

PHOTO: Photos and details of teenagers killed in Bujumbura are posted on the bulletin board at the Kamenge Youth Centre, June 2006. © Melanie Stetson Freeman/The Christian Science Monitor via Getty Images


GENEVA
DECLARATION

AN ASSESSMENT of ARMED VIOLENCE in BURUNDI

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'INSECURITY is also a WAR'

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A study by the
Small Arms Survey

By Stéphanie Pézard and
Savannah de Tessières

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List of Abbreviations

ADDF	Association pour la défense des droits de la femme (Association for the Defence of Women's Rights)	DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
AU	African Union	DRR	Demobilization, reinsertion, and reintegration
APRODH	Association pour la protection des droits humains et des personnes détenues (Association for the protection of human rights and the rights of prisoners)	FBU	Franc burundais (Burundian franc)
BINUB	Bureau intégré des Nations Unies au Burundi (United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi)	FDN	Force de défense nationale (National Defence Force)
CDCPA	Commission nationale de désarmement de la population civile et de lutte contre la prolifération des armes légères et de petit calibre (National commission for the disarmament of the civilian population and action to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons)	FNL	Forces nationales de libération (Forces for National Liberation)
CENAP	Centre d'alerte et de prévention des conflits (Centre for early warnings and the prevention of conflicts)	GBV	Gender-based violence
CNDD-FDD	Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie–Forces de Défense de la Démocratie (National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy)	INSS	Institut national de sécurité sociale (National Institute of Social Security)
CNPK	Centre neuropsychiatrique de Kamenge (Kamenge Neuropsychiatric Centre)	MAG	Mines Advisory Group
CNTB	Commission nationale des terres et autres biens (National Commission for Land and Other Assets)	MCVS	Mécanisme conjoint de vérification et de suivi (Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism)
DCA	DanChurchAid	MSF	Médecins sans frontières (Doctors without Borders)
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration	ONUB	Opération des Nations Unies au Burundi (United Nations Operation in Burundi)
		Palipehutu–FNL	Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu–Forces nationales pour la libération (Hutu People's Liberation Party–Forces for National Liberation)
		PMPA	Partis et mouvements politiques armés (Parties and armed political movements)
		PNB	Police nationale du Burundi (Burundian National Police Force)
		SNR	Service national de renseignement (National Intelligence Service)
		TACO	Taback–Coupland method
		UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
		WHO	World Health Organization



The Geneva Declaration

The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, endorsed by more than 105 countries as of this writing, commits signatories to supporting initiatives intended to measure the human, social, and economic costs of armed violence, to assess risks and vulnerabilities, to evaluate the effectiveness of armed violence reduction programmes, and to disseminate knowledge of best practices. The Declaration calls upon states to achieve measurable reductions in the global burden of armed violence and tangible improvements in human security by 2015. Core group members include Brazil, Guatemala, Finland, Indonesia, Kenya, Morocco, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, and the United Kingdom with the support of the United Nations Development Programme.

Further information about the Geneva Declaration, its activities, and publications is available at www.genevadeclaration.org. 



The Small Arms Survey

The Small Arms Survey is an independent research project located at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. Established in 1999, the project is supported by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and by sustained contributions from the Governments of Belgium, Canada, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The Survey is also grateful for past and current project support received from the Governments of Australia, Denmark, France, New Zealand, Spain, and the United States, as well as from different United Nations agencies, programmes, and institutes.

The objectives of the Small Arms Survey are: to be the principal source of public information on all aspects of small arms and armed violence; to serve as a resource centre for governments, policy-makers, researchers, and activists; to monitor national and international initiatives (governmental and non-governmental) on small arms; to support efforts to address the effects of small arms proliferation and misuse; and to act as a clearinghouse for the sharing of information and the dissemination of best practices. The Survey also sponsors field research and information-gathering efforts, especially in affected states and regions. The project has an international staff with expertise in security studies, political science, law, economics, development studies, and sociology, and collaborates with a network of researchers, partner institutions, non-governmental organizations, and governments in more than 50 countries.

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Ibirwanisho bicira umuriro biraciha inkumbi mu Burundi, bigahitana abantu ku bwinshi buri mwaka. Nk'uko bimeze no mu bindi bihugu bivuye mu ntambara, ukurangira kw'intambara ntikwama kuzana umutekano nyakuri, haba mu ngiro canke mu vyiye umutekano vy'abantu, canke ngo bihagarike ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho. Ikigo cishinze kugira amatohoza ku birwanisho bito bito (Small Arms Survey), cifadikaniye n'Umurwi w'igihugu ujejwe gukura ibirwanisho mu minwe y'abanyagihugu babitunze batabifitiye uruhusha, Umuhari uharanira agateka ka zina muntu ITEKA, Umugambi w'Ishirahamwe mpuzamakungu witaho iterambere, PNUD, Ishirahamwe ry'Amashengeru ryo mu gihugu ca Danemareke (Dan Church Aid) n'abashakashatsi bigenga bo mu burundi, ryaratunganiye ivyigwa vyo gusuzuma ingene ibintu vyifashe mu bijanye n'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho n'intumbero ku vyokwitabwaho kurusha mu mugambi wo kugabanura no kurwanya ubwo bugizi bwa nabi. Ivyo vyigwa vyashimikiye ku buhinga bwinshi bukoreshwa mu bijanye n'ubushakashatsi, harimwo itohozwa ryakozwe ku ngo zirenga igihumbi n'amajana atanu (1500) mu ntara zitandatu z'igihugu, ibiganiro n'abantu ku giti cabo canke mu mirwi hamwe n'ukwihweza neza ibitigiri bitangwa n'inzego zijewe umutekano mu vyerekeye ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho n'ingaruka zabwo mu Burundi.

a) Ingene ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho bwifashe mu Burundi

Ubwoko bw'ubugizi bwa nabi

Ibikunze kwibonekeza mu bugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho birasa cane n'ivyagiye birashika mu bindi bihugu vyahitiye mu ntambara, mu gihe bitarashikira neza na neza amahoro n'umutekano. Mu Burundi, ibirwanisho bikunze gukoreshwa cane mu bijanye n'ubusuma. Abantu bashika mirongo umunani n'umunani n'ibice bine kw'ijana (88,4) vy'ababajijwe mw'itohozwa ryatunganiye n'ikigo Small Arms Survey hamwe n'Umuhari uharanira agateka ka zina muntu ITEKA bishuye bavuga ko ubusuma hamwe no kwambu-

ra abantu hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho arivyo bikunze kwibonekeza mu mitumba no mu ma karitiye iwabo.

Ikigo co gucungera ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho kiremeza ivyo abanyagihugu bishuye : hagati y'ukwezi kwa myandagaro 2007 n'ukwa kigarama 2008, ibice birenga mirongo itanu kw'ijana (50 %) dufatiye ku rugero rw'ubukozzi bw'ikibi igihumbi n'amajana umunani na mirongo itandatu n'indwi bwamenyekanye vyari bishingiye ku busuma. Ubukozzi bw'ikibi bufatiye ku ngorane z'amatongo buza inyuma cane ku rugero rwa gatanu n'ibice umunani kw'ijana (5,8 %), hagakurikira ubugizi bwa nabi bushingiye ku matati yo mu miryango (urugero rwa kane n'ibice umunani kw'ijana : 4,8 %), ibikorwa vy'umuhari witwaje ibirwanisho wari ukirwana ariwo PALIPE-HUTU FNL (urugero rwa gatatu n'ibice umunani kw'ijana : 3,8 %) hamwe n'uguhonyanga agateka ka zina muntu bikorwa n'inzego z'igipolisi (urugero rwa kabiri n'ibice bine kw'ijana : 2,4 %). Ubugizi bwa nabi bushingiye kuri politike, bwibonekeza na cane cane biciye mw'iterabwoba hamwe no gutera abanyepolitique canke abari mu ntwaro ku rugero rwo hasi ku giti cabo, bwaragiye nabwo nyene buravugwa cane mu binyamakuru.

Ubwa nyuma twokongerako ko ikigo SERUKA c'ishirahamwe ry'abaganga batagira imbibe bo mu gihugu c'ububiligi, ikigo ca mbere cakira abafashwe ku nguvu mu Burundi, cemeza ko ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi bukorwa hakoreshejwe iterabwoba ry'ikirwanisho ku rugero rushika kw'icumi na kane kw'ijana (14 %).

Aho ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi bukuruzwa kwibonekeza

Intara zasinziywe n'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho ni Igisagara ca Bujumbura hamwe n'Intara za Bubanza na Bujumbura-rural. Umwihwezo w'ibivugwa mu binyamakuru hakurikijwe ubuhinga bwitwa Taback-Coupland (TACO), werekana ko mu Burundi ibintu bitandukanye no mu bindi bihugu nk'Ubuganda na Nigeriya aho ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi bukuruzwa kubera mw'ibarabara canke ahandi hantu habona. Mu Burundi, bukorerwa ahanini mu mazu y'ababugirirwa kandi bukaba mw'ijoro. Urugero rurenga gato mirongo ine kw'ijana (40 %) rw'abantu babajijwe muri rya tohozwa ryakorwa n'ikigo Small Arms Survey hamwe n'Umuhari ITEKA bemeza ko batiyumvamwo umutekano i muhira iwabo mw'ijoro.

Ibirwanisho bikorehwa

Babajijwe ku bwoko bw'ibirwanisho bitunzwe n'abanyagihugu bandi, abantu bitavye iri tohozwa bavuze ubwa mbere inkoho, hanyuma amagerenade n'ibindi birwanisho vyo mu ntoki. Kukaba nkako, mu mwaka wa 2007, urugero rurenga gato mirongo ine kw'ijana (40 %) rw'ubugizi bwa nabi



PHOTO► A man brandishes a shotgun during an arms collection ceremony organized by an association of ex-combatants in the province of Muramvya, May 2006. © Pézard and Florquin

Umuhari Iteka watohoje bwakozwe hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho bicira umuriro. Mu Burundi kandi hibonekeza urugero runini rw'ikoreshwa ry'amagerenade mu bugizi bwa nabi (urugero rwa mirongo ibiri na kabiri kw'ijana – 22 % - dufatiye ku vyatohojwe n'ikigo gikurikiranira hagufi ivy'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho). Ibirwanisho bikoreshwa bigenda birahinduka bivanye n'ubwoko bw'ubugizi bwa nabi bukozwe hamwe n'ababukoze.

Ibikorwa bibi vy'ubusuma bikorwa ku rugero runini hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho bicira umuriro mu gihe bigaragara ko ibindi birwanisho bidacira umuriro bikunzwe gukoreshwa mu yandi matati yo mu miryango. Ubwoko bw'ibirwanisho bwakoreshejwe kenshi burafitaniye isano n'ingaruka mbi z'ububisha bwakozwe: urugero rwa mirongo indwi kw'ijana (70 %) rw'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho gicira umuriro nk'uko vyatohojwe n'Umuhari Iteka mu mwaka wa 2007 bwarahitanye ubuzima bw'umuntu umwe canke benshi, mu gihe ikoreshwa ry'ibirwanisho bidacira umuriro ryahitanye abantu ku rugero rushika ku mirongo itandatu na rimwe (61 %).

Abahitanwa n'ibirwanisho

Nk'uko bishikirizwa n'ikigo cishinze gutohoza ibijanye n'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho, ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi bwahitanye ubuzima bw'abantu bashika ku gihumbi na mirongo ine n'icenda (1049) bwongera bukomeretsa abagera ku gihumbi n'amajana abiri na mirongo itandatu na babiri (1262) mu mwaka wa 2008; ni ukuvuga urugero rwa cumi na kabiri n'ibice bitatu (12,3) ku bantu ibihumbi ijana dufatiye ku birwanisho bicira umuriro, ibirwanisho bisanzwe canke biturika¹. Twisunze ibitigiri bishikirizwa n'Umuhari Iteka mu mwaka wa 2007, ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho rwahitanye abanyagihugu basanzwe (abasivile) ku rugero rwa mirongo umunani n'icenda kw'ijana (89 %). Ubwo bubisha kandi bukoze guhitana abagabo: mu mwaka wa 2007, urugero rw'abakenyezi n'abigeme bahitanywe canke bagasinzikazwa n'ibirwanisho rwagera kuri mirongo ibiri na batandatu kw'ijana (26 %).

Ariko rero abakenyezi n'abigeme nibo bahitanwa cane n'ububisha bwo gufata ku nguvu. Urugero rwa mirongo icenda n'indwi kw'ijana (97 %) ku bantu igihumbi n'amajana ane na mirongo itatu na batanu (1435) bashikiwe

n'ako kabi bakiriwe n'ikigo Seruka rwari rugizwe n'abakenyezi n'abigeme, hagwiriyemwo ndetse abana n'abigeme batarashika mu bigero.

Ariko rero ikumirwa rya cane rigirirwa abantu bafashwe ku nguvu mu Burundi rishobora kuba ryaratumye iki gitigiri kiba gito, na cane cane ku bakenyezi bakuze kumbure bahitamwo kutavugira hejuru ko bafashwe ku nguvu².

Abakora ubwo bubisha

Ku ruhande rw'abantu bakora ubwo bugizi bwa nabi, ahanini ni abagabo bafise muni y'imyaka mirongo itatu. Ku bw'ibitigiri bitangwa n'igipolisi c'uburundi, ivyaha vyatororokanijwe mu mwaka wa 2006 vyakozwe n'abagabo ku rugero rwa mirongo icenda n'indwi kw'ijana (97%), ica kabiri cabo bakaba bari bafise imyaka iri hagati ya cumi n'icenda na mirongo itatu.

Ikigo cishinze gukurikirana ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho cerekana ko, hagati ya myandagaro na kigarama 2008, ica kabiri (49,5%) c'ibikorwa vy'ubugizi bwa nabi vyakozwe, hanyuma ababikoze bakamenyekana, vyakozwe n'abarwanyi ba PALIPEHUTU FNL, urugero rwa mirongo itatu na kane n'ibice indwi kw'ijana (34,7%) bikorwa n'abanyagihugu basanzwe (abasivile), urugero rw'icenda kw'ijana (9%) vyakozwe n'abapolisi hamwe n'urugero ruri muni ya gatandatu n'ibice bitandatu kw'ijana (6,6%) vyakozwe n'abasirikare.

