujirakwinja and his companions. Natural resource *conflicts can generate other social conflicts beyond park-population conflicts (Gleditsch, 1998; Uge and Ellingsen, 1998; Buug and Gates, 2002), marked by the exploitation of resources that would fiercely oppose area protection managers against riparian communities and their leaders. Access, scarcity, and use of resources generate multiple conflicts between users themselves, between local communities and policymakers on one hand, and politico-military authorities and protected area managers on the other (Baker et al. 2003).*

IDENTIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF CONFLICT ACTORS

Results of this study highlight the following actors: PIP communities and ORCs, the Congolese State, KBNP, NGOs, concessionaires, armed groups, mining operators, timber operators, dignitaries, PIP associations and elites, and the international community. The meaning of their roles in the production of conflicts is expressed in the charts below.

FIGURE 9: IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF ACTORS IN CONFLICTS SURROUNDING THE KBNP



The above charts show several actors that are involved in conflicts around the KBNP. Their roles are considered at different levels of importance such as none, low, medium, high, or very high. It is clear that the roles of the state/KBNP, followed by local and foreign armed groups, the PIP community and ORCs, timber operators and mining operators, are considered to be very high or high in the production of conflicts around the KBNP.

CLASSIFICATION OF ACTORS

The classification of the above-mentioned actors may be based on the criterion of their positions in conflicts. Thus, one can distinguish between direct and indirect actors. Direct actors are actors in open conflict because of the divergence of interests around the KBNP. As for indirect actors, on one hand there are people providing legal or physical support for the conservation of the biodiversity of the KBNP and/or support for the advocacy actions of PIP, and on the other hand there are people legally or physically benefitting from conflicting actions between the KBNP and PIP and ORCs. Indirect actors exploit these conflicts to meet their ideological, political, and economic interests.

DIRECT ACTORS

The direct actors identified are mainly the Congolese State, KBNP, the PIP community and ORCs, as well as concessionaires.

The conflicts of the KBNP are sociological evidence for which the responsibility of the state is engaged as the organizing power of the KBNP and regulating power of peace and social cohesion. With the extension of the KBNP in 1975, the Congolese State created a conflict with riparian populations, including PIP. This extension of the boundaries of the KBNP is considered by several searches, including this one (see above) as one of the main causes of conflicts between KBNP and PIP in particular. In addition to the protection of the KBNP, the Congolese State has the duty to provide for the operational needs of the KBNP, of which it is the regulating authority. "However, for the last several years the Congolese State has not contributed its expected share for the proper functioning of the KBNP. In general, it is stated that the Congolese State no longer gives the necessary subsidies for the functioning of the KBNP, which is contrary to its obligations as a regulator" (August 2020 interview in Bukavu). Furthermore, the security of KBNP is not fully ensured as armed groups continue to occupy certain areas.

In addition, provincial and local authorities, especially the traditional powers (Chief of Chieftain, Head of Grouping, Head of Village), are increasingly affected by conflicts because of their position of local authority and their roles as regulators of social order: "Here in Kalonge, we does not see what the provincial government is doing in favor of PIP. In 2018 he sent the army to kill us in the KBNP. He's not helping us enforce the agreements signed with the Congolese State. The Mwami refused to give us the land; we rent the land through the funds of our labor force from the Barongeronge" (July interview with a leader of a PIP association in Kalonge).

The KBNP operates in accordance with a nature conservation mindset as dictated by national and international laws. Its mode of intervention coupled with its structural or functional weaknesses justifies its preeminent role in conflicts with PIP and ORCs. While the administrative and enforcement arrangements were put in place to ensure the preservation of biodiversity, it has also stirred hostility of riparian communities, concessionaires, and other operators against the KBNP.

The PIP community and ORCs are guided by the logic of the right to land (a living space) and collective freedom of enjoyment of the resources offered by this space. In fact, it is apparent from all the focus groups that all communities around the KBNP illegally derive natural resources from it, mainly through logging, artisanal mining of minerals, and harvesting medicinal plants. Paradoxically, it is observed that in some cases ORCs (Bahavu, Barongeronge, Batembo, Hutu for the Kalehe Territory; Bashi for Kabare Territory), anarchically exploit natural resources at the KBNP in complicity with the PIP while in other cases they are in recurrent conflicts for various reasons (land disputes, crop theft, forced or dowry marriages, marriage breakdowns, etc.).

CONNECTORS

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

States and international NGOs are active in bilateral and multilateral cooperation. As an institution, the KBNP has several international partners that provide financial, technical, and scientific support for conservation, and to a lesser extent, conflict resolution. According to ICCN (2017), ICCN-KBNP receives technical and financial support from international partners, including GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit), KfW (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau), the World Bank, the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), and UNESCO. Several other international actors

intervene directly or through national NGOs in both conservation and conflict resolution. These include, among others, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, WWS, WSC, GIZ, RFI Club, the Belgian Agency for Development and Cooperation. The position of international actors is fraught with controversies which can be explained by contradictions of ideologies within the international system.

International NGOs provide funding to national NGOs defending the rights of Pygmy Indigenous Peoples. It is in this context that the latter are accompanied in the proceedings against the Congolese State in various jurisdictions, including the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, in the reclamation of their rights. In addition, several social and humanitarian projects of national NGOs are financed by the international community through multilateral cooperation. In the areas occupied by PIP, we can see some social infrastructure (schools, health centers, social housing, etc.) built by national NGOs with funding from external partners. The mixed balance sheets of projects financed for more than a decade have created a crisis of trust between the PIP leaders and local communities and the national NGOs who are implementing them. The same crisis of confidence is manifested between the KBNP and the riparian communities, especially PIP. The policy of participation in community management had not produced the expected results due to a lack of local anchoring of participatory dynamics and structural factors (Mudinga, 2014).

The same social criticism does not spare the international community perceived as the sponsor of both the expulsion and exploitation of PIP. Indeed, from the local knowledge recorded from the focus groups of Kabare and Kalonge, one retains a collective consciousness about the "the white," represented by Deschriver (Honorary Curator) as the planner of the expulsion of PIP from the KBNP. Despite this negative perception, participants in interviews and focus groups nevertheless seem to place their hope in the international community to solve the problems of PIP communities.

NATIONAL NGOS - SCIENTIFIC, HUMANITARIAN, OR DEFENDING PIP RIGHTS

National NGOs implementing PIP projects and programs have, through the advocacy strategy, encouraged national and international awareness of the multifaceted problems of PIP around the KBNP. In addition, the projects they submit to donors make it possible to mobilize resources to provide little solutions to the socio-economic problems of PIP around the KBNP.

Several NGOs of humanitarian, social, and scientific natures support the conservation of the park's biodiversity, the humanitarian and socio-economic problems of PIP, the legal assistance of PIP, etc. We can mention, particularly in the humanitarian and socio-economic field: UEFA, ERND, ARPJ, SOCEARUCO. In addition, some specific programs led by NGOs are implementing actions in favor of PIP as intervention strategies in the areas occupied by the latter. This is particularly the case with the Pro-Routes Project and other programs run by organizations such as WWF, WCS, Primates Expertise, etc.

The influence of NGOs in the conflicting interactions is remarkable. For illustrative purposes, in May 2020, more than 100 national and international organizations had signed the Declaration of Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples Imprisoned in DRC (https://initiativeforequality.org/declaration-de-solidarite-avec-les-peuples-autochtones-emprisonnes/). At the national and local levels, there are other organizational networks. This is the case of LINAPYCO at the national level or RAPY at local or provincial level. In this regard, the World Bank (2009) states that there is a significant civil social

movement in support of the Pygmy Indigenous Peoples. In each province concerned, in the most sensitive administrative sectors, NGOs have mobilized which carry out activities for the benefit of the Pygmies. For the most part, these NGOs are grouped into the network called "Dynamic Pygmy" (...) Since 2005, this network has been funded by the Rainforest Foundation which has enabled it to conduct provincial and national workshops on raising awareness for advocacy and defense of the rights of the Pygmies. Other networks exist and are active.

DIVISORS

In this sub-category, one can align some national NGOs with the defense of PIP rights or humanitarian action and socio-economic recovery, as well as elites and local associations of PIP. In this category, there are some organizational actors who participate in the instrumental role by mobilizing the opinions and actions of PIP against the KBNP.

Indeed, the conflictual approach used by some national NGOs further encourages maintaining this confrontation and opposition situation between the PIP and the KBNP, rather than searching for concerted and sustainable solutions. They become part of the conflict rather than mediating or conciliating while searching for lasting solutions. To this effect, some NGOs have positioned themselves as dividers. Their credibility and trust are crumbling with the KBNP and beneficiaries as this goes on. In this regard, Brot für die Welt, Evangelischer Entwicklungs-Dienst, Misereor (2003) cited by Barbara Müller, Martin Petry, Dr. Klaus Seitz (2010) point out that humanitarian organizations lose their credibility in conflict zones if they are under the declared protection of one of the parties to the conflict and are identified with them.