Ariko abasuma nabo baravuzwe kenshi n'abantu barenga igice c'abitavye amatohoza yo ku ngo (umuntu umwe n'ibice bitanu kuri babiri, ibice mirongo indwi na bitandatu kw'ijana; amajana atanu na mirongo indwi na batandatu ku majana indwi na mirongo itanu n'umunani babajijwe) ko ari bo soko rya mbere ry'umutekano muke ku rugero ruri hejuru y'umuntu umwe kuri babiri, bagakurikirwa n'abarwanyi, abapolisi hamwe n'abasubijwe mu buzima busanzwe. Ntivyoroshe gushira mu mirwi abo bagizi ba nabi mu gihe bizwi ko nk'abasuma bamwe bamwe baja kwiba bambaye imyambaro y'igipolisi canke y'igisirikare kugira bahushishe abo bagiye gutera ku karanga kabo bwite.

Yamara rero vyongeye, ivyegeranyo vyinshi hamwe n'ivyagiye biravugwa n'abantu batandukanye birashikiriza ko rimwe na rimwe abari mu nzego z'igipolisi, igisirikare n'urwego rw'iperereza baja baragira uruhara mu bikorwa vy'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho.

Aha ntitwokwibagira no kuvuga ko abasubijwe mu buzima busanzwe batungwa cane urutoko n'abanyagihugu mu mwaka wa 2008 gusumba uko vyari bimeze muri 2005, kumbure bivanye n'uko umugambi wo kubasubiza mu buzima busanzwe utagenze neza.

Uburyo bukenerwa mu gihe ubwo bukozi bw'ikibi bwabaye

Ibiharuro bijanye n'iterambere rirama bishira Uburundi ku murongo w'ijana na mirongo itandatu n'indwi ku rutonde rw'ibihugu ijana na mirongo indwi n'indwi³. Ku bw'ikigega mpuzamakungu, intara zasinziyawe n'intambara, nka Bubanza na Bujumbura rural, nizo zabandaniye gusinzikazwa n'ubukene muri iki kiringo. Ni n'izo ntara kandi, hiyongeyeko Igisagara ca Bujumbura, hagwiriyemwo ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho.

Ku rugero rwa muntu, kugirirwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho bituma hakoreshe uburyo bwinshi haba kwa muganga, mu butungane no mu mibano. Amahera yo kwivuzwa ibikomere vyatewe n'amasasu yababa amadolari y'abanyamerika amajana ane, umushingwamanza nawe agasaba hagati y'amadolari amajana abiri n'amajana atanu kugira aburanire umuntu – ivyo bikaba ari ibiciro biri hejuru cane y'uburyo bw'abantu mu gihugu abanyagihugu bari hagati ya mirongo ine na rimwe na mirongo icenda kw'ijana babayeho mu bukene bwa cane⁴. Kuri ivyo naho hakiyongerako izindi ngaruka ku buzima na kamere k'abantu biturutse kuri ubwo bugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho, mu gihugu gisanzwe kidafise ibikenewe n'abaganga b'ingwara zo mu mutwe, hanyuma abo vyashikiye nabo bakagirirwa ikumirwa; na cane cane nk'abakenyezi bafashwe ku nguvu.

b) Uko ivyiyumviro vy'abanyagihugu ku bijanye n'umutekano vyagiye biratera imbere (2005 – 2008)

Kuva hatunganijwe ivyigwa ku vyerekeye ibirwanisho bito bito mu Burundi vyakozwe mu mwaka w'ibihumbi bibiri na gatanu (Pezard et Florquin, 2007), hariho ibintu vyinshi vyahindutse mu nzira nziza:

- Ivyiyumviro vy'abantu ku bijanye n'ibirwanisho vyarahindutse kuva mu mwaka wa 2005, abantu benshi mu babajijwe babona yuko ari ikintu kibi gishobora kubakwegera hakuba isoko ryo kwikingira umutekano.
- Ivyavuye mw'itohozwa vyerekana ivyiyumviro bidahindagurika mu bijanye n'ugukura ibirwanisho mu banyagihugu; bikanashigikira icyumviro co mu bihumbi bibiri na gatanu kijanye no guha uruhara abanyagihugu mu bijanye no kwaka ibirwanisho ababitunze batabifitiye uruhusha.

Ivyo vyiyumviro bibiri birashigikira icyumviro c'uko hageze gutunganya umugambi nyawo wo gukura ibirwanisho mu minwe y'abanyagihugu babitunze batabifitiye uruhusha.

Iki cegeranyo kirerekana ariko ingorane nyamukuru zagumye, hamwe ndetse n'izindi nshasha ziyadukije muri iyi myaka itatu iheze:

- Ukudasobanukirwa neza hagati y'umutekano n'ugukura ibirwanisho mu banyagihugu kwagumyehe. Naho itohoza ryo muri 2008, co kimwe ndetse n'iryo muri 2005, ryerekana ko abanyagihugu bashigikiye cane gukura ibirwanisho mu minwe y'ababitunze batabitiye uruhusha, bakemeza ko bashigikiye bivuye inyuma uwo mugambi, hariho abandi bavuga ko mu vy'ukuri umutekano nyawo ariwo wotuma bita bira uwo mugambi.
- Naho hari intambwe iboneka mu bijanye no gutorera umuti intambara hagati ya Leta n'Umuhari Palipehutu FNL, ntawovuga ko ibintu biraja mu buryo neza, bigatuma abantu batizera cane ko vyose vyakwiye kugira umutekano usasagare ; ubusuma bubandanya bukorwa n'abantu bambaye imyambaro ya gisirikare canke y'igipolisi, bashobora kuba abasirikare, abo mu mirwi yitwaje ibirwanisho canke ndetse abanyagihugu basanzwe biyoberanya kugira bibaze ko bari muri uwu murwi canke uriya. Ni ngombwa rero ngo hashingwe vuba amasezerano arama kandi atuma Uburundi buba koko igihugu cavuye mu ntambara.
- Abahoze ku rugamba (kenshi bitwa ko ari abasubijwe mu buzima busanzwe) baratungwa urutoke cane mu mwaka wa 2008 gusumba muri 2005. Nk'uko vyagiye biravugwa mw'itohozwa ryabaye ko ariwo murwi wa mbere ufise ibirwanisho bicira umuriro vyinshi, ndetse imbere y'abapolisi canke abasirikare, abo bahoze ku rugamba, basanzwe ndetse bafise n'ingorane zo gusubira kumenyera ubuzima busanzwe, baragirizwa kuja mu bikorwa vy'ubusuma canke gukoreshwa, bo n'ibirwanisho vyabo, n'abandi bantu mu bikorwa vy'ubugizi bwa nabi, gurtyo bakaba muri rusangi babangamiye umutekano. Ivyo bagirizwa bituma abahoze ku rugamba binubwa cane kandi bagakumirwa, aho kubafata nk'abanyagihugu basanzwe, abantu babafata henshi nk'umurwi uri ku ruhande. Mu gihe ibitigiri vy'abapolisi n'abasirikare biriko biragabanywa hakaba n'ibiganiro bitumbereye gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe abarwanyu ba FNL (intumbero zibiri zishobora kurwiza igitigiri c'abasubizwa mu buzima busanzwe), birihutirwa gushiraho imigambi irashe yoshimikira kuri uwu murwi w'abasubijwe mu buzima busanzwe.

c) Hokorwa iki kugira ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho burwanywe ?

Kugirango ako kabi karwanywe, hari vyinshi vyokorwa : ni ngombwa gukomeza inzego z'umutekano n'ubutungane, kwitaho cane abanyagihugu babangamiye kurusha abandi hamwe no gufata ingingo zerekeye kugabanya ibirwanisho biri mu minwe y'abanyagihugu babitunze batabitiye uruhusha.

Gukomeza inzego z'umutekano n'ubutungane :

- Igipolisi c'Uburundi kirakeneye ibitigiri vy'abapolisi bigereranye, bahembwa neza kandi bafise ubumenyi bukwiye. Ibitigiri bibayabaye biroroshe gukurikirana, ndetse hagatangwa n'ibihano iyo bikenewe. Bahembwe neza, abapolisi bamwe bamwe ntibosubira kurondera ingene bazomara ukwezi bakoresheje ibirwanisho. Inyigisho zihagije zotuma abanyagihugu bizigira kurusha urwego rw'abapolisi, gurtyo bigafasha cane mu gushikira imigambi y'intumbero ngenderwako igipolisi cihaye mu kiringo ca 2007 – 2017, aho urwo rwego rwiyemeje kuba urwego « rukingira abanyagihugu bose, rutunganijwe ku buryo bwa none, rukora neza cane kandi rwegereye abanyagihugu » (Nzosaba, 2008).
- Kurwanya ukudahana abakoze ivyaha, rimwe na rimwe harimwo n'abo bakora ubugizi bwa nabi bitwaje ibirwanisho, bitegerezwa kuba umugambi nyamukuru kandi wihutirwa. Abashikirwa n'ayo mabi kenshi barijijanya imitima hageze kwitura inzego z'ubutungane, cane cane bafatiye ku biciro ivyo bizobasaba canke mbere bakanatinya ko bagirirwa nabi n'abo bitwariye. Ivyo abagiriwe ayo mabi bagize inguvu zo kwitura ubutungane, imanza zirateba cane canke zigacibwa nabi. Kugira ngo izo ntambamyi zihaye, igipolisi gitegerezwa kwegera abanyagihugu, inzego z'ubutungane zitegerezwa gukomezwa hanyuma abo vyashikiye nabo bagafashwa. Ikindi ni uko abagirizwa canke abafashwe bari muri ubwo bukuzi bw'ikibi bohabwa ibihano bihuye n'ivyaha bakoze.

Kwitaho gusumba abanyagihugu babangamiye kurusha abandi :

- Amabi ashimikiye ku gitsina ageze ku rugero ruteye umutima uhagaze mu Burundi. Utwigoro two guhimiriza abanyagihugu no gushigikira abakorewe ayo mabi dutegerezwa kubandanya kugira ngo abo vyashikiye bivuze ku bwinshi, bavugire hejuru ivyabashikiye kandi bitware mu butungane badatinya gukumirwa mu kibano.
- Igatabu gishasha c'amategeko mpanavyaha cemejwe n'Inama nshikiran-ganji mu kwezi kwa munyonyo 2008 categerezwa kuba igikoresho nyaco mu bijanye no kurwanya bikomeye amabi ashingiyeye ku gitsina.
- Leta ntifise uburyo bwo gukurikirana ihanahanwa ry'amatongo, biciye mu buguzi canke ubundi buryo, ingorane zishingiyeye kuri ivyo nazo zikaba inkwezi y'akarongo y'amatati. Ni nkenerwa rero ko habaho uburyo bwo kwandikisha amatongo. Ishirwaho ry'umurwi uhuza ubushikiran-ganji ujejwe gutunganya ingingo ngenderwako mu bijanye no gutunganya bushasha ibijanye n'amatongo, muri ntwarante 2008, ni intambwe nziza. Ariko biranakenewe kandi ko Umurwi w'Igihugu ujejwe ibibazo

vy'amatongo n'ayandi matungo uronswa uburyo buhagije kugira ngo utore umuti amatati ahasanzwe. Ihunguka ry'impunzi naryo nyene rivamwo isoko ry'izindi ngorane, ziza ziyongera ku zindi zari zihasanze mu bijanye no kurangura ibikorwa vy'uwo murwi, bigorana kubera uburyo buke.

- Birihuta kandi korohera abanyagihugu mu bijanye no kwivuzwa. Muri kino gihe, benshi mu basinzikazwa n'ubugizi bwa nabi hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho ntibashobora kuvurwa mu bitaro, kubera kubura uburyo. Amavuriro mato mato nayo abanyagihugu bashikira ntigira ibikoresho n'abaganga. Iyo bivuye nabi naho, ibikomere bishobora gusinzikaza abantu, bikanagira n'ingaruka mbi cane ku magara n'ubutunzi, haba kuri bene gukomereka canke ku miryango yabo.

Kwaka ibirwanisho abanyagihugu babitunze batabifitiye uruhusha :

- Icfuzo c'ishirwaho ry'umugambi wo gukura ibirwanisho mu banyagihugu caragarutse kandi mw'itohozwa ryakozwe, nk'uko ndetse cari cagiye kirasubirwamwo kenshi na mbere. Ibirwanisho bicira umuriro biza imbere mu birwanisho bikoreshwa mu bugizi bwa nabi, bikaba ari navyo bigira ingaruka mbi kurusha : amatohoza yagizwe n'umuhari ITEKA mu mwaka wa 2007 arerekana ko ubugizi bwa nabi bwakozwe hakoreshejwe ibirwanisho bicira umuriro bwahitanye umuntu umwe canke benshi ku rugero rwa mirongo indwi kw'ijana (70 %).
- Itohozwa ryabaye ku ngo mu gutegura iki cegeranyo rirerekana ko abanyagihugu badashigikiye itungwa ry'ibirwanisho mu gihe ata gaciro babona ko bifise mu mico n'imigenzo y'abarundi (guhiga no kurasa mu ntumbero yo kw'inonora imitsi bisa naho bitabaho). Abanyagihugu basanzwe batunze ibirwanisho bavuga ko boba babitumwa n'imvo zo kwikingira ku giti cabo. Kugarukana umwizero kenshi biragoye kandi bifata umwanya mure mure, ariko birashobora kunyaruka mu gihe hobaho amasezerano y'amahoro n'umuhari wa nyuma ukirwana na Leta, agakurikirwa no kuwinjiza mu nzego z'igihugu hamwe no kurangiza igihe c'intambara gituma abasirikare baja ku rugamba, navyo bigatera ingorane z'umutekano w'abanyagihugu mu bice bimwe bimwe vy'igihugu.
- Abarundi bitavye iri tohoza baremeza nka bose ko biteguriye kugira uruhara mu mugambi wo gukura ibirwanisho mu gihugu (urugero rwa mirongo icenda na gatunye kw'ijana, 95 % bishuye « cane rwose » hamwe na « ego cane »). Ico gitigiri kiregeranye cane n'icari cibonekeje mw'itohozwa ryo mu mwaka wa 2005, ivyo bikerekana ko ari umugambi ushigikiwe kuva mu myaka itatu iheze, mu gihe Leta nshasha twovugaga ko

yari mu kiringo c'imfatakibaza (ikiringo c'inkinga) gushika n'ubu. Gukura ibirwanisho mu banyagihugu biracari rero ku rutonde rw'ibivuyokorwa, naho umwizero ku nzego za Leta ugenda uragabanuka bitumwe n'uko bigoye gutegekanya uko ibintu bizogenda muri politike na cane cane ko twimirije amatara yo mu mwaka w'ibihumbi bibiri na cumi.

- Iryo kurwa ry'ibirwanisho mu banyagihugu, mu gihe ryatanguraga, ritegerezwa kwitwararika kwegeranya amagerenade, ari nayo agwiriye mu gihugu kandi abangamiye kurusha baba bene kuyatunga (abikwa mu nzu kandi ukuntu agenda arononekara bishobora gutuma yituritsa) canke abazohava bayaterwa. Amagerenade afise ubushobozi bumwe n'ibindi birwanisho bicira umuriro mu bijanye no gutera ubwoba canke ukonona, ariko yoyo arazimutse kandi ashobora kwica canke gukomeretsa abantu benshi icarimwe. Ibitero vyabaye ku nzu nyinshi z'ubudandaji mu gisagara za Bujumbura mu mwaka wa 2007, vyakozwe hakoreshejwe amagerenade.
- Mu kurangiza, buri mugambi wo gukura ibirwanisho mu gihugu utegerezwa kwitwararika itandukanirizo riri hagati y'igisagara ca Bujumbura n'izindi ntara. Abanyagihugu bo mu gisagara ca Bujumbura, babona ko ibirwanisho ari uburyo bwiza bwo kwikingira, bashigikiye ko uwo mugambi wotunganywa ku banyagihugu bose icarimwe. Ubwo budasa ni nabwo bwokwitwararika mu gihe hageze kwiyumvira icohabwa abanyagihugu mu kubahimiriza gusubiza ibirwanisho batunze (ibikore-sho canke amafaranga). Mu gisagara ca Bujumbura, abanyagihugu bitavye itohozwa bavuze kenshi gusumba ahandi ko ubushomeri no kubura akazi mu rwaruka biri mu ngorane nyamukuru zibangamiye amakaritiye n'imitumba. Mu zindi ntara abanyagihugu bidogeye cane cane ingorane zo kwiyunguruza hamwe n'ingorane z'amatongo⁵.



Executive Summary

In Burundi, armed violence still claims thousands of victims every year. As in other post-conflict environments, the official end of the war in Burundi has not guaranteed security for the population, whether real or perceived, nor has it signalled an end to acts of armed violence. The Small Arms Survey—in collaboration with the Burundian National Commission for Civilian Disarmament and Prevention of Weapons Proliferation; the Ligue Iteka, a Burundian human rights organization; the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); DanChurchAid; and independent Burundian researchers—has carried out a study of armed violence in Burundi with the aim of providing an analysis of the situation that may inform violence reduction programming. The study made use of several methodological tools, including a survey that was administered among 1,500 households in six provinces, individual interviews and focus groups, and an analysis of the existing institutional data on the characteristics and effects of armed violence in the country.

Characteristics of armed violence in Burundi

Types of violence

The various forms of armed violence encountered in Burundi are not uncommon in post-conflict countries that have not yet completed the transition to peace. In Burundi, the most frequently observed type of armed violence is linked to banditry. Of those interviewed by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka, 88.4 per cent ($x=532$, $n=602$)⁶ cited armed robbery and burglary as the most common acts of armed violence in their *colline*, or neighbourhood. The Observatory of Armed Violence confirms this perception: between August 2007 and December 2008, 50 per cent of the 1,867 recorded acts of armed violence were identified as ‘banditry’. Acts of armed violence relating to land disputes are a distant second (5.6%), followed by domestic disputes (4.9%), acts connected to the last active rebel group, the Palipehutu–Forces nationales de libération (Forces for National Liberation, FNL) (4.2%), and police blunders (2.6%). Political violence, be it in the form of

threats or targeted assassinations, features regularly in the local news. Finally, the Seruka Centre, run by Doctors without Borders–Belgium, the most important medical centre treating rape victims in Burundi, estimates that 14 per cent of rapes are committed under the threat of a weapon.

Geographic distribution of violence

The provinces most affected by armed violence are the capital Bujumbura-Mairie, Bubanza, and Bujumbura Rural. Media analysis using the Taback–Coupland method shows that, unlike in other African countries such as Uganda and Nigeria, where violence occurs mainly in the street, in Burundi acts of armed violence tend to take place at night inside the victims’ homes. More than 40 per cent of survey respondents said that they did not feel safe in their homes at night.

The weapons

When asked about the types of weapon held by their fellow citizens, respondents cited automatic rifles, grenades, and handguns. In 2008, nearly 60 per cent of acts of armed violence recorded by the Observatory were committed with a firearm. Armed violence in Burundi is also characterized by a high use of grenades (22 per cent of acts of armed violence recorded by the Observatory in 2008). The weapons used during acts of violence differ according to the nature of the act and the perpetrators. Acts of banditry are committed mainly with firearms, while bladed weapons are the most common weapon used in domestic violence. The lethality of such acts depends on the type of weapon used: Ligue Iteka records for 2007 show that one or more deaths occurred as a result of 70 per cent of acts of violence committed with a firearm and 61 per cent of acts committed using a bladed weapon.

The victims

Observatory data⁷ reveals that armed violence led to 1,049 deaths and 1,262 persons being injured in 2008; it also places the rate of homicide committed with guns, bladed weapons, and explosives at 12.3 per 100,000 persons.⁸ Ligue Iteka data for 2007 shows that 89 per cent of the victims of armed violence were civilians. A majority of the victims were men: in 2007, only 26 per cent of acts of armed violence involved one or more female victims. On the other hand, female victims are more affected by sexual violence: 97 per cent of the 1,435 rape victims treated by the Seruka Centre in 2007 were female, most of them minors. The strong social stigma suffered by rape victims in Burundi suggests that the real number of victims is much higher, particularly among adult females.⁹



PHOTO ▶ A sign declares the province of Ruyigi gun-free.
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The perpetrators

A majority of perpetrators of armed violence are men under the age of 30. Burundian police data reveals that men committed 97 per cent of offences recorded in 2006 and that nearly half of all perpetrators of acts of violence were 19 to 30 years old. The Observatory has shown that of the acts of armed violence that were committed between August 2007 and December 2008 and for which perpetrators were identified, Palipehutu–FNL committed nearly half (49.5 per cent), civilians were responsible for 34.7 per cent, police officers committed 9 per cent, and soldiers fewer than 6.6 per cent. Bandits were, however, identified as the principal source of insecurity by more than three-quarters of all survey respondents (76.0 per cent, $x=576$, $n=758$), followed by rebels, police officers, and ex-combatants. The boundaries between these categories are relatively fluid, as some armed bandits sometimes wear army or police uniforms in order to deceive their victims about their identity. Nevertheless, many reports and witness statements denounce members of the Burundian army, police, and intelligence service who occasionally take part in armed violence. Finally, ex-combatants seemed

to be more stigmatized by the population in 2008 than they were in 2005, which may be a consequence of the relative failure of the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programme.

The costs

The Human Development Index ranks Burundi 172 out of 179 for the year 2006 (UNDP, 2008c).¹⁰ The International Monetary Fund reports that the provinces that were most affected by the war, such as Bubanza or Bujumbura Rural, were also most impoverished during the war. These provinces (with Bujumbura-Mairie) now record the highest number of acts of armed violence.

For individuals, armed violence represents heavy medical, legal, and social costs. The medical expenses incurred as a result of one bullet wound can reach about USD 400, and a lawyer charges an average of USD 200–500 to defend a client—exorbitant prices in a country where between 41 and 90 per cent of the population live below the poverty line (IMF, 2008).¹¹ To these costs must be added the psychological consequences of acts of violence in a country that has almost no psychiatrists or facilities for the treatment of

mental illness and in which society often stigmatizes the victims, especially women who have suffered sexual violence.

Changes in perceptions of security (2005–08)

Since the Small Arms Survey's 2005 study on light weapons in Burundi (Pézar and Florquin, 2007), a certain number of positive discoveries have been made:

- Perceptions of weapons have changed since 2005: in 2008 more respondents said that weapons were a source of danger rather than a source of protection.
- The results of the new study show that opinions regarding disarmament are relatively stable, with as many people wishing to take part in a disarmament programme in 2008 as in 2005.

These two factors suggest that now is a more appropriate time than ever to invest in a programme to disarm the civilian population.

Yet this report also sheds light on major difficulties that remain, and on new problems that have appeared in the last three years:

- While both surveys suggests that the population broadly supports the disarmament of civilians and would support such a programme unreservedly, other factors indicate that there must be a relative return to security before people will be willing to participate.
- In spite of the progress that has been made towards a final settlement of the conflict between Palipehutu–FNL and the Burundian government, the situation remains volatile, creating a climate of uncertainty in which feelings of insecurity thrive. Acts of banditry are committed by men in uniform who might be members of the army, rebels, or simply civilians who wish to be taken for members of one or the other.
- Ex-combatants (commonly known as *démobilisés*) are significantly more stigmatized in 2008 than they were in 2005. More than 40 per cent of survey respondents identified them as a group in possession of firearms, even ahead of the army and the police. These ex-combatants, for whom socio-economic reintegration is difficult, are accused of resorting to banditry, of offering their services and weapons to criminals, of acting as hired assassins, and more generally of being a major source of insecurity. While difficult to verify, these allegations mean that demobilized combatants, who form a distinct group, are marginalized and no longer

considered to be ordinary 'civilians'. Meanwhile, the police force and the army are downsizing and negotiations are under way to demobilize the combatants of the FNL; since these two measures are bound to increase the number of demobilized individuals, programmes that target this at-risk group must urgently be developed.

What can be done to combat armed violence?

Action to improve the situation can be taken on several fronts: the institutions responsible for security and justice need to be strengthened; the vulnerability of populations at risk must be decreased; and measures should be taken to reduce the number of arms in circulation among the civilian population.

Strengthening the capacities of institutions with responsibility for security and justice:

- The national police force (PNB) should have fewer officers, and those retained should be better paid and better trained. A smaller workforce would be easier to manage and would make it possible to impose disciplinary sanctions more effectively. If the police were better paid, certain officers would be less tempted to take the risk of supplementing their salary by using their weapons illegally. If officers were better trained, the public at large would have more confidence in the police, and the chances of meeting the objectives of the PNB strategic plan for 2007–17 would be improved. The plan aims to turn the police into a 'republican, modern, professional, community-based' institution (Nzosaba, 2008b).
- The fight against the impunity enjoyed by certain perpetrators of acts of violence must become a priority. Victims are often reluctant to press charges due to the costs of taking such action and for fear of reprisals. When the victims have both the courage and the resources to bring a case before the court, they face long delays and the final judgement is often inadequate. In order to combat these obstacles, the police should learn to play a role in the community, judicial structures should be strengthened, and victims assisted when they take action. Perpetrators should be punished in a manner commensurate with the crimes committed.

Reducing the vulnerability of populations at risk:

- Gender-based violence (GBV) has reached worrying levels in Burundi. Awareness raising efforts must be continued to encourage victims to

seek treatment, testify, and lodge complaints without fear of social exclusion. The new penal code adopted by Parliament in November 2008 should be a useful tool in the fight against GBV, which has now been stepped up.

- The government has poor control over land transactions, and the resulting abuses can lead to conflict. It is therefore essential to set up a system to make land secure. The creation in March 2008 of an inter-ministerial committee charged with drawing up terms of reference for land reform is a step in the right direction. The National Commission for Land and Other Assets, which is charged with settling land disputes, urgently needs more resources. Burundians who sought refuge in Tanzania are now coming back on a regular basis and represent an additional burden.
- Access to health care must be improved without delay. At this writing, many victims of armed violence could not be treated in hospital due to a lack of resources. The public health centres are poorly equipped and are in need of doctors. If not treated properly, wounds resulting from violence have serious after-effects, with dramatic human and economic consequences for the victims and their families.

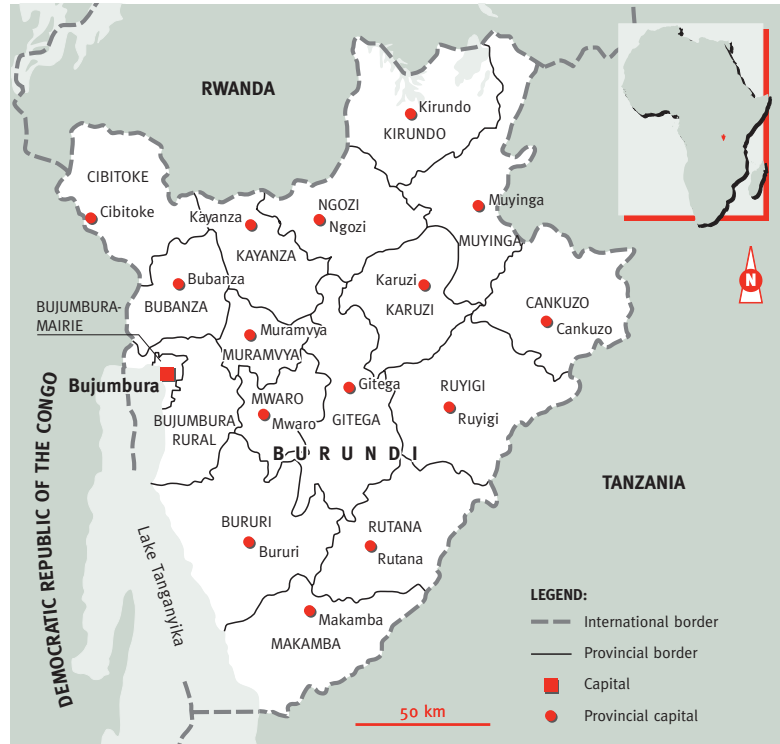
Disarming the civilian population:

- There have been repeated calls for a programme to disarm civilians; the need for disarmament is reconfirmed by the results of this survey. Firearms are used more than any other type of weapon in acts of armed violence, and they have the most tragic consequences for victims. As noted above, Ligue Iteka records for 2007 reveal that 70 per cent of acts of violence committed with a firearm resulted in one or more deaths.
- The household survey shows that the population has a very negative view of weapons, which do not have a cultural or traditional value in Burundi (hunting and shooting as a sport are almost unknown). Civilians who have weapons seem to keep them for personal protection. Rebuilding a climate of confidence will be a long and delicate process. It may be facilitated if a peace agreement can be reached with the last rebel group in operation, if the members of this group can be included in existing institutions, and if the climate of civil war, which leads the army to mobilize and endangers the populations of the regions concerned, can be brought to an end.
- The Burundians surveyed say almost unanimously that they are ready to take part in a disarmament programme (more than 95 per cent of

respondents replied 'definitely' or 'probably' to this question). This figure is close to the one recorded in 2005, which shows that the window of opportunity that existed three years ago, when the new government was enjoying what might be called a 'grace period', is still open. The disarmament of civilians is therefore still on the agenda, in spite of lower levels of confidence in the government and a higher degree of political uncertainty due to the prospect of elections in 2010.