For PIP elites and local PIP associations, the results of the study show that they fuel conflict rather than peacefully participate in solutions. Elite PIP youth are graduating from high school and higher education (Master's) and[26] raising their community's awareness of the claim based on the same endogenous collective constructions of marginalization and exploitation. As for the local PIP associations, some of which are led by young elites, it is noted that they are aligned with competing logic and participate in social divisions between PIP communities and between the latter and ORCs. They are trying to attract the attention of external partners using sometimes unorthodox channels and strategies and form an opposition block against national NGOs deemed "operators." The creation of several PIP associations without synergy indicates the lack of social cohesion between PIP and specific goals.

STRING SHOOTERS

LOCAL, NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC OPERATORS:

For their commercial and financial interests, local, national, and regional economic operators are encouraging PIPs to rise up for their return to the KBNP. Findings in this research found that PIP facilitates the exploitation of timber and minerals in the KBNP for economic operators, especially in the event of a revolt, as was the case between March 2018 and March 2020. A customary authority of the

[26] The number of PIP youth holding diplomas is still small. According to our observation, more or less six young Pygmies were able to attend higher education up to the master's level. Their studies were being supported by the KBNP and some national NGOs.

Buhavu Chefferie 27noted with insistence that there would be foreign firms, particularly in the RGL that purchased KBNP timber and minerals illegally exploited by armed groups and local operators under the cover of PIP.

Similarly, one MPP pointed out "that illegal operators within the KBNP have national and regional networks that fund and protect them." (Interview of August 12, 2020 in Bukavu). These illegal operators are in conflict with the KBNP, but they also influence/instrumentalize some members of the PIP community and some people from ORCs into illegal practices against the KBNP. KBNP has also been invaded by some concessioners, building fields, or extending their livestock farms into KBNP perimeters. According to an ICCN administration framework, the KBNP has a problem with farmers who do not want to leave the KBNP (July 2020 interview in Kabare).

POLITICIANS:

For political purposes, some politicians use the cause of PIP to attract their electorate, highlighting in their political communications what they consider to be violations of PIP rights with promises to resolve them.

LOCAL AND FOREIGN ARMED GROUPS

Since 2006, the KBNP has undergone an incursion by armed men belonging to several allegiances and commands for divergent and contradictory goals. Rebel and government troops and armed groups occupied large areas of the KBNP for more than a decade. Currently, there are mainly local (Mayi-Mayi) and foreign armed groups (FDLR): "We have identified some local armed groups estimated to be 5 still active in the KBNP in addition to the FDLR AND CNRD elements that are foreign armed groups, declared a traditional chief in Buhavu" (Interview from July 27, 2020 in Ihusi).

The presence of military activities has led to the systematic destruction of the biodiversity of the KBNP through poaching, deforestation, encroachment of park lands by agriculture, illegal mining of minerals, etc. It is difficult to accurately determine the number of armed groups currently active in the KBNP due to the splintering and reconfiguration of alliance across groups. The most cited sources are the FDLR (foreign armed group) and the Raia-Mutomboki (local armed groups). Armed groups are thus defined as actors of conflict because of their direct involvement in the illegal exploitation of minerals, timber, and wildlife products and because of their collaboration with PIP in actions destroying the biodiversity of the KBNP. Under the influence of local and foreign armed groups, it was born, for the first time, after the event of forced return of the PIP to the KBNP in 2018, a local armed group led by a Pygmy leader and made up of a small number of PIP.

According to an informant met in Kalehe, armed groups are collaborating with economic operators in the cities of Goma and Bukavu to purchase minerals and timber from the KBNP (individual interview on 26 .7.2020 in Kalehe).

[27] Interview from 27/7/2020 in Kalehe

LARGE DEALERS:

They are more in conflict with the KBNP because of the extension of the limits in their concessions. The systemic links between these different actors are ensured mainly by the ideological and material interests that the space erected as KBNP would provide, along with the economic, political, social, and cultural issues that the KBNP represents.

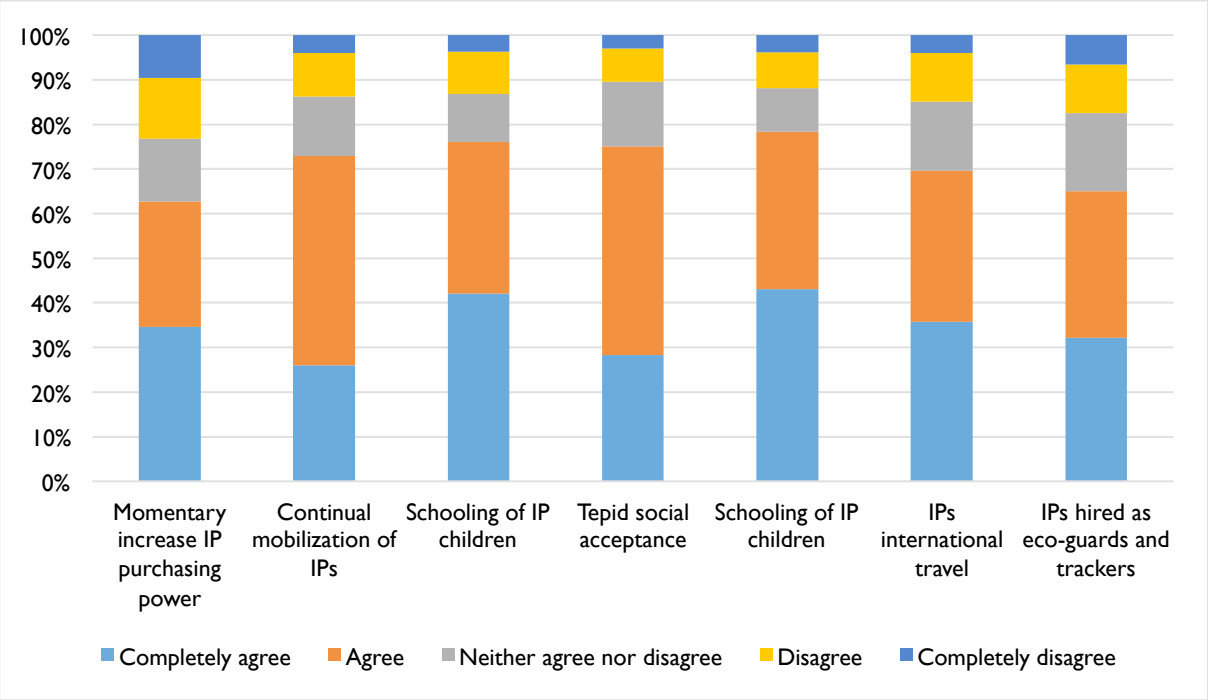
CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS AROUND THE KBNP: UNDERSTANDING SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAILTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN AREAS AROUND THE KBNP

Conflicts around the KBNP are the basis for several material, cultural, and human consequences. They can be analyzed in three dimensions: sociocultural, educational, and socio-economic. They are both positive and negative.

POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS

Conflicts between KBNP and riparian communities, particularly PIP, triggered individual and collective socio-economic openings considered by respondents to this study as positive effects as shown in the graph below.

FIGURE 9: POSITIVE FACTORS ARISING FROM CONFLICTS AROUND THE KBNP



The graph above shows some positive factors that emerged from the dynamics of conflict around the KBNP, including the momentary increase in the purchasing power of the IP and members of ORCs through entrepreneurial economic opportunities, the continual awakening of the Pygmy, or awareness of

the problems of the PIP community, the schooling of some Pygmy Indigenous children, the opening of some PIP leaders to the outside world through advocacy trips, progressive sociocultural integration, access to structured jobs for some members of the PIP communities, such as the profession of eco guard, journalist, etc.

The first column in Figure 9, the momentary rise in purchasing power, has opened new economic opportunities in the region from the trade in charcoal, timber, and minerals. These conflicts have transformed, in the recent past, the way of life of some IPs by adopting other types of economic activities by abandoning the traditional mode of production of hunting and gathering.

The continual awakening of the Pygmy spirit is marked by awareness of problems and cultural changes. Indeed, over time, some Pygmy leaders have developed capacities to defend the interests of their community. In addition, the mentality of the Pygmy indigenous peoples is adapting to the new economic, social, and cultural conditions imposed by sedentarization. Pygmy indigenous peoples change their representations and practices daily thanks to this proximity to the Bantu that have settled since their expulsion from the park. The sample from this study shows that 25% strongly agree that this mental awakening is a positive consequence for Pygmy Indigenous Peoples. In the same vein, National MP Rashidi Bukanga Rubin, on this year's International Day of Indigenous Peoples, said: "There was a time, when we couldn't talk about the indigenous Pygmy people in the parliamentary sessions. Today we are close to having a law for them. We are about to involve all the authorities of the country. What remains to be done is to continue in this momentum and take ownership of the gains, preserve them sustainably, and move forward." (JIPA 2020: there is a positive change in the situation of the indigenous Pygmy peoples in the DRC).