- When disarmament of the civilian population takes place, particular attention will have to be paid to the collection of grenades, of which civilians own many, and which pose grave risks to their owners and to potential targets (they are often stored in houses in an advanced state of deterioration, which means there is a serious risk of accidental detonation). Grenades have the same dissuasive and coercive powers as firearms but cost less and have the capacity to kill or wound many people simultaneously.
- Finally, any disarmament programme must also take account of differences between Bujumbura, the only truly urban centre in Burundi, and the other provinces. The survey reveals that the people of Bujumbura-Mairie, who see weapons more as a means of protection than do people in the other provinces, would be particularly receptive to 'inclusive disarmament', i.e. disarmament targeting the whole population. These differences between town and country must also be taken into account when selecting incentives to be offered to participants in exchange for their weapons (goods or money). More often than elsewhere, the surveyed respondents in Bujumbura-Mairie cited unemployment and the lack of opportunities for young people as the main problems affecting their neighbourhood or *colline*. Respondents in other provinces complained mainly about the lack of public transport and problems associated with land.¹² ↻

MAP 1: Burundi



Introduction

Burundi and the Geneva Declaration

Burundi is emerging from a long civil war that killed and displaced hundreds of thousands of people. The war led to a proliferation of light weapons, estimated to be in excess of 100,000 (Pézard and Florquin, 2007, p. 2). Despite the signing of peace agreements, the holding of democratic elections, and the setting up of a UN peace consolidation strategy, the country is still witness to numerous acts of armed violence. The source of the violence varies according to whether the environment is rural or urban, and according to the province. For example, Bujumbura-Mairie has a high rate of criminality, while Bujumbura Rural is still experiencing the final jolts of the war, largely due to the presence of the Palipehutu–FNL.

In 2007 Burundi signed the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, which requires the signatory countries to considerably reduce the human cost of armed violence by 2015 (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2006). The declaration defines armed violence as ‘the intentional use of illegitimate force (actual or threatened) with arms or explosives, against a person, group, community, or state, that undermines people-centered security and/or sustainable development’. One of the pillars of the Geneva Declaration process is the measurability of the impact of armed violence on development, the aim being to increase awareness of the costs of violence. Produced mainly for policy-makers, Burundian civil society, and the international community, this report examines questions that are key to a better understanding of the link between armed violence and development and to suggest possible ways of reducing armed violence.

- Who are the victims and perpetrators of armed violence?
- What is the geographic distribution of armed violence?
- Under what circumstances are acts of armed violence committed and what are the risk and resilience factors?
- What instruments are used in armed violence?

- What are the consequences and costs of armed violence—physical, mental, psychosocial, and economic—for individuals and communities?

Methodology

To map patterns of armed violence and assess its repercussions on human security and development, several methodological tools were used: (1) a household survey; (2) focus groups; (3) interviews with experts; and (4) an analysis of media coverage using the Taback–Coupand method.

(1) The survey covered 1,567 households in six provinces: Bujumbura-Mairie, Bujumbura Rural, Cibitoke, Mwaro, Bururi, and Ruyigi. The Ligue Iteka, a Burundian human rights organization, conducted the survey and recruited the statistician who managed the sampling, the researchers, and the data entry personnel. The Ligue Iteka also supplied the logistical support necessary for the survey. The researchers and data entry personnel were trained in Bujumbura in January and March 2008 by Ryan Murray, a statistical analyst with the Small Arms Survey. The survey questionnaire (see Appendix I), which was drafted in French and Kirundi, covers three main areas: security (including perceptions of the level of security and degree of victimization), weapons, and disarmament. Ryan Murray also analysed the survey data (for details on the methodology used, see Appendix II).

The sample of households interviewed was chosen by Emmanuel Nindagiye, a statistician, on the basis of demographic information for 1998 and 2002 supplied by the Burundian Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (ISTEEBU). A random sampling of six *sous-collines* (sub-sub-districts) per district was carried out, and five households were chosen at random in each of the 312 *sous-collines* to be studied. In Bujumbura-Mairie, the basic unit chosen was the urban district, which was treated as the enumeration unit. The 1,567 questionnaires were completed in the six provinces between 16 February and 16 March 2008. After the removal of questionnaires that were found to contain errors, the final sample size was $n=1,487$.

The six provinces chosen are the same as those chosen for the survey on light weapons that was conducted in Burundi in 2005 (Pézar and Florquin, 2007). In order to identify changes in the replies given to certain questions between 2005 and 2008, the same *sous-collines* (or population enumeration units) were covered by the two surveys (but the five households interviewed in each *sous-colline* or population enumeration unit were not necessarily the same in 2005 and 2008).

The selected provinces also represent a range of geographical, social, and historical characteristics. They were chosen on the basis of three main criteria:

- whether they are urban or rural: Bujumbura-Mairie is the capital, and the only centre in Burundi that is truly urban (Gitega is urban to a lesser extent).
- whether they are part of a border community: Ruyigi shares a border with Tanzania, while Cibitoke neighbours the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Rwanda.
- whether they are in a region that is affected by the presence or use of firearms: provinces such as Cibitoke or Bujumbura Rural were severely affected by the war; in Bururi, large numbers of firearms have historically been present. Mwaro, on the other hand, was only slightly affected by the war and does not have a tradition that predisposes its inhabitants to holding a particularly large number of weapons.

(2) Focus groups of eight to ten people were organized in five provinces. The purpose of these groups was to stimulate a discussion about perceptions of the level of security, the level of armed violence, the prevalence and use of weapons in the community concerned, and possible solutions to the problems of armed violence.

Six focus groups were held in January 2008 by the authors of this report with:

- a group of men and a group of women in Bujumbura-Mairie;
- a group of men and a group of women in Cibitoke;
- a group of men and a group of women in Mwaro.

Five other focus groups were held between February and March 2008 by Adam Forbes, head of DanChurchAid–Burundi, with:

- a group of men and a group of women in Gitega;
- a group of men and a group of women in Makamba;
- a group of ex-combatants in Bujumbura-Mairie.

Moderators, a note-taker, and an interpreter were also present at the focus groups.

(3) The authors of this report conducted 60 interviews with key informants in Bujumbura, including members of Burundian civil society, representatives of

the security forces (army and police), government representatives, representatives of regional and international organizations in Burundi, independent Burundian researchers, and members of foreign diplomatic representations. A further five interviews were carried out in February 2008 by Adam Forbes, head of the programme for DanChurchAid–Burundi, with the police, local administrators, members of civil society, and representatives of the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) in Gitega and Makamba.

(4) The Taback–Coupand (TACO) method involves a data analysis grid in which incidents of armed violence reported in the media are recorded and broken down per type, perpetrator, victim, and context. This method reveals patterns and changes in armed violence. A TACO analysis for Burundi for the period from 1 January to 31 March 2008 was carried out by Christina Wille of the Small Arms Survey. It includes 246 incidents of armed violence (Wille, 2008). The analysis used the same sources of information as the Observatory of Armed Violence, namely public and private local radio stations (RTNB, RP, RSF-Bonesha, Isanganiro, and Radio France Internationale), the local and international print and online media (ABP, Net Press, Agence de presse Burundi Réalités, Agence France Presse, @ribNews, Panapress, and ReliefWeb), reports from the BINUB security cell, and the Ligue Iteka Web site.

In addition to these four tools, statistical data from several Burundian and international sources was analyzed. Sources included the 2006 activity report of the PNB; the activity reports for 2006 and 2007 of the Ligue Iteka; the reports of the human rights division of the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB) and BINUB; and the monthly reports of the Observatory of Armed Violence. Finally, studies on specific aspects of armed violence (land disputes as well as violence relating to security forces and to the Palipehutu–FNL) were commissioned from Burundian researchers.

Is Burundi a post-conflict society?

Since its independence in 1962, Burundi has seen a succession of ethno-political conflicts that have had dramatic consequences. The most recent crisis lasted ten long years, between the assassination in 1993 of the first president to be democratically elected, Melchior Ndadaye, and the global ceasefire that was signed in 2003 by the main rebel group, the CNDD–FDD. Between these two dates, the fighting between the army (with a majority of Tutsis) and the six rebel groups (Hutus in the majority), and the acts of violence committed against civilians, claimed around 300,000 victims and caused the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people.


The negotiations conducted under the aegis of Presidents Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela led, in August 2000, to the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, which laid down the basis for a reform of the security sector through the creation of a new police force and a new army. This agreement also provided a framework for the creation, in November 2001, of a government of national unity and transition—initially led by a Tutsi president, Pierre Buyoya (2001–03), then by his Hutu vice-president, Domitien Ndayizeye (2003–05). In August 2005, the former leader of the CNDD–FDD, Pierre Nkurunziza, was elected president; that same year, via referendum, 90 per cent of the electorate approved a new constitution instituting rule by a government whose members would be 60 per cent Hutu and 40 per cent Tutsi (HRW, 2005; RoB, 2005, art. 129).

The Arusha Agreement stipulates that the combatants of the former armed forces and the former rebel groups—known as PMPA—are to be demobilized (Arusha Agreement, 2000, Protocol III, ch. II, art. 21). However, the disarmament, rehabilitation, and reintegration (DRR) programme, which was intended to demobilize and reintegrate 55,000 combatants, was not launched until December 2004 (World Bank, 2004, p. 8). The purpose of the programme was also to support the rehabilitation of 20,000 Gardiens de la Paix (Peace Guardians), a pro-government militia formed during the war, and of 10,000 Militants Combattants (Militant Combatants), a pro-CNDD–FDD rival militia (MDRP, 2008a). During the disarmament phase 11,500 weapons were recovered from former members of the PMPA (Pézar and Florquin, 2007, p. 18). By August 2008, more than 26,000 people had been demobilized, but only 14,800 had been reintegrated (MDRP, 2008b).

The launch of the DDR programme coincided with the deployment of ONUB, the UN force that replaced the African Mission in Burundi, which had been set up in 2003 by the African Union (AU), but with limited financial, human, and logistical capacity. In February 2007, ONUB was replaced by BINUB. For the international community in Burundi, this marked a switch from a peacekeeping role to one of providing assistance for the reconstruction of the country (BBC, 2008a; BINUB, 2006). At the same time, the UN Peacebuilding Commission, which was created in 2005, chose Burundi as one of the first two target countries for its activities (UN, 2005; 2007). An integrated strategy intended to promote peacebuilding and prevent a return of the conflict was launched at the beginning of 2007 (RoB and UN, 2007; UN, 2007, para. 18). Government donors support Burundi with crucial development aid; in 2007, funding rose to USD 301 million, or about half of the state budget (Mora, 2008, p. 12). In January 2009, Burundi also benefited from the cancellation of 92 per cent of its foreign debt, or about USD 1.4 billion (AFP, 2009).

In spite of this progress towards democracy, a last rebel group, the Palipehutu–FNL, did not take part in the peace process in 2003, preferring to continue its activities in the north-west of the country. Under the aegis of South African Minister for Safety and Security Charles Nqakula, who was appointed by the regional initiative,¹³ the two parties met for the first time in Dar es Salaam on 29 May 2006 and a ceasefire agreement was signed on 7 September 2006 (ICG, 2006, p. 4; 2007, pp. 3–6). This agreement provided for the creation of the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism (MCVS), the provisional immunity of the leaders of the Palipehutu–FNL, the release of political prisoners, and for the combatants of the Palipehutu–FNL to be identified and brought together with a view to their being integrated into the Burundian defence and security forces or demobilized.

In July 2007, given the government’s failure to implement the provisions of the agreement, the Palipehutu–FNL delegation left the MCVS, bringing the negotiations to an end (ICG, 2007, p. 1). The security situation deteriorated¹⁴ until, in April 2008, violent fighting resumed between the army and the Palipehutu–FNL (AFP, 2008d; BBC, 2008b; IRIN, 2008a). On 26 May 2008, the two parties finally signed a joint declaration of cessation of hostilities (BINUB–DDH, 2008e, p. 1), and in December 2008 they arrived at a compromise on their main points of disagreement at a summit attended by the heads of state from the Great Lakes countries.

In recent years, Burundi has also been affected by waves of political violence. In July 2006, the Burundian police arrested seven people, including a former president, Domitien Ndayizeye, accusing them of conspiracy (ICG, 2006, p. 2).¹⁵ In addition, grenade attacks on individuals and businesses (mainly bars) have multiplied since the dry period in 2006. In August 2007 and March 2008, members of parliament and politicians who had expressed their dissatisfaction with the government were the victims of similar attacks (HRW, 2008a). 



I. Armed Violence: Perceptions and Realities

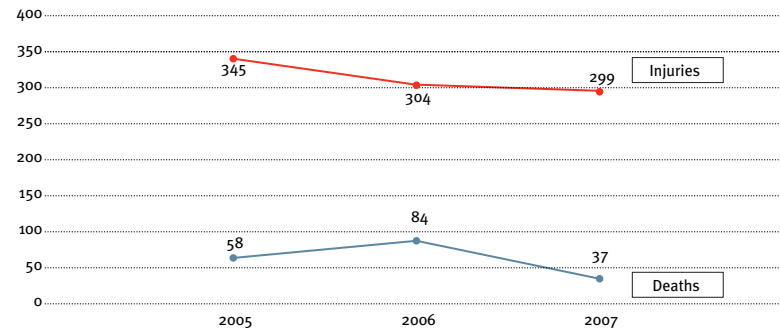
Defining ‘insecurity’

The household survey reveals under which circumstances Burundians feel insecure. While this report defines ‘insecurity’ as a climate in which individuals are afraid of becoming a victim of armed violence, Burundians often use the term with reference to crops and the food supply. In one of the focus groups, for instance, a woman from Mwaro said: ‘insecurity is not only related to arms but also to the fear of an empty stomach.... The crop is depleted, food prices increase overnight just when the people are penniless. This is a very great source of insecurity.’¹⁶

In fact, only 13.2 per cent (x=196, n=1,482) of respondents mentioned ‘problems related to the use of arms’ as one of the main problems affecting their neighbourhood or *colline*. Far more common responses were the lack of infrastructure (52.0%, x=771, n=1,482), unemployment (39.3%, x=583, n=1,482), criminality (37.6%, x=557, n=1,482)—which may be partly associated with the problems related to the use of arms—and the inadequacy of the health infrastructure (34.5%, x=512, n=1,482). The ‘Other’ category, chosen by 74.6% (x=1,105, n=1,482) of respondents, mainly covers access to drinking water, poverty, and agricultural problems (lack of seed, fertilizer, and land, as well as diseases affecting crops). Thus, Burundians are mainly concerned with development problems—in the broadest sense of the term, covering questions of poverty and lack of infrastructure.

With respect to the risk of becoming a victim of armed violence, it is interesting to note that the feeling of insecurity has often been described as, at least in part, ‘contagious’. Participants in focus groups in Mwaro and in Cibitoke mentioned the role of the media, particularly the radio, in aggravating their own feelings of insecurity. One of them said: ‘We live in constant fear because of the constant flow of bad news on the radio. Even when we have peace here, if we listen to the radio, we are afraid and expect our turn to come.’¹⁷ Moreover, these focus groups also highlighted a general feeling that there was less respect for human life, particularly since the end of the war. According to one participant, killing ‘has become no more than a game’;

GRAPH 1 Number of dead and wounded resulting from armed violence between 2005 and 2007, in 13 hospitals and health centres in four provinces



SOURCE: Dalal and Nasibu Bilali (2008, p. 22)²⁰

another stated that ‘because of the war situation that we have been suffering for so long, people are no longer human’.¹⁸ A woman from Mwaro said, ‘insecurity is also a war’.¹⁹

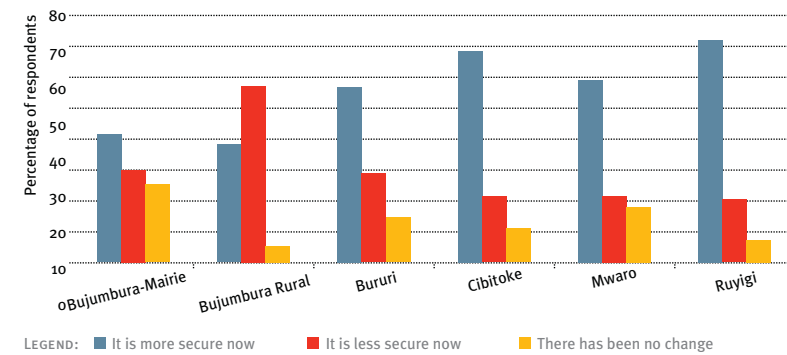
Analysis of the records of 13 hospitals and health centres in four provinces (Bujumbura-Mairie, Gitega, Ngozi, and Bururi) shows that the number of deaths and injuries caused by armed violence remained relatively stable between 2005 and 2007 (see Graph 1). This stability suggests that the situation is ‘frozen’ at a post-conflict level that remains high (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 22).

However, these figures are only a rough estimate of the total number of deaths and injuries caused by armed violence. Indeed, according to police sources, fewer than ten per cent of those wounded reach the hospitals, either because they die on the spot or on the way to the hospital, or because they prefer not to go to hospital—because they do not have enough money to pay the deposit demanded by some hospitals, or because they fear police investigations (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 3).

Changes in the perception of security (September 2007–February 2008)

Perceptions of the level of security over the six months prior to the survey (conducted in February–March 2008) vary considerably depending on the provinces observed (see Graph 2 and Map 3). Provinces where insecurity levels tend to remain low—such as Bururi, Mwaro, and Ruyigi—show a dramatic increase in people’s perception of security over those six months.

GRAPH 2 Change in the perception of the level of security during the six months prior to the survey, per province



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

Cibitoke and Bujumbura-Mairie follow the same trend, though it is less marked in Bujumbura-Mairie. The situation in Bujumbura Rural is radically different from that of the five other provinces studied, which is possibly a consequence of the resumption of Palipehutu–FNL’s activities in this area following the interruption of talks with the government. This is the sole province in which a majority of the respondents (57.0%, $x=184$, $n=323$) replied that the level of security in their neighbourhood, *colline*, or village was lower than it had been six months earlier, compared to 37.2% ($x=120$, $n=323$) of respondents who noticed an improvement.

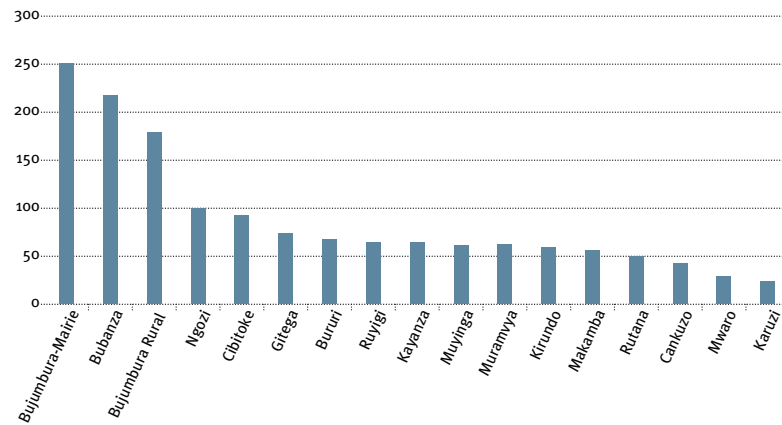
Perceptions of the change in the level of security also vary according to the respondent’s occupation. Among the various occupations represented, traders, entrepreneurs, and civil servants were the only individuals who said that the security situation had worsened rather than improved, which may reflect an increasing fear of banditry among those who carry money on their person or are paid a regular salary.²¹

Insecurity: perception and reality

Geographic distribution of armed violence

The perceived and real intensity of the armed violence varies considerably across the provinces.

With a little more than 250 acts of armed violence recorded in 2008, Bujumbura-Mairie is the most violent province in the country (see Graph 3). The provinces of Bubanza (218 acts) and Bujumbura Rural (180) follow close behind (UNPF, 2008).

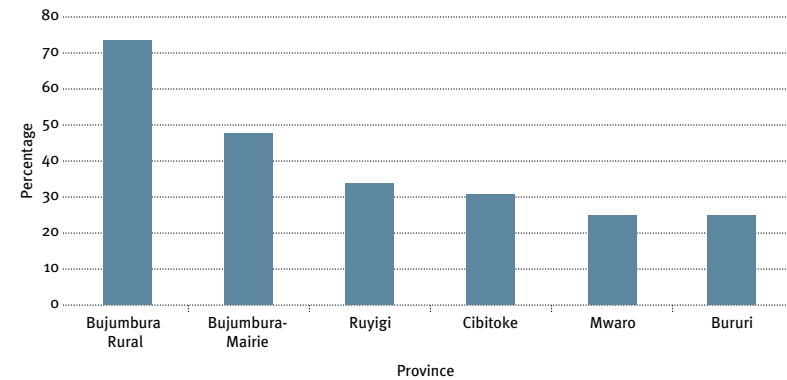
GRAPH 3 Number of acts of armed violence committed in 2008, per province

SOURCES: UNPF (2007; 2008)

The provinces of Mwaro and Karuzi registered the lowest number of acts of armed violence in 2008 (30 and 25, respectively). Almost nobody in Mwaro feels ‘not very’ or ‘not at all’ secure in his or her house during the daytime; in Bujumbura-Mairie, however, these answers were chosen by more than one in ten respondents. The perception of the level of security seems worse in Bujumbura Rural than in the other five provinces, which is probably a consequence of Palipehutu–FNL activity (and, therefore, of the army and intelligence service) in this region. Almost 20 per cent of the respondents in Bujumbura Rural feel ‘not very’ or ‘not at all’ secure when travelling during the day compared with around ten per cent in Bujumbura-Mairie. A similar difference is observed for nighttime travel: 72.6 per cent in Bujumbura Rural compared with 45.9 per cent in Bujumbura-Mairie.

The particularly problematic nature of Bujumbura Rural also appears when the survey questions relate to actual acts of armed violence. In Bujumbura Rural, almost three out of four people (73.7%, $x=238$, $n=323$) said that acts of armed violence were liable to occur in their village, *colline*, or neighbourhood compared to less than one out of two in Bujumbura-Mairie (48.2%, $x=163$, $n=338$)—which is in second position—and one out of four in Mwaro and Bururi (24.9%, $x=44$, $n=177$ and 24.8%, $x=65$, $n=263$, respectively) (see Graph 4 and Map 2).

Nevertheless, Bujumbura-Mairie leads all other provinces in terms of armed violence and criminality. With approximately 500,000 inhabitants, the capital has a population density that ensures a certain anonymity, one that allows offenders to easily escape the law while offering an abundance of

GRAPH 4 Percentage of respondents who answered ‘yes’ to the question: ‘Do acts of armed violence of any kind occur in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood?’

SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

potential criminal gains (Small Arms Survey, 2007, p. 167).²² During the first survey conducted by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka, respondents in Bujumbura-Mairie said that the inhabitants of their neighbourhood or *colline* were the most armed: 16.1 per cent of respondents replied that ‘many’ or ‘the majority’ of households had a firearm (Small Arms Survey, 2007, p. 215).²³ In 2006, based on PNB figures, almost one-third of the 10,598 offences recorded nationwide were committed in Bujumbura-Mairie. These were mainly aggravated theft²⁴ (34% of all offences), fraud or breach of trust (24%), and common theft (9%) (PNB, 2007a, pp. 6–9).²⁵

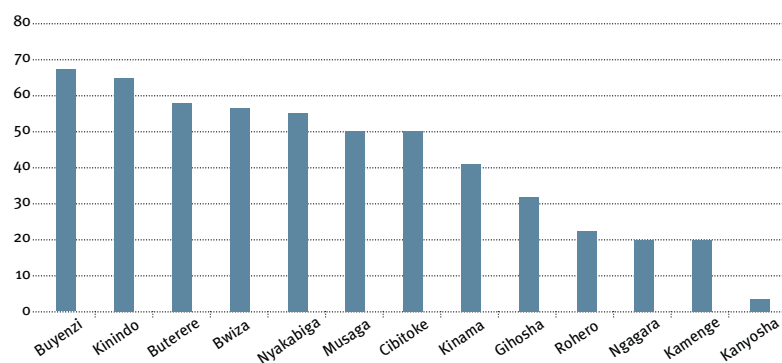
Perceptions of security vary according to the districts of the capital. Generally, inhabitants feel most secure at night in ‘mixed’ districts (Buyenzi, Buterere, and Bwiza) and in those with a majority Tutsi population (Kinindo, Nyakabiga, and Musaga) (see Graph 5).

The household survey showed that respondents in the well-off district of Rohero most frequently replied that ‘certain types of weapon may be useful to protect you or members of your household’ (46.2%, $x=12$, $n=26$). Only 7.4 per cent ($x=2$, $n=27$) of respondents gave a similar reply in the less well-off district of Kinama and 13.0 per cent ($x=3$, $n=23$) in the district of Kamenge. Yet Kamenge is the district where 91.0 per cent of the people who agreed to answer the question said that the inhabitants of their neighbourhood possessed weapons. Perceptions regarding the presence of weapons vary considerably according to the district. Ngagara and Kamenge are the neighbourhoods where the greatest number of respondents said that the inhabitants of their neighbourhood possess weapons and explosives (Ngarara: 82.0%, $x=14$, $n=17$); the inhabitants of these two districts said

PHOTO ► A bandolier of bullets hangs around the neck of a Burundian escort. © Bobby Model/National Geographic Stock



GRAPH 5 Percentage of respondents per district who say they feel ‘totally secure’ at night in Bujumbura-Mairie



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

they did not feel very safe. Kinindo shows a different pattern: even though 73.7 per cent ($x=14$, $n=19$) of respondents said that there were weapons in that district, 64.0 per cent ($x=16$, $n=25$) of them said they felt ‘totally secure’ at night. This

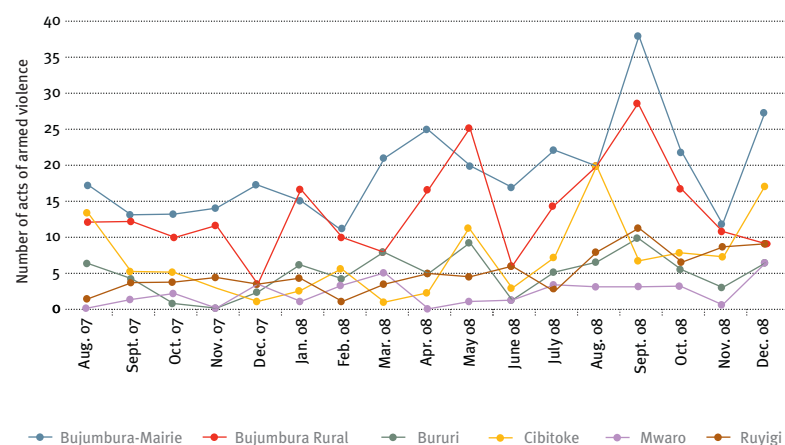
paradox may be explained by the fact that Kinindo is a neighbourhood where many army officers and important people live under uniformed protection.