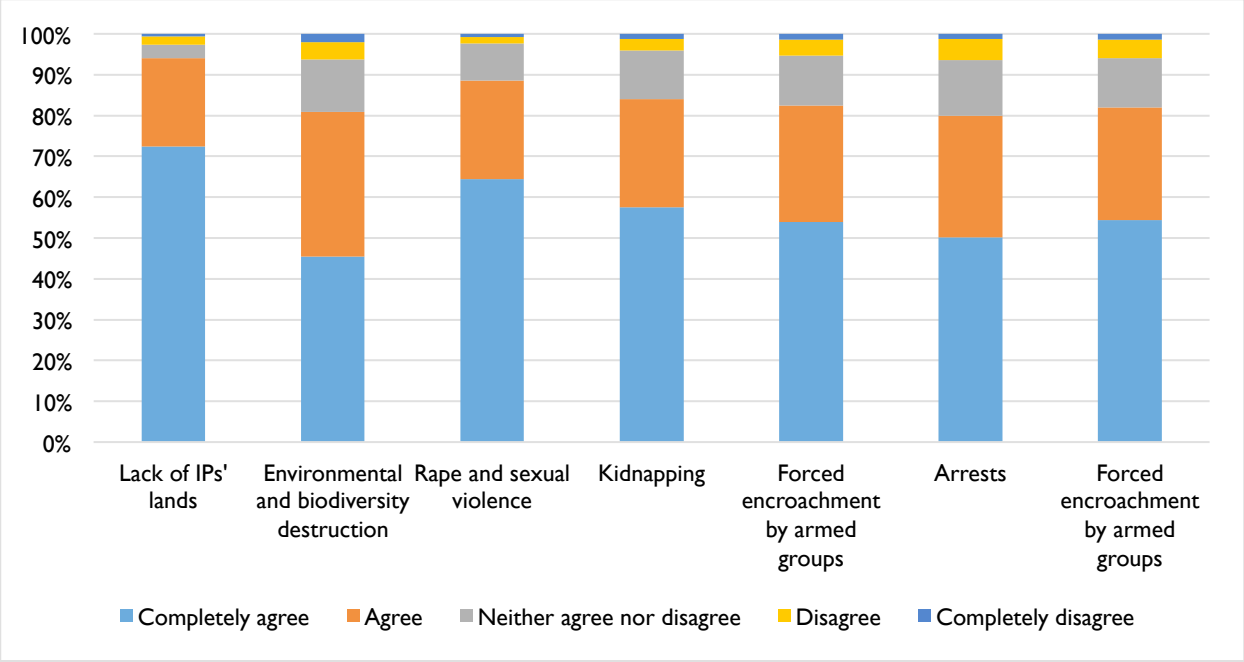
Pygmy children are beginning to enroll in school through local NGOs and the KBNP. This supports statistics of 42% of respondents who strongly agree that access to education is a social breakthrough for PIP. However, the number of children in school attendance is still too low and the cost of tuition fees and school kits is a concern. Generally, PIP children who are not included in a support program do not attend school due to lack of the resources of their parents.

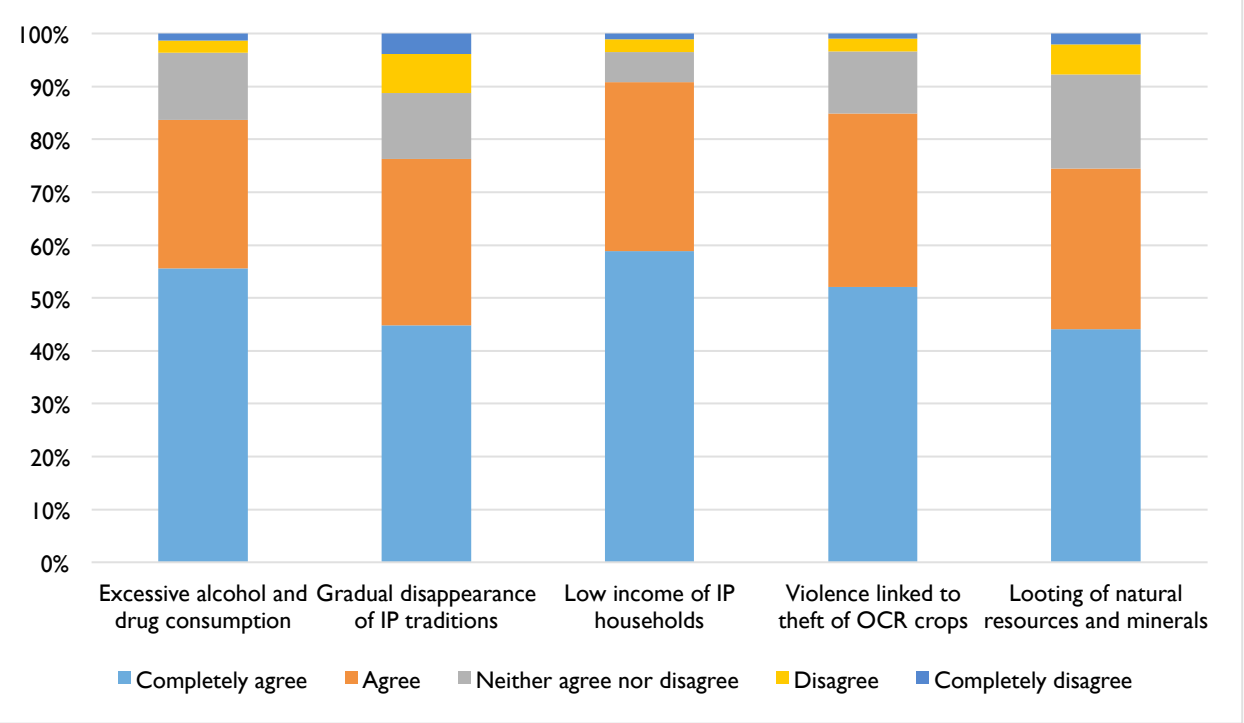
With regard to structured employment opportunities, one of the conflict-mitigation measures taken by the KBNP is the recruitment of members of PIP communities into structures or bodies, particularly in the security corps and in the administration of the KBNP. According to a KBNP respondent, the KBNP hired PIP among the eco-guards, and most recently, we placed two in the administration of the KBNP. In the quantitative survey, 32% of respondents strongly agreed that this practice of recruiting PIP is very beneficial to Pygmy Indigenous Peoples.

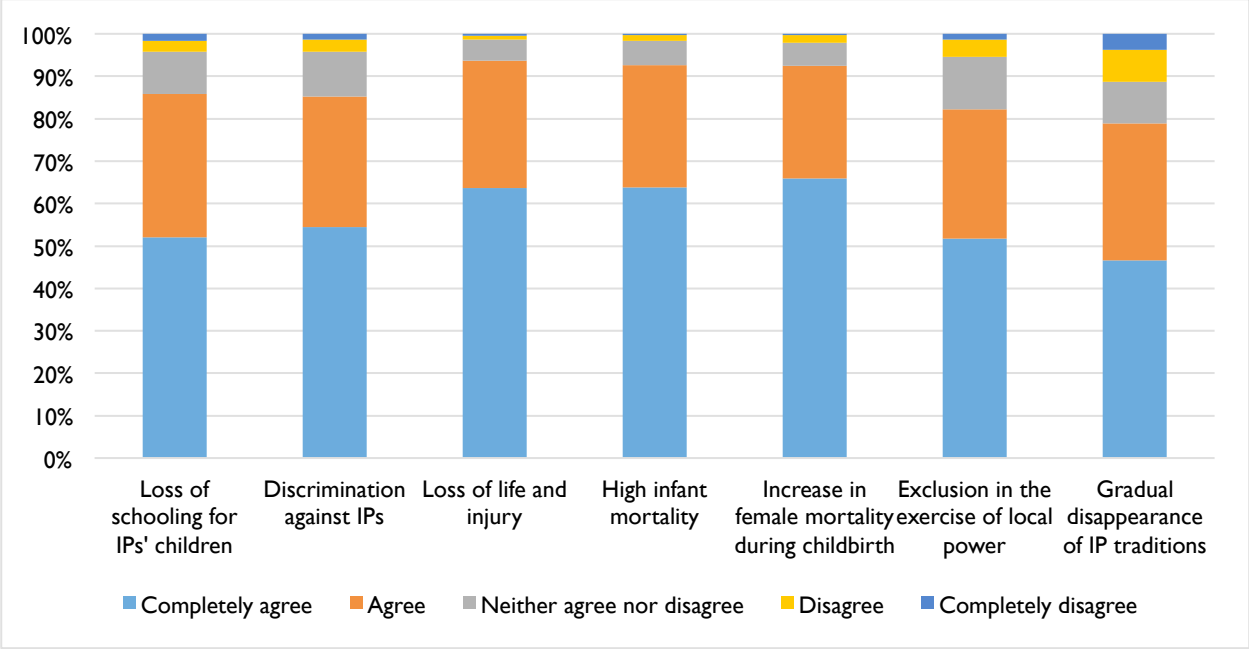
NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF CONFLICTS

The negative consequences are more numerous and destructive. They have affected individuals in their physical integrity, social development, social organization, and collective and individual psycho-social balance.