The Observatory of Armed Violence²⁶ set up in 2007 shows that between August 2007 and April 2008 the number of acts of armed violence did not change significantly, with an average of 77 acts per month. However, in May 2008 and over the next five months there was a sharp increase in the number, which reached 201 in September. The number of incidents recorded in Bujumbura-Mairie rose in March 2008; this trend was confirmed in April with renewed shelling of the capital by the Palipehutu–FNL (UNPF, 2008). The provinces of Bujumbura-Mairie and Bujumbura Rural both experienced a peak in acts of armed violence in September 2008, due mostly to the very sharp increase in the number of incidents of banditry during the same month (see Graph 6).

Timing of acts of violence

The household survey shows that the feeling of insecurity is highest during the night: 41.9% ($x=622$, $n=1,481$) of respondents felt ‘not very’ or ‘not at all’ safe when travelling at night. More surprisingly, people hardly feel any safer

GRAPH 6 Change in the number of acts of armed violence committed per month, in six provinces (August 2007–December 2008)



SOURCES: UNPF (2007; 2008)

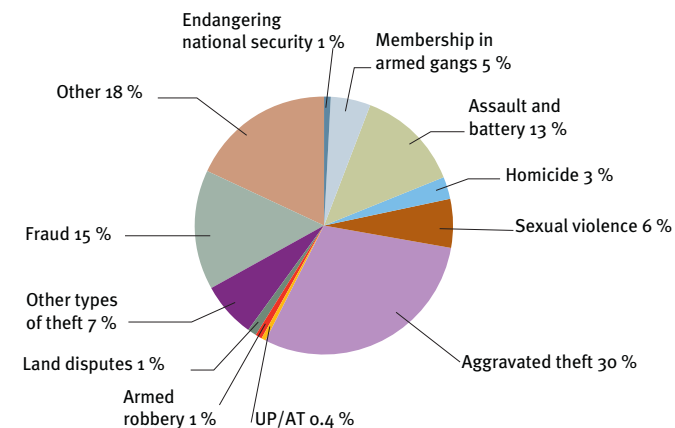
inside their homes at night (39.8%, $x=590$, $n=1,485$), which suggests a strong fear of burglaries and nighttime attacks on homes (see Map 4). To a certain extent, these fears seem to be justified: the TACO analysis of 246 violent incidents between January and March 2008 shows that 59 per cent of them occurred during the night and that more than half occurred inside a building—the victim's home in 75 per cent of cases²⁷ (Wille, 2008, pp. 5–6). The women questioned in the focus groups in Makamba and Gitega said that they did not feel safe in their homes at night: they feared burglaries, which are frequently accompanied by rape and murder.

Types of crime

Of all the respondents, 42.8 per cent ($x=633$, $n=1,480$) reported that acts of violence occurred in their village, *colline*, or neighbourhood. When these individuals were asked 'What type of armed violence takes place in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood?', 95.7 per cent ($x=602$, $n=629$) of them identified armed robbery and burglaries. Respondents also selected the following replies, in this order: murders (41.3%, $x=260$, $n=629$), attacks (37.8%, $x=238$, $n=629$), and rapes committed under threat of a weapon (20.7%, $x=130$, $n=629$).

This predominance of theft and burglary is confirmed by the PNB data for 2006. 'Aggravated thefts' represent the biggest category of offences (almost 28% of the 8,961 offences recorded), ahead of 'assault and battery' (PNB, 2007a, pp. 70–74). If certain offences are aggregated (see Graph 7), homicides—including

GRAPH 7 Offences recorded by the PNB in 2006



NOTE: UP/AT = Unlawful possession or arms trafficking

SOURCE: PNB (2007a, pp. 70–74)

complicity and attempted murder—represent only three per cent of recorded offences (294 cases). Once again most of the offences committed are thefts (38% of the total).

Because PNB figures only mention the type of offence and not the motive, some categories of violence may be underestimated. Offences relating to land disputes, for instance, seem to represent only about one per cent of all offences, but many of them are probably included in other categories, such as murder or assault and battery.

Some categories are also ambiguous: 'membership in an armed gang' could include membership in a gang of bandits or of the Palipehutu–FNL. This confusion, however, reflects the fact that the line between banditry and rebellion is often blurred: the members of the Palipehutu–FNL sometimes use violence to extort food and equipment, and some bandits unreservedly pretend to be members of the Palipehutu–FNL in order to do the same.²⁸

Between August 2007 and December 2008, the Observatory of Armed Violence recorded 1,867 acts of armed violence, of which almost half were acts of banditry. This is followed by various types of violence, all more or less at the same level (between 2% and 6% of the total): land disputes; domestic disputes (which include family quarrels and violence relating to accusations of witchcraft); violence relating to the Palipehutu–FNL; police blunders; and rape under the threat of a weapon. This last category, which is extremely important in understanding the role that weapons play in violence against women, is not usually recorded: the databases rarely distinguish between

cases where the rapist used a weapon and cases where he did not. In this respect, the Observatory offers a higher degree of precision than the other databases studied (PNB statistics and the Ligue Iteka).

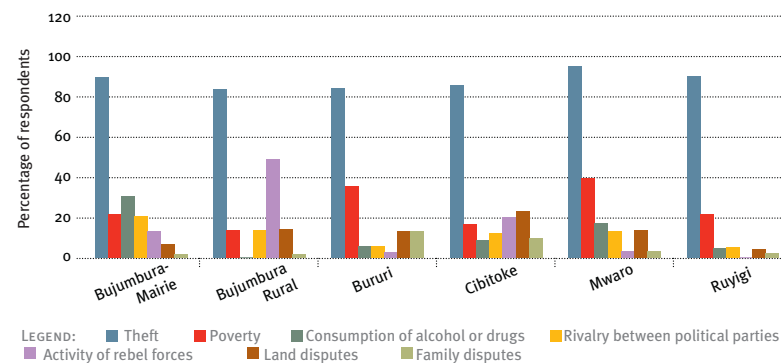
Whereas banditry is the main reason for the violence in all provinces, secondary motives vary (UNPF, 2007; 2008). The conflict between the Palipehutu–FNL and government forces is a source of violence particularly in Bujumbura Rural. While acts of armed violence related to political violence and police blunders are more predominant in Bujumbura-Mairie, those related to land conflicts are more numerous in Gitega and Ngozi, and rapes committed under the threat of a weapon are more numerous in Gitega and Bubanza.

Identifying the victims

It is very difficult to gather systematic data on victims and to create a standard profile. Nonetheless, it is possible to highlight a few general characteristics.

Men are the most common victims of violence. The statistics of the Ligue Iteka show that 224 acts of armed violence out of the 310 recorded in 2007 involved one or more men (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I).²⁹ The 2007 report of the Ligue Iteka also shows that, in 89 per cent of cases, the victims were civilian. The TACO analysis of incidents of violence between January and March 2008 confirms that they were the main victims of one-sided armed violence (Wille, 2008, p. 7).³⁰ It also shows that they are only slightly involved in multi-sided acts, suggesting that they generally do not defend themselves when they are attacked by armed individuals.

GRAPH 8 Main motives for committing acts of armed violence, per province



NOTE: Only the motives mentioned by five per cent or more of respondents in at least one province are cited here. The 'Other' category is not shown in this graph.

SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

Box 1: Analysis of cases of armed violence during the three months preceding the household survey

Only 35 individuals out of the 1,487 interviewed for the survey said that they themselves or a member of their household had been the victim of a violent incident involving a weapon or explosives during the three months prior to the survey. Thirty-one of these incidents were explained in greater detail. While statistically valid conclusions cannot be drawn from this low number of cases, the findings nevertheless illustrate certain armed violence trends. In almost two-thirds of the cases, the incidents were armed robbery or burglaries. Murders come in second position, followed by attacks and fights involving weapons. Only one case of rape and one case of kidnapping (both committed under the threat of a weapon) were recorded.

In 18 cases out of 31, the victims of the incidents were physically injured and in 7 cases they suffered psychological after-effects. In more than three-quarters of the cases (77.4%, $x=24$, $n=31$), the respondents said that the incident had had financial consequences for the household, though they could not estimate the costs. In a little more than 40 per cent of the cases (41.4%, $x=12$, $n=29$), the victim knew the perpetrator(s) of the violence, who was or were sometimes related to the victim or a neighbour. In more than half of the cases (54.8%, $x=17$, $n=31$), the violence occurred in the victim's home and in one-quarter of the cases (25.8%, $x=8$, $n=31$), it occurred on a road or pathway. In more than 80 per cent of the cases (83.9%, $x=26$, $n=31$), the violence occurred at night.

In 28 cases out of 31 the perpetrators of the violence were not punished, meaning that (1) they were not arrested, which is surprising insofar as they were identified in at least 12 cases out of 29 in which the victim knew the perpetrators; (2) that they were arrested but released; or (3) that the victims did not file a criminal complaint. These figures reinforce the sense expressed in the survey and in focus groups that there is a particularly serious problem of impunity in Burundi

SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

The household survey reveals that 'being rich' is seen as making a person more likely to become a victim of armed violence: this reason was chosen by 96.1 per cent of respondents ($x=546$, $n=568$). The three following replies are also related to the possession of money: being a businessman or -woman (74.5%, $x=423$, $n=568$), being employed (40.1%, $x=228$, $n=568$), and being a civil servant (32.2%, $x=183$, $n=568$). Administrators, such as neighbourhood leaders, feel particularly vulnerable;³¹ 20.2% of respondents ($x=115$, $n=568$) claimed that being a politician was a risk factor. Being a widow or a woman were also mentioned as risk factors by 13.6% and 12.7% of respondents, respectively (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). In this context, it is

Box 2 : Suspects and perpetrators of violence: Burundi's prison population

At the end of December 2007, the prison population—defined as all convicts and prisoners on remand in Burundi's 11 prisons—totalled at least 8,342, comprising 2,410 convicted prisoners and 5,932 prisoners on remand. Women represented a little fewer than 3 per cent of the prisoners and minors 5.5 per cent (RoB, Prisons Department, 2008, pp. 4, 9). The three offences for which those in custody are most often convicted or placed on remand are aggravated theft (37.4%), rape (13.2%),³⁴ and murder (11.2%).³⁵

At the Ngozi women's prison, 24.2 per cent of those in custody have been imprisoned for infanticide, 24.2 per cent for poisoning, and 16 per cent for murder, often with long sentences; 19 out of 24 convicted prisoners are serving sentences of 20 years or more (RoB, Ngozi Women's Prison, 2008)..

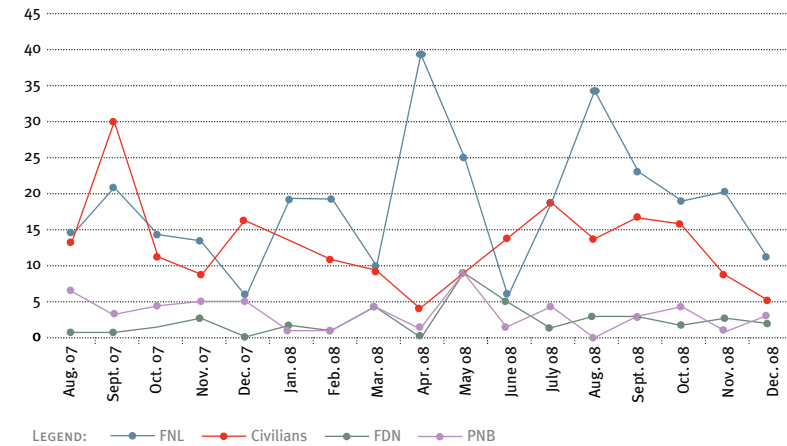
useful to note that women are the largest group of victims of sexual and domestic violence in Burundi, and in 2007 they represented 97 per cent of rape victims treated at the MSF–Belgium Seruka Centre. According to the manager of this centre, 14 per cent of the victims—about 195 individuals—had been raped under the threat of a weapon.³² Lastly, belonging to a particular ethnic group was cited as a risk factor by 10.7 per cent of respondents (x=61, n=568).

Identifying the perpetrators

The PNB figures for 2006 show that the perpetrators were mostly men under the age of 30—the usual profile of perpetrators in most other countries (Small Arms Survey, 2006, pp. 296–97). According to statistics collected from nine provincial police stations,³³ men committed approximately 93 per cent of the recorded offences. Most of the perpetrators were between 19 and 30 years of age (46% of offences), but those over 30 are close behind, representing almost 44 per cent of the perpetrators (PNB, 2007a, pp. 75–85). The Ligue Iteka database for 2007 shows that one or more female perpetrators were involved in only 12 per cent of the 140 acts of armed violence for which the perpetrators were identified; almost one-third of those cases involved infanticide.

Survey respondents were asked to identify groups of people whom they perceived to be the cause of insecurity in Burundi. The hierarchy of categories varies according to the province, except for bandits, who are always in the lead (see Map 5). The rebels are the second most-cited group in Bujumbura Rural

GRAPH 9 Number of acts of armed violence recorded by the Observatory of Armed Violence, per perpetrator (August 2007–December 2008)



SOURCES: UNPF (2007; 2008)

and Cibitoke, two provinces where the Palipehutu–FNL operate, while ex-combatants are cited in second place by respondents in Bururi, Mwaro, and Ruyigi (see Map 6). These results confirm the results of the 2007 survey conducted by the early warning centre CENAP³⁶ (CENAP, 2007, p. 18).

There has been a clear change in the perception of two categories of the population since 2005. First, soldiers, who in 2005 were cited by 14.3 per cent of respondents (x=264, n=1846) as a cause of insecurity, were only cited by 8.2 per cent (x=62, n=758) in 2008. This change may be due to the improved conduct of military personnel, or it may be due to the fact that fewer members of the National Defence Force (FDN) have been deployed on the ground since ceasefire agreements were signed with the Palipehutu–FNL in September 2006. Second, ex-combatants: in their case, the perception has shifted in the opposite direction.³⁷

This data must be put into perspective with the data gathered by the Observatory of Armed Violence.³⁸ Between August 2007 and December 2008, the perpetrators of 630 acts of armed violence (34% of total) were identified: 49.5 per cent of these acts were committed by the FNL, 34.8 per cent by civilians, 9.0 per cent by the PNB, and 6.6 per cent by the FDN (UNPF, 2007; 2008). The Ligue Iteka's data differs slightly, with 37 per cent of acts of armed violence recorded in 2007 committed by civilians, followed by armed bandits (10%), members of the Palipehutu–FNL (10%), police officers (5%), and military personnel (2.3%) (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I). In close to 40 per cent



PHOTO ◀ A demobilization centre for former government soldiers in Gitega, 2006. © Martin Roemers/Panos Pictures

of the cases, the perpetrators could not be identified, which means that many acts of armed violence remain unpunished.

The Ligue Iteka also recorded 105 acts of torture in 2007;³⁹ 44 per cent of these were committed by police officers, 19 per cent by civilians, 11 per cent by local administrators (leader of the area, *colline*, or neighbourhood), 10 per cent by military personnel, and 4 per cent by members of the Palipehutu–FNL. Compared to the 2006 figures, those for 2007 reveal a clear drop in the number of the acts of torture committed by the military and an increase in those committed by the police and civilians.⁴⁰

There was a sharp increase in the number of acts of armed violence committed by civilians and the Palipehutu–FNL during August and September 2007, which probably reflects the Palipehutu–FNL’s withdrawal from negotiations in July 2007.⁴¹ The people of the provinces affected by the rebellion, such as Cibitoke, also experienced a new outbreak of acts of banditry during this period.⁴² The other significant event of this period is the increase in acts of

violence committed by the Palipehutu–FNL in April 2008—when the large-scale confrontation between the group and government forces began—prior to the signature of the ceasefire agreement on 26 May. Finally, the last wave of acts of armed violence committed by the FNL in August 2008 was accompanied by a sharp rise in the number of acts of banditry that same month. 📍



II. Types of Armed Violence

The Observatory of Armed Violence divides acts of armed violence into five categories whose relevance was confirmed in many individual interviews and focus groups, namely: banditry; political violence (including fighting between the army and the Palipehutu–FNL); violence linked to state security forces (army and police); domestic and sexual violence; and land disputes. These different types of armed violence are typical of countries in post-conflict situations (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2008, ch. 3).

In practice, however, the lines between the various categories are often blurry. Certain categories overlap, for example, when police officers use their police weapon in committing acts of banditry or rape. The conflict with the Palipehutu–FNL also has ramifications for insecurity: in addition to the incidents between the army and rebels and the acts of violence committed by the army and the Palipehutu–FNL against the civilian population, the conflict creates an atmosphere of chaos and lawlessness, which is conducive to banditry and criminal activity of all kinds.⁴³ Many crimes are committed by individuals in uniform—though it is not possible to tell whether they are really soldiers—who subject civilians to extortion rackets, demanding money in exchange for so-called protection.⁴⁴

Banditry

Context

Banditry is the main reason for acts of armed violence recorded in Burundi, according to all the sources used. The PNB statistics show that aggravated thefts and ordinary thefts in 2006 accounted for nearly 43 per cent of all recorded offences, to which other categories should be added, such as theft of small and large livestock and pickpocketing (PNB, 2007a, pp. 70–74).⁴⁵ For the Ligue Iteka, theft is also the main motive behind acts of armed violence (36 per cent of acts of violence whose motive is known) (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I). The Observatory of Armed Violence draws the same conclusion, attributing 50 per cent of acts of armed violence recorded between August 2007 and December 2008 to banditry.

Banditry, and in particular nighttime burglaries, were widely cited in the focus groups as a major source of anxiety. The bandits' aim is not usually to kill their victim: they use their weapons for intimidation purposes and usually use them to inflict harm only if the victim resists or is armed (Forbes, 2007, p. 8). The TACO analysis shows that criminals wound their victims more often than they kill them, which suggests that their intention is to steal rather than to kill (Wille, 2008, pp. 10–11). However, sometimes burglaries go wrong and the perpetrators kill their victims if they are afraid they have been identified.⁴⁶ In many cases, the women present in the house are raped during attacks.⁴⁷ Another category of armed violence that is linked to banditry is the targeted assassination of individuals for reasons such as revenge, land disputes, or disagreements remaining after a matter has been heard in court.

In the interior of the country, according to the interviews carried out in Gitega, Cibitoke, and Mwaro, people who live near roads or in the town centre feel more secure than those who live in the hills, as attacks are more common in the country and peri-urban areas. Other participants in focus groups cited poor communication between police stations in rural areas as a source of danger for the inhabitants, and of impunity for the perpetrators of violence.⁴⁸ While the concentration of rich people in towns may attract thieves, the greater number of police officers was clearly dissuasive. As a result, the spaces between urban and rural areas, such as the districts around Gitega, are often more affected by violence in that province.⁴⁹

Victims

As noted above, having a regular income or carrying even a modest sum of money is a risk factor. Entrepreneurs, traders, and peasants who have just sold some of their crops or livestock are often targets.⁵⁰ Small shops in rural areas are also frequently targets of attacks,⁵¹ as are people who possess vehicles, such as taxi drivers (of cars or motorbikes).⁵² The focus group also identified those who have exterior signs of wealth as potential victims of armed violence, further demonstrating that Burundians associate armed violence mainly with theft. One participant said: 'I am safe because I am poor. When I go to work and gather the crops there is nothing to find in my home!'⁵³

Finally, since September 2008, a new category of victim has been particularly targeted, namely albinos. Several have been savagely murdered, most often with firearms, and particularly in the province of Ruyigi. Their bodies, which some people believe have magical properties, were then cut up and sold, usually in Tanzania (Panapress, 2008c).



PHOTO ► Palipehutu-FNL rebels in the village of Ruyaga, 2008.
© Vanessa Vick/Redux/The New York Times

Perpetrators

In the household survey, ‘bandits’ were thought to be the category most likely to be a source of insecurity, but the boundaries of this category are fluid.⁵⁴ In the focus groups, police officers, soldiers, and members of the National Intelligence Service (SNR) were cited as perpetrators of violence several times.⁵⁵ Furthermore, there were several reported cases that involved persons in possession of firearms (soldiers, police officers, or civilians) renting their weapons to criminals.⁵⁶

When thieves are arrested, they sometimes claim to be members of the Palipehutu-FNL—especially if the group is present in the area—in order to be considered political rather than ordinary prisoners, meaning they can hope to be pardoned or be allowed to participate in a reintegration programme, assuming the government and the rebel group finally reach an agreement.⁵⁷ It also seems that the police and the authorities are less inclined to prosecute members of the Palipehutu-FNL, considering that ‘political’ matters are not part of their remit.⁵⁸

Demobilized combatants were often said to be particularly involved in cases of theft, which they sometimes committed in their old uniforms.⁵⁹ This

perception is very different from the view that was prevalent in December 2005, which was much more positive (Pézard and Florquin, 2007, p. 45). At that time, only 4.1 per cent of respondents cited them as one of the categories responsible for insecurity (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2006). At the beginning of 2008, this figure had more than quadrupled to 16.9 per cent ($x=128$, $n=758$). Certain members of the focus groups thought that former rebels—who were accustomed to stealing in order to survive during the war—had not been ‘re-educated’, had not been able to find work, and now survived by the same means.⁶⁰ They generally spoke of the criminality of the demobilized combatants as a result of the gaps in the DRR programme, pointing out that the sums received by the beneficiaries ‘were of no use’⁶¹ because they had not been enabled to set up income-generating activities.⁶² In his third report on the activities of the BINUB, the Secretary-General of the United Nations found the reintegration efforts to be unsatisfactory: adding to the poor current economic situation, the relative failure risked pushing the ex-combatants into ‘violent crime’ or into the ranks of the armed movements (UNSC, 2008a, para. 95). The demobilized combatants were also accused of selling their services as paid assassins (Forbes, 2007, p. 9). In addition, it seems that some of them are involved in acts of political violence (*Burundi*

Tribune, 2009a). These accusations must, however, be treated with some caution as it has not been possible to check whether the proportion of crimes committed by demobilized combatants has increased or whether they represent a real source of insecurity.

Demobilized combatants interviewed in a focus group said that they were aware of this distrust, which increased their own insecurity. One of them was particularly afraid of becoming a victim of ‘popular justice’. Another cited rumours alleging that demobilized combatants had received weapons in order to commit political assassinations; he was afraid of being associated with this group in the minds of ordinary people. Some of them said that they had been victims of prejudice or discrimination at their place of work; some had been insulted by customers, while those who had become bus drivers had found it impossible to join the union.⁶³

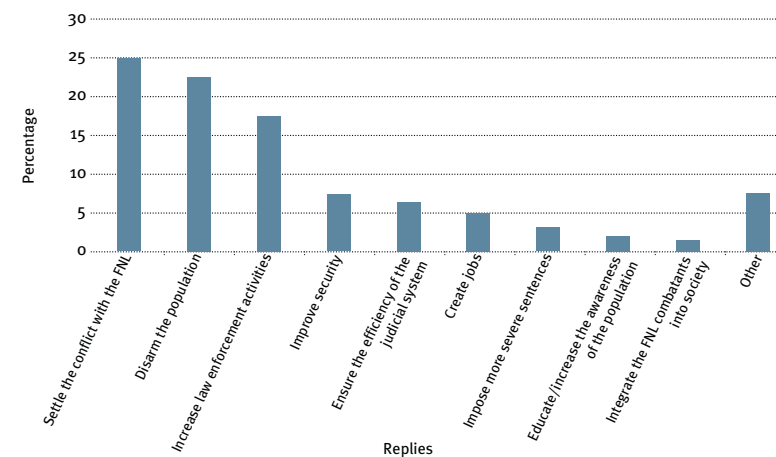
In just over two years, demobilized combatants have therefore become a separate category in Burundi; they are no longer considered to be civilians like other people. In fact, in the registers of most of the prisons, ‘demobilized combatants’ are listed in a separate category.

Possible solutions

An astounding 93.4 per cent ($x=582$, $n=623$) of respondents to the household survey think that it is possible to do something to combat the armed violence that affects their community. The first solution, according to one quarter of respondents (24.9%, $x=146$, $n=586$), would be to settle the conflict between the government and the Palipehutu–FNL (see Graph 10). This suggestion came up many times in the focus groups conducted in the districts of Makamba, Gitega, Bujumbura, and Cibitoke. Other participants in the focus groups said that the members of the Palipehutu–FNL should be confined in order to prevent them from committing acts of violence against ordinary people, and because once such people had been removed from the population, it would be easier to identify criminals.⁶⁴

‘Disarm the population’ (23.2%, $x=136$, $n=586$) is in second place, followed by ‘Increase law enforcement activities’ (17.6%). This willingness to see more police officers and soldiers was also expressed in the focus groups, although paradoxically the police is often deemed to be inefficient, or even dangerous.⁶⁵ A little more than six per cent (6.3%, $x=37$, $n=586$) of respondents⁶⁶ stressed the need to ensure that the judiciary work efficiently, reflecting a desire to change a perceived climate of impunity that seems to be observed by most of the population.⁶⁷ In fact, according to the World Bank, Burundi

GRAPH 10 Replies to the question, ‘What could be done to reduce the most common type of armed violence in your neighbourhood/colline/village?’ ($n=586$)



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

scored poorly with respect to the rule of law and the control of corruption in 2007: -1.16 and -1.06, respectively, on a scale from -2.5 to +2.5 (Kaufman, Kraay, and Mastruzzi, 2008). Some also see poverty and unemployment as a source of insecurity, pushing individuals into criminal activity in order to survive.⁶⁸

Asked about measures of personal protection that they had taken for themselves or their families, 91 per cent ($x=537$, $n=590$) of respondents⁶⁹ replied that they had not taken any. This proportion is valid for nearly all the provinces except for Bururi, where 25 per cent ($x=16$, $n=64$) of respondents⁷⁰ said that they had taken some protective measures (mainly organizing patrols or night watchmen, often involving individuals living in the same neighbourhood). The measures taken fall into several categories:

- **Increased surveillance.** This approach may involve keeping watch at night, which leads to fatigue and lower productivity the next day.⁷¹ In Makamba and Bururi, people sometimes organize night patrols—a practice that began during the war. Sometimes individuals mistakenly become targets during these patrols.⁷² An alternative, for those who have the resources, is to hire guards.⁷³
- **Increased self-defence capabilities.** Such measures may involve purchasing firearms and machetes.⁷⁴

- *Reducing one's own vulnerability.* People may do so by not going out at night;⁷⁵ by keeping lamps and lights burning all night;⁷⁶ by keeping mobile phones in silent or vibrate mode when out at night;⁷⁷ by making detours when travelling by car to avoid dangerous roads;⁷⁸ by avoiding restaurants and nightclubs that might be attacked.⁷⁹ In some areas, the local authorities require bars to close at 6 p.m. for fear that the grenade attacks on bars that occurred in August and September 2006 might start again.⁸⁰ Other preventive measures consist of avoiding the most dangerous communities; building walls and putting up barbed wire fences around houses; or putting bars on windows.⁸¹ Finally, one tactic to limit the impact of acts of banditry on one's own family and one's own person is to give burglars what they want, without offering any resistance,⁸² and not to report witnessed crimes.⁸³
- *External sources of protection.* Some individuals (senior civil servants, businessmen) ask the police to provide a protection service.⁸⁴ Focus group participants said that they would call on the police if they were attacked. However, some also said that, due to the problems of impunity, they were sometimes afraid to report criminals as they knew that they would not spend very long in prison and would come back to take revenge.⁸⁵ Others resorted to prayer, which was often cited.⁸⁶

Finally, in order to limit the acts of banditry that might be committed by the forces of law and order, one member of a focus group in Bujumbura recommended creating a police force to monitor the police force in order to improve discipline within the security forces and to prevent soldiers and police officers from going out in the evening in the same places as civilians with their uniforms and weapons. Another person recommended housing the police in barracks.⁸⁷

Violence related to the final stages of the conflict

Context

Although the fighting is much less intense than it was during the crisis years, armed violence is still undermining Burundi, particularly in the regions where the Palipehutu–FNL is still active (Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, and Cibitoke).