FIGURE 10 : NEGATIVE FACTORS ARISING FROM CONFLICTS AROUND THE KBNP.







The above distributions indicate negative consequences of these conflicts around the KBNP. These include lack of land, PIP children dropping out of school, destruction of social and cultural fabric, sexual and gender-based violence, forced recruitment into armed groups, arrests, loss of life, injuries, the increase in mortality of pregnant women and during childbirth, infant mortality, excessive consumption of alcohol, etc. The analysis of these consequences allows them to be grouped under the socio-cultural, socio-economic, educational, and social exclusion dimensions.

SOCIOCULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

Over the years of breakage from traditional land, PIP in South Kivu suffer cultural shocks linked to sudden changes. Pygmy indigenous peoples argue that their culture is determined by the ecology of the park: "The marriage between indigenous Pygmy people and the forest is undeniable and eternal" (ERND INSTITUTE, 2009). According to our survey, 71% of people met in all communities support the erosion of the cultural system of the "Bambuti" by changing customs.

There is an identity crisis rampant in the DRC due to ties between autonomous land ownership and one's cultural identity. These are referred to as "territorial identities" (Bosco Muchukiwa, 2018). . These minority "ecological displaced persons" are gradually abandoning their culture to alienate themselves from that of others. This cultural shock in PIP around the KBNP is the basis of social and economic maladjustments as well as psychological shocks for some people.

From a cultural point of view, Pygmies identify with the park. Their religious beliefs and practices are determined by the park's environment. Not having access to the park for cultural rites creates frustrations within the PIP community. Regarding religion, initiations, religious practices, and funeral rituals among Pygmy indigenous peoples took place in the park. The Pygmies practiced their religion in the forest and buried their dead. These religious practices have been suspended due to the prohibition of access to the park.

Pygmy indigenous peoples always resort to traditional medicine as it is free and considered effective. The park is perceived as a "natural pharmacy." ORCs are treated by medicinal plants from the park. Findings show that the lack of access to the park has had a negative impact on maternal and child health, notably with an increase in infant mortality and that of pregnant women as reported by respondents to be more than 63%. Thus, the KBNP forest was the "hospital" and "pharmacy" for indigenous peoples (KAKULE, 2013). Despite the prohibition of access to the park, some PIPs risk entering the park to search for health care products for their family members. Sometimes these incursions are severely repressed by eco-guards.

Pygmies among the Congolese people include those whose lifestyle is sedentary-- a social layer most entrenched in tradition and which most jealously conserves knowledge, beliefs, rites, and customs. However, this is threatened by numerous assaults, especially by religions of foreign origin such as Christianity. A negative image is projected on them and their entire culture by their "neighbors," an internalized negativity (World Bank Report, 2009). After their expulsion from the KBNP and the extension of the park, the way of life (culture) of PIP changed or diluted and became less expressive.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

On the economic front, the consequences of the creation of the KBNP for Pygmy indigenous peoples include lack of economic activities, increased poverty, etc. They should now forget hunting, gathering, and nomadism in order to adapt to a new way of economic production. To survive, Pygmies are forced to convert themselves into sedentary and cheap agricultural labor. The following indicators reflect the socio-economic situations of poverty and economic dependence of PIP in their relationship with ORCs:

- Extreme misery is reported in the camps resulting in makeshift habitat and without sustainable hygienic conditions.
- Lack of ongoing income-generating activities in camps: Field research shows that more than 55% of respondents strongly agree that the low income of the Pygmy indigenous peoples' households is one of the negative consequences of this expulsion from the KBNP.
- Failure to develop the subsistence economy (sale of drugs) due to lack of space.
- Food insecurity: PIP households eat once a day. Due to a lack of clean fields, PIP regularly engage in crop theft for the need to eat. This practice puts them in violent conflict with other communities.
- Low income of indigenous Pygmy peoples' households.
- The looting of natural resources and minerals.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Although article 43 of the Constitution of the DRC states that "primary education is compulsory and free in public schools," most children in rural areas around KBNP do not attend school. The lack of access to education is even more pronounced in the ranks of PIP. For almost three decades, parents have been paying tuition fees called "bonus." This structural factor limits school attendance for children from poor households. In addition, there is no public school in areas occupied by PIP, especially areas close to the KBNP.

The observation reveals that less than 40% of indigenous Pygmy youth have access to education. Most of those who have access to education do not complete primary education. Similarly, a World Bank study

(2009) found that only 18.7% of indigenous Pygmy children are enrolled in primary school in the DRC (aged 6 to 11) compared to the national rate of 56.1%, and 30.5% of indigenous people (aged 15 and older) can read and write, compared to 65% across the DRC. This is due to the extreme poverty in which indigenous people live. Rather, children are used as an agricultural labor force for family self-subsistence as stated in the following statement: "What are we going to do in school when our stomachs are empty?"

In addition, children of Pygmy indigenous peoples attending school are not spared structural discrimination, like other members of their communities. Discrimination is also one of the reasons why Pygmy children do not have access to school. In some classes there are benches reserved exclusively for Pygmy pupils. In schools, Pygmy children form a minority and were discouraged because of discrimination and bullying.

Illiteracy rates are above 80% and women's rates nearly beyond according to our observation on the ground. Enrollment rates for children are extremely low or almost zero.

War, early marriage, alcoholism, and cannabis addiction (of parents but also children, very early) further aggravate school dropout rates. This situation is a major obstacle to communities' progress in terms of leadership, relational capacity with administration and their environment, and access to primary education.

CONSEQUENCES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Relationships with ORCs and PIP are far from easy. Several divergences regularly divide them. The history of the relationship between PIP and ORCs was initially structured around mutually beneficial exchanges. But these relations have taken a new direction, particularly with the gradual sedentarization of the PIP. There is a strong ambivalence that characterizes relations between the PIP and the Bantu.

The affirmation of IP identity is sometimes a source of relational breakdown. This is due to the discrimination that PIP suffers from ORCs, and for this, they prefer to have their own identity. They are often cut off from the rest of the village that hosts them. Quantitative results indicate that 43.2% of PIPs prefer to approach members of their community more than Bantu.

The relationship between PIP and ORCs is not only based on conflict and confrontation, as most interviewees noted, but also on exchange and mutually beneficial goods and services. This dimension of the relationship is an essential component of the "indigenous Pygmy" history and culture. It even presents itself as a way of life and a means of survival for this population. Pygmy Indigenous Peoples use this dimension of the relationship with ORCs to obtain the economic and social resources necessary for their lives and daily survival.

Alcoholism, coupled with daily consumption of tobacco and cannabis, is often raised to stigmatize those populations that have become degenerate by leaving their original forest ecosystems and being sedentary. They would have lost their identity and would only live in a state of acculturation (in the pathological sense), devoted solely to the satisfaction of their drug addiction (Epelboin Alain, 1990).

Alcoholic addiction is a major public health problem affecting all societies and especially indigenous peoples, here the Pygmies have settled near places of alcohol supply. And it is not only men, but also

women, often elderly, who come home every day stumbling to their doors. According to the statements of respondents from ORCs, PIP are wasting earned money to fund excessive consumption of alcohol.

We are in a relative model between a sedentary farmer people and a mobile hunter-gatherer people in the process of sedentarization. This relationship structure existed and worked long before the forced sedentarization of the "Pygmies." Long before the current sedentary lifestyle, PIP and ORCs maintained exchange and barter relationships: game, ivory, and forest products collected by the "Pygmies" were exchanged for clothes, alcohol, and cereals (Peeters-Selaf,1993). Currently, relations between PIP and ORCs are based on a duality of values, meaning, and logic: a logic of admiration and contempt.

The wear and tear of time and lifestyle changes of both groups did not dispel this logic of cooperation. In some localities, this relationship has led to a certain friendliness and brotherhood between Pygmy indigenous families and ORCs.

But this relationship trajectory based on cooperation and complementarity cohabits with contempt and denigration, "slavery," and the domination of the "Pygmies." These negative labels and sentiments are based on prejudices and complexes. Prejudices and complexes still distinguish much of the relations between the "Pygmies" and the Bantu. The Bantu develop a complex of "natural superiority" towards the "Pygmies." This complex underlies the unfavorable prejudices developed in their place: objectification of the "Pygmies," comparison to animals, contempt, and disregard.

This balanced image, but which shows exactly the negative aspects between PIP and ORCs, is not the one that emerges from the survey. For this indeed, the Bantu are with the Pygmies in a relationship of harsh social, political, and cultural domination. This dominance takes multiple forms, including exploitation, stereotypes, and others.

The unique culture of PIP is disappearing in the face of the modernism, and through direct contact with other communities around them. They are forced to adopt models of Bantu society: religion, way of life, habitat, and behavior.

INITIATIVES FOR PEACEFUL COHABITATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN KBNP AND PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

This chapter is devoted to the review of various peace and conflict transformation initiatives implemented. Several initiatives have been taken to achieve peaceful cohabitation between KBNP and surrounding communities including PIP, or to resolve recurring conflicts between KBNP and PIP. The diversity of these initiatives is explained by the multitude of actors and the complexity of the dynamics of the conflicts.

These initiatives vary depending on the actors implementing them. Generally speaking, they include dialogue and mediation, support for court proceedings such as trials, land purchase for Pygmy Indigenous Peoples, and enforcement initiatives. These are initiatives implemented by traditional authorities, state authorities, as well as by international NGOs and other so-called "accompanying" nationals. Although the authorship of these initiatives is recognized by some structures as a unique method, their implementation has followed a systematic approach as we discover in the sections below.

LOCAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES

These initiatives concern the actions of traditional authorities at several levels in the chiefdoms of Kabare, Bulohu, and Buhavu. They were taken either by the chieftains (Bami) or by the heads of groupements, or by the heads of villages and sub-villages. These initiatives include: the recruitment of PIP in the Royal Court in Kalehe or in concessions assimilated to customary properties, advocacy with provincial authorities, permanent mediation with PIP, and negotiations with PIP for their exit from the KBNP and ongoing sensitization.

NEGOTIATION, OUTREACH

After the unexpected return of the PIP to the KBNP in 2018, traditional and territorial authorities, particularly in Kalehe, began negotiations to convince them to free occupied spaces and stop felling trees. The mediations were conducted in order to foster collaboration between the KBNP Eco guards and PIP in order to reduce their suspicion and the risk of confrontation. As a result of these negotiations, the KBNP was reconnected with the PIP to discuss the substantive issues facing them.

It is in this perspective that the so-called permanent advocacy of[28] traditional authorities towards provincial authorities on the issue of indigenous peoples is placed. These pleas were sometimes made to the KBNP.

ALLOCATION OF LAND TO HOUSEHOLDS OF PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN COMMUNITY CONCESSIONS MANAGED BY CHIEFTAINS.

Customary authorities are working with PIP to cope with land vagrancy issues. For example, in Kalehe, PIP are in land disputes with families bordering the KBNP; in the sub-villages of Bulembo, Bacigoka and Musinga, PIP obtained a rental space within the Royal Court in Munanira to set up their camps.

Observations from Kabare note that the PIP of the village of Buyungule benefit from the rental of land by the Mwami, through the chief of the sub-village of Cibuga. In the same context, Mwami Kabare, Chief of the Chiefdom of Kabare, proposed that land concessions around the National Institute of Agronomic Research (INERA) from Mulungu to Miti be transferred to the PIP to solve the problem of their wandering. It turns out that this initiative, instead of solving the real problem for which it was implemented, created a land dispute involving the Kabare chiefdom, the PIP community, and INERA.

In general, these mechanisms supported partial management of land disputes between PIP and riparian communities. At the same time, this placement in the Royal Court brought PIP closer to other communities, allowing them to participate in customary ceremonies as required by customs and courtesies of the chiefdoms of Buhavu and Kabare.

Nevertheless, these traditional initiatives remain partial and do not provide lasting solutions to the holistic problems of PIP. Knowing that a lack of land and renting in the royal concessions does not guarantee their stability or that of their offspring, in light of mutations that could arise in the structures of customary power. These solutions, however, do not adapt to PIP cultural and traditional practices.

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[28] Interview with a respondent in Kalehe, July 2020.

STATE CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES BETWEEN PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, KBNP AND OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE KBNP

These initiatives involve research and peace-building actions undertaken by state bodies.

KAHUZI BIEGA NATIONAL PARK INITIATIVES

We focus particularly on the actions carried out by the National Institute of Environmental Conservation through Kahuzi Biega National Park.

THE KBNP COMMUNITY CONSERVATION PROGRAM THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY CONSERVATION COMMITTEES (CCC)

The KBNP has implemented a community conservation strategy since 2005 with the common aim to reconcile the goals of biodiversity conservation of different protected areas with those of local community development through a participatory approach (ICCN, 2008). This biodiversity conservation model is increasingly being used in several countries and suggests involving local communities in the various actions and stages of conservation of environmental resources (Fréguin-Gresh, 2017; Bousquet & Page, 2004). This participation is through the development of social and economic activities aimed at the rehabilitation of riparian communities. In groups and villages around the KBNP, this community conservation initiative is implemented through several actions in favor of local communities such as environmental education, the establishment of local committees, developments of social infrastructure such as schools, and structures Sanitary (Kujirakwinja, Shamavu, Twendilonge, Balagizi, & Muhigwa, 2013). These structures are local groupings that act as a bridge between the local communities bordering the KBNP and the KBNP authorities. In the territories of Kabare and Kalehe, 14 Community Conservation Committees have been set up by the KBNP, including 7 in Kabare, 2 in Buhavu, and 5 in Bulohu (ICCN, 2019).

In terms of opportunities for conflict transformation, the Community Conservation Committees through their mission provide a space to maintain dialogue on a permanent basis between the various stakeholders involved in conflicts at the KBNP in order to be regularly able to exchange claims with one another. At the same time, these are awareness-raising spaces available to local authorities to convey messages related to the conservation of the natural resources of the KBNP.

In addition, after several decades of manifested and latent conflicts, the Community Conservation Committees (CCC) can be used as spaces for maintaining the trust of different stakeholders through the development of socio-economic recovery activities in the entities.

The initiatives of the Community Conservation Committees (CCC) are a great opportunity for the transformation of conflicts between the riparian communities bordering the KBNP and the KBNP itself, notwithstanding the boundaries that characterize them as is repeated in the following lines.

First, their areas of action are limited. Designed for 11 coastal groups of the KBNP, the Community Conservation Committees (CCC) are only implemented in a few villages where they are effectively operational (Kujirakwinja, Shamavu, Twendilonge, Balagizi, & Muhigwa, 2013).

Secondly, although they have been set up to operate in a participatory manner, they have a democratic deficit in their functioning. When appointing the members of these committees, the KBNP, as an institution, prefers tacitly retaining control over the leaders by lobbying and funding preparatory activities (Mudinga, Ngendakumana, & Ansoms, 2013). On the other hand, the traditional authorities, as well as the heads of grouping entities where the CCC are functional, are very enterprising to have the members of allegiance to them appointed to these structures, especially for issues related to the management of funds for socio-economic projects in their entities. The mechanisms for appointing members of the CCC take on political logic, or even the survival of different actors involved in management.

Third, the CCC have proved not to be very inclusive when they are supposed to represent all communities along the KBNP, including marginalized categories (ICCN 2009). These committees do not include, for example, members of the PIP community. For some groups, once participating members make decisions on potential projects to be implemented, resolutions are simply communicated to the PIP as basic information.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN OF PIP

The KBNP with donor funding initiated school enrollment programs for Pygmy children.. This support has consisted of rehabilitation of schools, payment of school fees, and the provision of school kits. Students at different levels of education from PIP households have been affected by these initiatives. The emergence of the educated Pygmy elite, having attended school up to the higher level, is partly linked to this initiative. For example, for the 2017-2018 school year, ICCN reported 346 children from indigenous families, including 320 in elementary school, 24 in high school and 2 at university (ICCN 2019). Despite this support, the illiteracy rate in the villages of the PIP still reaches 80% for men and 100% for women (World Bank, 2009). While this initiative is beneficial for intellectual development within the PIP community, it still faces several challenges that limit its effectiveness.

First, the support invested in the scholastic field comes late and doesn't arrive at the beginning of the school year when children need it[29]. Prior to the government's free education measure at the beginning of the 2019-2020 school year, support from the KBNP and its funders came in the middle, sometimes even at the end of the school year. School officials do not hesitate to regularly dismiss insolvent pupils from PIP households. In addition to school fees, school supplies such as notebooks, bookbags, and uniforms are also provided late.

Secondly, children from PIP households are stigmatized by both their teachers and their fellow students from ORCs. Such discrimination is due to taunting students for their regular dismissals for non-payment of the school premium, their dirty condition, lack of uniforms, and adequate school supplies. In some villages, there is an indifference of some teachers who allow bullying towards Batwa students by other students from ORCs. Similarly, mention is made of the brutality[30] that characterizes the children of the PIP who do not hesitate to raise their hands in the event of disagreement on any subject.

Finally, the way of life of PIP, characterized by wandering, does not facilitate the permanence and attendance of children in school activities. Indeed, some PIP children spend several days outside the

[29] Interview with a PIP head of family, Kalehe July 2020

[30] Mixed focus group in Ihusi, Kalehe, July 2020

classroom seeking livelihoods in areas considered to be rich in vital resources. They have significant delays in the assimilation of material and in evaluations.

The schooling of children from PIP households is a sustainable peace-building initiative, as it directly and indirectly addresses some of the roots of conflicts between them and the other communities bordering the KBNP. Education contributes to the destruction of ignorance (Mass, 2008), the awakening of consciousness on vital issues and in providing assets to limit manipulation and intoxication by actors who would like to fuel conflicts (Bajaj, 2008) by proxy, for various interests.

The official content conveyed in the education system regarding PIP issues could however be problematic and lead indirectly to their eradication, turning them into "the sole owners" of DR Congo. These include passages in the textbooks on Civic and Moral Education, History, and Geography on the settlements of DR Congo and Migration (MINEPS, 2005; 2007). It is not clear in the textbooks when the ORCs occupied the spaces constituting their villages at present. Although not directly relevant to the individual initiatives of the KBNP in the education and schooling of indigenous peoples, the teaching content conveyed on indigenous peoples' issues can be dramatic on social cohesion and radicalization in the formulation of indigenous peoples' education and schooling claims. The radicalization of the young Pygmy intellectual elite on land and resource appropriation issues could have been made possible by official narratives conveyed in the education system about the notions of the first inhabitants of DR Congo. Taking into account that a Pygmy intellectual elite active in claims movements, is sometimes found to be violent.

INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

Other activities in support of community conservation have been implemented. They concern training in rotary micro-credit, training in entrepreneurial activities, land security, beekeeping, agriculture, and livestock farming. ICCN (2019:9) provides information on the following achievements in these areas:

- For rotary micro-credit: 30 Batwa households were trained in rotary micro-credit management during 2014.
- Training of 30 Batwa households in entrepreneurial activities (2015).
- Training in AGR, land security (ADELIPO members, 2015).
- Granting rotary credits to develop beekeeping, agriculture (2017, 2018).
- Implementation of the project "Tutsunge mazingira." (2017-2018)
- Support for the sustainable breeding of goats for Batwa households (2015).
- Purchase, distribution of goats to members of UCPUED (2015).
- 50 households in ADELIPO (Kalehe) benefit from livestock training (2016).
- 100 Batwa households in Kabare benefit from 100 goats spawned (1 spawner household, supported by 1 veterinarian Mutwa).

Though important for the rehabilitation of indigenous peoples' families, these activities remain minimal in changing attitudes of indigenous peoples around the KBNP. Indeed, a study estimated 1167 the number of Pygmy households living around the KBNP (Wilondja-As-Ngobobo & Radjabu, 2017). Respondents indicated that they had not been sufficiently aware of the merits of these activities[31]. The representations of Pygmy indigenous peoples that everything in and around KBNP belongs to them also

[31] Homogeneous focus group of PIP in Ihusi, July 2020

plays a great deal in the non-appropriation of these initiatives, believing that partners will always have resources to contribute to them as they are the first inhabitants of DR Congo. For example, most of the goats handed over as part of livestock support have been consumed by the households of indigenous Pygmy peoples due to the lack of an ongoing awareness policy and regular monitoring. Likewise, promised inputs for support were delivered long after training.

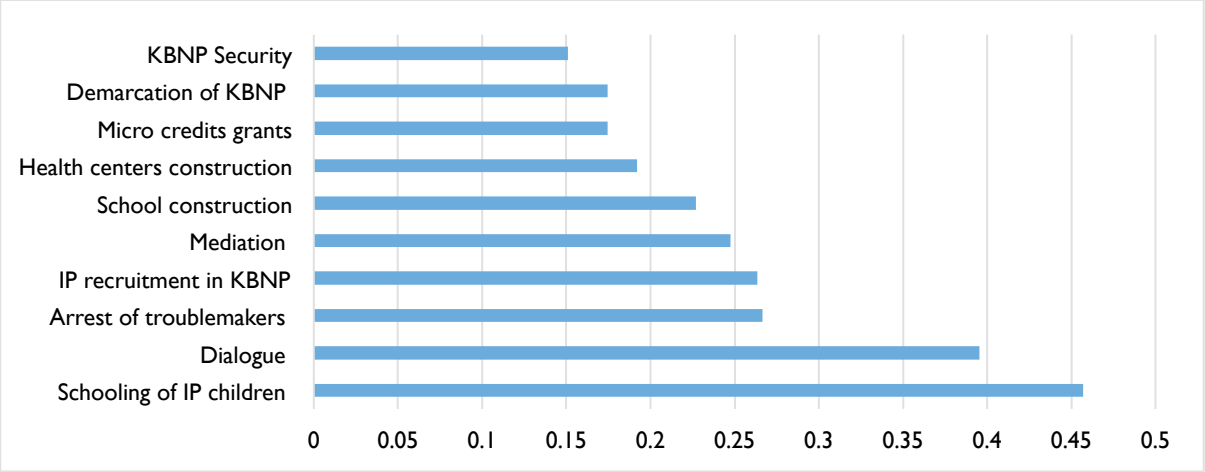
MILITARIZED CONSERVATION POLICY AND JUSTICE

State measures for the promotion of peace in KBNP are also coercive. The conservation policy of the KBNP, currently in vogue, has a military dimension rather than a community dimension. It includes the militarization of the KBNP and the strengthening of the coercive force of the Eco Guards. This coercive reinforcement is carried out to punish unauthorized entry to the KBNP by members of the riparian communities for poaching or timber cutting activities for a variety of reasons. The confrontations that sometimes cause death of men in the KBNP are due to this option of violently repressing unauthorized entries into the KBNP. As such, some actors identified as destroyers of the KBNP, through their acts of poaching or cutting trees, have been brought before the courts. This interview illustrates the perception of ongoing legal actions:

> "...we have our brothers who are convicted and serving their sentences in prison. The illustrative case is of KASULA Jean Marie who is in the central prison of Bukavu, his wife and others. There is a flagship civil justice action that has gone through milestones and is currently at the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights. Opposing PIP to ICCN. The PIP is accompanied by the NGO ERND..." (Interview conducted in Kalehe, August 2020).

The following graph (Figure 11) shows respondents' knowledge of KBNP interventions to resolve conflict.

FIGURE 11: ACTION TAKEN BY THE KBNP FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION



It appears that the majority of respondents acknowledge the involvement of the KBNP in the schooling of children of the IP, its participation in dialogues, or in the construction of social infrastructure such as schools and health centers.

Although the majority of respondents were in favor of initiatives led by the KBNP/ICCN and in particular, dialogue and mediation, the schooling of children or support of the generating activities of the

KBNP/ICCN, respondents' satisfaction with conflict resolution initiatives remains generally low. This may be due to the malfunctions, challenges, and weaknesses observed in implementation of these initiatives.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT INITIATIVES BETWEEN KBNP AND PIP

Some national NGOs and social actors have put in place conflict management actions between PIP, the KBNP, and ORCs. These are initiatives to support the judicial process, education, land endowment to PIP, and habitat improvement.

LAND ACQUISITION AND CONSTRUCTION OF CAMPS FOR PYGMY INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Given the major problem of land absence for PIP, some non-governmental organizations and churches have purchased land concessions for some indigenous peoples.

In Kalehe Territory, NGOs and churches acquired land and built settlements in the following villages:

- The NGO SOLIFEM in the village of Kasheke.
- PIDP in the sub-village of Nyamukubi in Bushusu.
- the Community of Baptist Churches in Central Africa (CBCA) in the subvillage of Buziralo where, according to a CBCA official, 25 hectares were purchased.
- UEFA in the Kalonge groupement.

According to interviews held in Kalonge, Kalehe territory, a military officer and former commander of the military region had ceded four hectares to the PIP.

While such efforts directly target a core PIP concern, these initiatives continue to face a number of challenges. First, land was purchased for a limited number of PIP households. The number of families accommodated in concessions belonging to ORCs remains significant in the various villages of Kabare and Kalehe.

The camps built in Kasheke and Bushushu do not meet the minimum conditions for family life. The houses built do not take into account family composition. They have only one room and a small space considered a combined living room and kitchen. Secondly, some initiatives were taken without first consulting the beneficiaries on their real wishes. These photos below illustrate the state of some houses built for PIP in the Kalehe.

Finally, some concessions and camps that fit into this logic, allegedly paid for the PIP, do not belong to them. In practice, the property was acquired on behalf of the leaders of such NGOs or on behalf of the NGOs themselves, but PIP have not been provided with titles for securing land.

DIALOGUE AND ADVOCACY

NGOs accompanied the dialogues between the PIP and the Congolese authorities. These dialogues have pursued the goal of facilitating exchanges between authorities (local, provincial, and national) and PIP on different claims leading to regular confrontations.

The dialogues initiated include the following:

- On 2 February 2018 in Miti Centre), the United Nations Observer Mission in Congo (MONUSCO) in collaboration with the provincial government of South Kivu conducted a dialogue involving the PIP and the Bashi community of Kabare territory around intercommunal conflicts between the PIP and the Bashi community. This dialogue was organized with the aim of managing conflicts caused by the anarchic occupation of arable land in that territory (Radio Okapi, 2020). The issue of this dialogue focused on safeguarding the gains of peaceful cohabitation between PIP and members of the Bashi community.
- From September 25 to October 4, 2014, there was a dialogue in Kavumu, Kabare territory between the Pygmies bordering KBNP and Kahuzi Biega National Park. As a result of the dialogue, the implementation roadmap agreed on commitments for the creation of pilot areas for PIP within the KBNP.
- Finally, from 19 to 21 September 2019, a "high-level" dialogue[32] was held between PIP and the Congolese Institute for Conservation of Nature (ICCN) on sustainable protection of Kahuzi Biega National Park and peaceful cohabitation in Bukavu, in Panorama hotel, with the support of CAMV (Centre d'Accompagnement des Autochtones Pygmées et Minoritaires Vulnérables (CAMV).

[32] The following solutions were proposed during this forum:

I. To the central government: to find land for the Pygmy Peoples of Kahuzi Biega National Park; - Revise upwards the budget allocated to the Congolese Institute for Conservation of Nature to improve governance of protected areas. — Make social funds available for reforestation and agroforestry projects

II. To the provincial government Facilitate administrative procedures relating to the acquisition of land in favor of the IPs; - Accompany security forces to suppress any kind of destruction of the KBNP. — Support the KBNP Manager in holding the various consultation framework meetings.

III. At ICCN: Strengthen biodiversity conservation in accordance with the provisions of the law conserving nature. — Contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of riparian communities through integrated conservation and development projects with particular emphasis on indigenous peoples. — Develop employment opportunities within the KBNP for riparian communities by setting up consultation frameworks (the manager of the KBNP, customary chiefs, representatives of Pygmies and NGOs supporting those Pygmies). — Prioritize documentation and participatory materialization of the boundaries of the KBNP especially in areas where these are not identified. — Develop a plan to wean off the high dependence of the Protected Areas from the technical and financial support of partners.

IV. ***To customary chiefs:*** Support the central government through the provincial government in the search for new lands to be granted to the Pygmies, and their security. — Contribute to the social promotion of Pygmy people. — Promote the cultural values of the Pygmy people. — Get more involved with ICCN in the conservation of the natural resources of the KBNP. — Contribute to the identification of land for reforestation and agroforestry projects around the KBNP in favor of local communities and IPs.

A number of recommendations came out of these dialogues, including land allocation to riparian Pygmy peoples, the possibility for Pygmy peoples to collect Non-Timber Forest Products,[33] and the financing of the socio-economic activities of local residents, such as schools, hospitals, and income generating activities.

The strength of these dialogues was a creation of direct exchanges between the protagonists on their respective claims relating in particular to conflicts between PIP and KBNP. Secondly, they allowed for the identification of problems and solutions at several levels of the community and state. As such, they have enabled the targeting of instances that may be involved in various actions such as advocacy. These dialogues have facilitated, in some contexts, violence and the rapid and advanced destruction of ecosystems to cease. Finally, they allowed the problems posed by PIP to be included in the agenda of the themes discussed in some CDMs (Dialogue and Mediation Framework) implemented in villages around the KBNP as in Kabare and Kalehe by NGOs working in conflict resolution and human rights.

These sessions also highlighted a number of shortcomings:

- These dialogues have proved to be spaces for voicing new demands, beyond those formulated in previous round tables. As sustainable solutions to their demands remain a challenge, new forums results in the frustration and cumulation of claims .
- The various dialogues have enabled some organizations supporting PIP to introduce models of extrovert claims. It is like the Whakatane mechanism[34], establishing a new paradigm for the conservation of protected areas by focusing on recognition of the rights of indigenous people and local communities by resolving the effects of injustices linked to the creation of protected areas. These revelations gave the impression of being factors of radicalization of the claims brought by the PIP together with an implicit opportunity for the instrumentalization of IPs by accompanying NGOs.
- These dialogues excelled in formulating recommendations categorically opposed to the views of actors (stakeholders) in conflicts. First, the recommendations emphasize the need to allow PIPs to collect Non-Wood Forest Products within the KBNP. It is recognized that as a protected heritage of mankind, the KBNP cannot accept human activities taking place in the KBNP. Secondly, customary chiefs are urged to identify and grant land to indigenous peoples. However,

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[33] See more on http://www.fao.org/3/ae156f/ae156f04.htm#P980_57316

It is a product of biological origin other than wood, derived from forests, other wooded land, and trees outside forests. The NTFPs of plant origin are classified into 8 categories: foods; fodder; raw material for preparation of medicines and aromatic products; raw material for preparation of dyes and colors; raw material for the production of utensils, handicrafts, and construction; ornamental plants; and other plant products.

The NLFPs of animal origin are classified into 8 categories: live animals; hides, skins, and trophies; wild honey and beeswax; bush-meat; raw material for the preparation of medicinal products; raw material for the preparation of dyes; other edible animal products; other inedible animal products.

[34] http://www.forestpeoples.org/sites/fpp/files/news/2016/08/What%20is%20the%20Whakatane%20Mechanism.pdf "The Whakatane Mechanism is an IUCN One Programme initiative that supports the implementation of 'the new paradigm' of conservation, focusing on situations where indigenous peoples and/or local communities are directly associated with protected areas as a result of their land and resource rights, including tenure, access, and use. The mechanism promotes and supports the respect for the rights of indigenous peoples and local communities and their free prior and informed consent in protected areas policy and practice, as required by IUCN resolutions, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)." Consulted on 09.13.2020.

for several years, customary chiefs have shown that they no longer had land, as a result of demographic pressure in their entities. Similarly, asking customary chiefs to find land at PIP outside the boundaries of the KBPN is implicitly asking them to abandon their traditions, which remain important and central elements that underpin the traditional power for riverside chieftains, such as Buhavu and Bushi (Kabare). PIP, in turn, are not ready to go outside the KBNP, especially as they feel it is their favorite natural space.

The review of peace initiatives and transformation of the dynamics of conflict conducted around the KBNP demonstrates a plurality of mechanisms that operate in more or less systemic relationships, which can be explained as follows:

First, they are implemented on the same territorial area. Implemented peace initiatives coexist in different villages. Sometimes, they use the same focal points in their different activities. For example, in some villages of Kabare and Kalehe Bunyakiri, we notice the presence of Dialogue and Mediation Frameworks (CDM) at the same time as the Community Conservation Committees (CCC). Key actors involved in these two initiatives move from one mechanism to another and may have the opportunity to learn how to approach intervention on both sides. In this category we can note local authorities such as leaders of groups or villages, as well as those responsible for religious denominations. The method of selection of participants in local development and/or peace initiatives put in place by actors is based on the social position of participants, considered to be information-holders, along with influencers and/or manipulators of communities.

Secondly, although diversified, they are supported by same donors. The actors implementing peace and conflict transformation activities within the boundaries of the KBNP are jostling in the aid market in the hunt for donors. Access to finance is subject to a competition whereby actors mobilize after the launch of calls for projects by donors. This competition mobilizes the meeting of different criteria, including local existence in the project implementation area, involving knowledge of realities as well as the meeting of administrative and financial capacities. This scramble in the aid market and sometimes with the same donors carries the seeds of conflict (see on the same logic of actors, De Sardan, 1995) in the areas of implementation, to the extent that there is mention of certain mindsets and discourses tinged with slander and lies among some actors. This creates a risk of negative evaluation for financing proposals by donors.

As mentioned above, financing applications are addressed to the same donors. Some donors are development cooperation agencies such as the US Agency for International Development (USAID), French development agency (AFD), Swiss Cooperation, German cooperation (GIZ), among others. Others are Non-Governmental Organizations which in turn receive funds from the various aforementioned agencies.

Finally, the systematic arena of intervention of these peace initiatives and conflict transformation is the intervention of local authorities (administrative and customary). The various actors, implementing peace initiatives in the study areas, are always obliged to come back to the same local authorities for approval of the work to be carried out in the entities.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research on the dynamics of conflicts around the KBNP has shown on the basis of existing literature the seniority of these conflicts, but whose current manifestations are structured around social, political, economic, environmental dynamics, etc. which explains the current forms and their consequences on peace and social cohesion, as well as the protection of the biodiversity of this park. In these conflicts there is a divergence of interests and logic between the KBPN/ICCN (state body responsible for protecting the biodiversity of the pars) and Pygmy indigenous peoples and ORCs. Other actors are involved in these conflicts, including NGOs, economic operators, political actors, and so on.

This process led to the repetitive expulsion of Pygmy indigenous peoples from the KBNP. The analysis demonstrated the recurrence of conflicts related to land, which constitute the nucleus around which the other conflicts analyzed are structured. These include conflicts related to crop theft, social conflicts in the form of discrimination, inequality of treatment, and conflicts related to the exploitation of natural resources such as timber and minerals. The research has reviewed the various causes associated with these conflicts and noted that the existence of older and newer ones. The oldest causes, as noted, are related to land, and include, among other things, the removal of the indigenous peoples of the KBNP, the creation and extension of the KBNP, the absence of specific lands allocated to Indigenous Peoples after expulsion from the park, and the refusal to conduct traditional practices within the park.

This study demonstrates that conflicts are based within the framework of creation and termination of alliances between stakeholders, according to their objective and subjective interests. The often-marginal position of indigenous peoples remains at the center of these dynamics. Indeed, being in a culture of wait-and-see, indigenous peoples are regularly exposed to the manipulation of all categories of conflict actors identified in this research.

Their culture, characterized mainly by wandering, puts to the test the different mechanisms and initiatives put in place by the different stakeholders. The research has demonstrated the equally systematic nature of the dynamics of conflicts around the KBNP, which involves social, political, and economic strata at local, provincial, national, and even international levels.

The consequences of these conflicts are numerous at both individual and structural levels and contribute to maintaining conflictual and sometimes violent relations between actors. Faced with this situation, multifaceted initiatives have been undertaken, but their results remain mixed.

For the rapid return of peace and social cohesion around the KBNP, as well as the local development of this area, in addition to the recommendations made and validated by stakeholders (see annex), the following program recommendations based on the conflict transformation approach prove to be relevant:

Create a permanent framework for dialogue bringing together all those holding stake in the KBNP, including PIP.

Develop a comprehensive mapping of stakeholders/actors around the KBNP.

1. Develop PIP household mapping.
2. Organize intra-Pygmy indigenous peoples social dialogue to restore social cohesion within their community

3. Engage local, provincial, and national authorities through advocacy to find progressive solutions for PIP problems.
4. Strengthen education programs for PIP children and create literacy and vocational training programs for adults.
5. Conduct participatory action research combined with actions for the economic and social recovery of PIP households as well as the construction of social and economic infrastructures (schools, health centers, markets, etc.).

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Kahuzi Biega National Park 5
Figure 2: Areas around the KBNP 8
Figure 3: Distribution of interviews and focus groups 9
Figure 4: Sample Size and Distribution 10
Figure 5: Most frequent words in this typology of conflicts 18
Figure 6: Most recurring conflicts between KBNP and PIP and other riparian communities. 19
Figure 7: Distant causes of conflict surrounding the KBNP 25
Figure 8: Recent or current causes of conflict surrounding the KBNP 26
Figure 9: Importance of the role of actors in conflicts surrounding the KBNP 31
Figure 9: Positive factors arising from conflicts around the KBNP 36
Figure 10 : Negative factors arising from conflicts around the KBNP. 38
Figure 11: Action taken by the KBNP for conflict resolution 47

ANNEX 1: RECOMMENDATIONS FROM AND VALIDATED BY RESEARCH STAKEHOLDERS

INSIDE THE KBNP

Short term	Medium term	Long Term
Combine the mindsets of strict conservation and community conservation.	Build your own secondary schools with orientations corresponding to the opportunities of the environment including agriculture and nature conservation	Precisely mark the current boundaries of the KBNP to avoid confusion with land ownership of riparian communities and individuals.
Encourage the use of certain KBNP spaces for PIP cultural activities (Harmony with Nature)	Provide employment opportunities to members of the PIP community.	
Collaborate with NGOs defending PIP rights in their social and humanitarian actions in favor of PIP around the KBNP	Engage in dialogue with major dealers around the KBNP.	
Improving the school enrollment of children in PIP	Promote integrative and promotional cultural activities of PIP and their culture	

AT THE CONGOLESE STATE: NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS

Immediate and Short term	Medium term	Long Term
Allocate ongoing operating costs to the KBNP	Strengthen the capacity of KBNP managers and technical and security personnel	Funding the physical delimitation of the KBNP
Establishing a partnership management of the KBNP	Encouraging eco-tourism in the KBNP through the creation of tourist areas within the KBNP	
Removing all local and foreign armed groups from the KBNP	Making land available to PIP communities for their final settlement and for their economic, social, and cultural activities	Judiciously and definitively settle the boundary disputes between the large concessionaires and the KBNP
Identify land purchased by NGOs for PIP and erect them as community land	With the support of external partners, build basic infrastructure in areas occupied by PIP communities	

	Identify all NGOs working to defend the rights of the PIP, and orient their actions in the direction of the protection of the KBNP and the promotion of the communities of the PIP	

TO SUBREGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND STATES OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION

Short term	Medium term
Collaborate in the repatriation processes of Rwandan refugees settled in the KBNP	Collaborate with DRC and international organizations to end illegal trafficking in natural resources and minerals from the KBNP
Collaborate with the DDRR of FDLR combatants operating in the KBNP for their humanized return and installation in Rwanda	Encourage citizens in the Great Lakes region to visit the KBNP as part of tourism
	Collaborate in the arrest of physical people and the denunciation and condemnation of firms that finance illegal exploitation of natural resources and minerals from the KBNP

TO HUMANITARIAN AND PIP ADVOCACY NGOS

Immediate and Short term	Medium term	Long Term
Establish PIP community awareness programs for the protection of the KBNP and peaceful cohabitation with ORCs;	Contribute to the construction of social housing for PIP;	Strengthen the capacity of local PIP associations in the area of advocacy and mediation to enable PIP communities to conduct advocacy on issues of common interest at the community level.
Involving PIP communities benefiting from social promotion and local development programs in all processes of design and implementation of activities.	Support educated PIP youth in the process of finding stable jobs;	
In collaboration with the state and the KBNP, deliver to PIP communities the land concessions purchased in the name and on behalf of them with cooperation	Promote mechanisms for conflict transformation alongside the ongoing judicial processes before the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.	

funds;		
Contribute to the construction of basic social infrastructure in areas inhabited by PIP;		
Improve support for school enrollment and healthcare of PIP.		
Organize adult PIP literacy training and vocational training for young PIP who have exceeded normal school age;		
Create entrepreneurial activities in favor of young PIP.		

TO ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES AND LOCAL TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Short term	Medium term	Long Term
Integrate PIP into the management of certain customary entities in the areas where they live	Collaborate with the KBNP and NGOs in interventions aimed at the promotion and socio-economic integration of PIP;	Forming customary entities (villages) specific to PIP with real customary power integrated into existing chiefdoms and groupings.
Contribute, in collaboration with state and external partners, to the acquisition of community land by PIP living in their entities;	Securing the land already acquired by PIP.	
Ensure the security of the areas occupied by PIP as well as peaceful cohabitation and social cohesion between them and other neighboring riparian communities.		

TO PIP COMMUNITIES AND LEADERS

Short term	Medium term	Long Term
To follow up on commitments and recommendations arising from dialogues with authorized bodies with peaceful means;	Adopt the economic and sociological practices required by the context of sedentarization (agriculture and other activities: trade, security, etc.)	To accommodate local crops while keeping the specificity of Pygmy culture.
Raise awareness of the community to avoid violent means of claiming		

rights or solving problems with members of ORCs;	
Sensitize and make members of PIP communities aware of the respect of legal provisions in relations with the KBNP by refraining, mainly, from practicing anarchic and illegal exploitation of natural resources and minerals in the KBNP;	
Have children study and attend modern health facilities	

TO OTHER RIPARIAN COMMUNITIES

Accepting peaceful cohabitation with PIP by avoiding stereotypes and acts of exploitation and marginalization of PIP.

Involve members of PIP communities in economic activities without exploitation or discrimination.