Victims

The population of these provinces is subject to different types of extortion. The local population is the main source of supplies for the armed group and is therefore obliged to supply them not only with food and money, but also

with labour. Members of the Palipehutu–FNL sometimes oblige civilians to fetch wood or carry munitions. The group also collects a 'tax' from civilians, who receive a receipt that is supposed to provide them with protection from the movement. The representatives of the authorities and particularly of the local authority (*colline* and sector heads and district administrators) and other prominent people are particularly likely to be the victims of kidnappings or murders committed by the Palipehutu–FNL (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 23). In 2006, at least 22 individuals in Bujumbura Rural and one in Bubanza were executed by the Palipehutu–FNL under the pretext that they were collaborating with the army (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, app. I). This information is contested by the Palipehutu–FNL, which claims that 'the Palipehutu–FNL never attacks civilians'.⁸⁸

Civilians are also subject to brutality at the hands of the military, who accuse them of collaborating with the enemy. The 13 cases of torture recorded by Human Rights Watch in 2006, which were attributed to the SNR, involved persons suspected of collaborating with the Palipehutu–FNL (HRW, 2006b, p. 22). The data provided by the Ligue Iteka shows that in 2006, 13 individuals who were 'presumed members of the FNL' or supporters of the movement were killed by the FDN and the police (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, app. I). During the wave of fighting in April and May 2008, more than 300 presumed members of the Palipehutu–FNL were arrested, and many people were detained illegally, without any charge being made against them (HRW, 2008c). The reports of the human rights division of ONUB and then BINUB show that physical violence against individuals arrested and detained is frequent, particularly at military posts, places of illegal detention, and in the isolation units in police stations.

Civilians are also indirect victims of the conflict through the displacement of the population triggered by each new outbreak of fighting between government forces and the Palipehutu–FNL. In September 2007, 700 families—nearly 4,000 people—fled their homes subsequent to attacks committed by presumed members of the Palipehutu–FNL. At the time, the spokesperson for the movement admitted that acts of violence had been committed by its troops, pointing out that food, clothing, and medicine promised in the negotiations had not been provided (IRIN, 2007c). In addition, the most recent wave of hostilities between the two parties (April–May 2008) led to the displacement of thousands of people (UNSC, 2008a, para. 12) and caused certain authorities, schools, and shops to close (AFP, 2008b).

It is not known how many members of the Palipehutu–FNL died during the fighting, even if, according to the PNB, in 2006 '1900 FNL gave themselves up or [were] captured' (PNB, 2007a, p. 176). It is also difficult to obtain reliable

data on the losses suffered by the regular army, which often provides underestimates. According to Agence France-Presse, 120 people died in the fighting in April and May 2008 (AFP, 2008d). Other sources report that between 17 April and 7 May, 100 FNL lost their lives against 10 FDN soldiers and 3 PNB officers (UNSC, 2008a, para.12).

Perpetrators

Those who commit conflict-related acts of violence fall into three categories: members of the Palipehutu–FNL, dissidents from the Palipehutu–FNL movement, and the regular security forces.⁸⁹

The Palipehutu–FNL

The Palipehutu–FNL, Burundi's last active non-state armed group, is the armed wing of the Palipehutu political movement. The 'rebels' are identified by nearly 35.9 per cent of the Burundians surveyed ($x=272$, $n=758$) as the primary source of insecurity in the country (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). According to the Observatory of Armed Violence, they were responsible for about half (49.5%) of the acts of armed violence committed between August 2007 and December 2008 and for which the perpetrator or perpetrators could be identified.

The violence committed by the Palipehutu–FNL has changed in recent years, in both form and scope. According to the statistics of the Ligue Iteka, the number of homicides committed by the Palipehutu–FNL fell from 224 in 2005 (including 159 individuals executed in the massacre at the Gatumba refugee camp⁹⁰) to 40 in 2006, before rising again to 96 in 2007 (Ligue Iteka, 2006, p. 12; 2007a, p. 41; 2008, p. 14). In the past the members of the Palipehutu–FNL rarely committed rape; according to a Human Rights Watch report, the group's discipline was inspired by religion and rapists could be sentenced to death (HRW, 2004a, p. 7; Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 23). This relative taboo seems to have been abandoned: in February and March 2008 several collective rapes were committed by Palipehutu–FNL combatants (BINUB–DDH, 2008b, p. 7; 2008c, p. 3).

Since the fighting stopped at the end of May 2008 and the peace process resumed, the FNL combatants have been waiting to enter the assembly area at Rubira in the province of Bubanza in order to benefit from the DDR programme or begin the integration process. The fact that the combatants must wait to be cantoned creates a climate of insecurity: inhabitants of various districts of Bubanza and Bujumbura Rural say that they have been victims of pillaging (*Burundi Tribune*, 2009c).

Estimates of the number of members of the Palipehutu–FNL vary. The FNL officially stated that the armed group had 21,100 combatants (IRIN, 2008c). According to the International Crisis Group, they number between 2,000 and 3,000 (ICG, 2007, p. 6). According to an official Burundian source, the government expects to host between 5,000 and 6,000 members in dedicated camps, due to recent mass recruitments. With each step in the negotiations, new recruits or young people turn up voluntarily wishing to join the security and defence forces or participate in the demobilization programme (*Burundi Tribune*, 2009b).

The 'dissidents'

In September 2007, in the district of Buterere, fighting broke out between Agathon Rwasa's Palipehutu–FNL and 300 dissidents from the movement who apparently wished to give up the armed combat, under the watch of regular forces. These hostilities caused a displacement of the population (Studio Tubane, 2007a). At the end of September and the beginning of October, those faithful to Rwasa shelled the dissidents several times (Studio Tubane, 2007b; 2007c). During these two months the Observatory of Armed Violence recorded a clear spike in incidents of 'FNL/FNL' armed violence.⁹¹ Some dissidents turned against the local population, accusing them of supporting Rwasa's movement. Civilians were physically attacked and houses wrecked (Studio Tubane, 2007d).

Little is known of the identity of these dissidents, who seek to be integrated into the Burundian security forces.⁹² They may be recent recruits of Palipehutu–FNL who, attracted by the prospect of being demobilized and integrated into the security forces, rejoined the movement in 2006, at the time of the ceasefire, and who refused to fight when the Palipehutu–FNL left the MCVS. At the beginning of 2008, the AU force recorded 2,740 presumed dissidents (UNSC, 2008a, para. 54). They are divided between the camps at Randa and Buramata.⁹³ Those living in the Randa camp have been disarmed and are under the control of the AU forces, while those in Buramata have kept their weapons and are more or less under the control of the FDN. The people living in the areas around these camps are not reassured by the presence of armed men in their region.⁹⁴ One source claims that the dissidents at Buramata are guilty of theft and ambushes.⁹⁵ At Randa, the dissidents, who are armed, have become a source of insecurity for the people living in the surrounding area (*Burundi Réalités*, 2007).

Possible solutions

Given the number of acts of armed violence that derive, directly or indirectly, from the ongoing conflict between the Palipehutu–FNL and the government, it is essential that the declaration on the cessation of hostilities that was

signed on 26 May 2008 be respected. In the short term, in order to stop the criminal acts that are being committed by certain members of the FNL against the population, the movement's combatants must be kept apart from the rest of the population and must be able to swiftly enter into the process of demobilization and reintegration. The government must also keep two promises: (1) its promise to release political prisoners, which was made at the time of the ceasefire agreement in September 2006 and reiterated at the time of the summit of the Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region in December 2008; and (2) the promise to integrate the Palipehutu–FNL combatants within national institutions and the security forces while ensuring that the ethnic balance of those forces is respected. Finally, the Palipehutu–FNL undertook to register as a political party under another name⁹⁶ (Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, 2008).

It is all also important to devise a more effective DDR programme, for example by respecting the timetable of the different stages⁹⁷ so that the beneficiaries may obtain the assistance for reintegration immediately after the reinsertion stage. With this end in mind, in January 2009, the Burundian government presented a document on the strategy for the sustainable socio-economic reintegration of ex-combatants to the Group of Special Envoys (GSE, 2009). This will perhaps prevent ex-combatants from inflating the number of demobilized combatants who have not managed to find an income-generating activity. In order to decide whether this programme should also be open to the dissidents (an option to which Palipehutu–FNL is formally opposed), a commission was set up by decree in August 2008. Made up of officers from the defence and security forces, the group is tasked with verifying the combatant status of the dissidents from the Palipehutu–FNL movement in Randa and Buramata and with preparing lists of persons to be demobilized and of those to be integrated into the army and the police force (RoB President's Office, 2008).

Violence related to the armed forces

In February 2008, in a press release on the security situation in the country, the Government of Burundi urged 'those with responsibility for the defence and security forces to continue to impose exemplary sanctions upon their officers who, in certain cases, were parties to or perpetrators of acts involving breaches of human rights' (RoB, 2008). The statement was an explicit acknowledgement of the acts of violence committed by certain elements within the FDN, the PNB, and the SNR, often with impunity.

Context

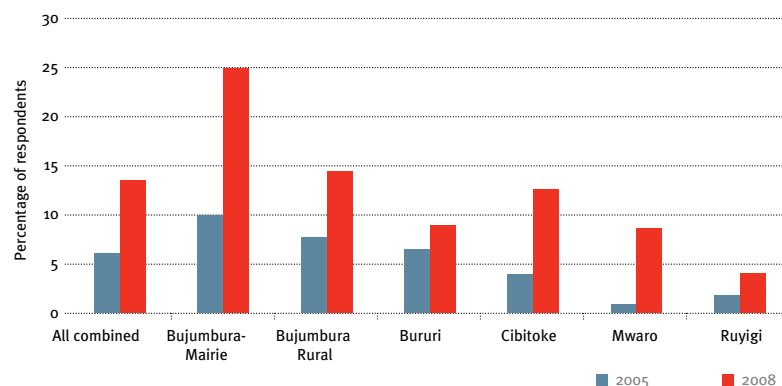
The army was long dominated by the Tutsi minority, for whom it provided a guarantee of security while forming the basis of their political power. The reform of the defence and security forces was therefore a major element in the Burundian conflict, with the PMPA, which were Hutu in the majority, claiming an important place within these institutions (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 4). The Arusha Agreement established the principle that the new defence and security forces should be balanced: no ethnic group may represent more than 50 per cent of the FDN or of the PNB (Arusha Agreement, 2000, Protocol III, arts. 14.1.g, 2.e). These agreements and the overall ceasefire agreement of 2003 also provided for the reform of the army, the police, and the intelligence service, which were to be professionalized. The highest-ranking rebels⁹⁸ were mostly integrated into the army (which enjoys particular prestige in Burundi), while the others were directed towards the PNB.⁹⁹

Created in December 2004 as part of the reform of the security sector, the police force consists of four divisions: the internal security police; the criminal investigation department; prison officers; and the police dealing with air travel, the borders, and foreigners. The PNB is made up of 41 per cent former police officers, 34 per cent former members of the PMPA, 15 per cent former soldiers, and 10 per cent police officers (HRW, 2008b, p. 22). Consequently, nearly 90 per cent of police officers have not received any specific training. At the time of writing, the police force had an estimated 18,000–22,000 members¹⁰⁰ and a count was under way. Several thousand individuals will have to be demobilized if the police is to be slimmed down to the 15,000 specified by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (HRW, 2008b, p. 22).

Perceptions of the uniformed services

The household survey shows that the population has little faith in the ability of the security forces to combat crime (see Map 7).¹⁰¹ Just over 20 per cent of respondents (20.7%, $x=307$, $n=1,485$) said that the public authorities were 'quite' or 'a little bit' effective against crime, while 13.5 per cent ($x=201$, $n=1,485$) said they were 'not at all' effective (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). In Mwaro, for example, respondents accused the police of acting slowly when they did take action, saying that sometimes they did not even bother to come.¹⁰² The TACO analysis shows that when members of the security forces intervene during a violent incident, they are more often killed or wounded by the criminals than the other way round. Nevertheless, the fact that few civilians were wounded during such incidents proves that the

GRAPH 11 Percentage of respondents who replied ‘not at all’ to the question: ‘Do you think that the public authorities (police, army, ...) are effective against crime?’ in 2005 (n=3,078) and in 2008 (n=1,485)



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2006; 2008)

security forces are able to help and protect the civilians present when they do intervene (Wille, 2008, p. 11).

A comparison with the results of the survey carried out by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka in 2005 shows that the people’s confidence in the capacity of the authorities to combat crime saw a sharp decline in two years (Pézar and Florquin, 2007, p. 45). The provinces in which the people’s confidence declined most are Bujumbura-Mairie, Cibitoke, and Mwaro (see Graph 11).

The citizens of Bujumbura-Mairie have the least faith in the capacity of defence and security forces. About one-quarter (24.9%, x=85, n=342) of them say that these forces are ‘not at all’ effective against crime. As the data of the Observatory of Armed Violence and the PNB show, Bujumbura-Mairie is also the province in which armed violence is the most widespread and where the population feels least secure.¹⁰³

A certain number of Burundians even see the police and the army as sources of insecurity. In reply to a question on this subject the police are in third position, with 17.8 per cent (x=135, n=758) of respondents seeing them as a source of insecurity, after the bandits and the rebels. These perceptions are confirmed by the survey of 400 individuals that was carried out by CENAP in 2007.¹⁰⁴ The CENAP study shows that 14 per cent of respondents identify the police as a source of violence, in third position after armed bandits (22%) and the Palipehutu–FNL (19%) (CENAP, 2007, p. 18).¹⁰⁵ This distrust of the police may explain why 63.4 per cent (x=553, n=872) of Burundians interviewed said that they would first ask their neighbours or friends for help if they felt

threatened, the police and the military being their second and third choices (52.3%, x=456 and 36.7%, x=320, respectively, for n=1,768).

Clearly, the population’s attitude to the security forces, particularly the PNB, is rather ambivalent. While the people of Burundi view the police as a source of insecurity and armed violence, they would nevertheless rather seek help from the police rather than the military in the event of problems. They would also prefer to hand over their weapons to the police within the framework of a disarmament campaign.¹⁰⁶

Perpetrators and victims

Some members of the three security forces have committed serious human rights violations. Victims of such abuses must therefore face the difficult option of complaining to the very institutions that violated their rights.

The statistics from the prison administration show that in December 2007, 4.6 per cent of prisoners—388 individuals—were members of the military or police officers (RoB, Prisons Department, 2008, p. 10).¹⁰⁷ A Burundian human rights group reports that in 2006 soldiers and police officers committed 44.7 per cent and 39.5 per cent, respectively, of the 152 acts of torture recorded by the organization (APRODH, 2006b, pp. 29, 31).

The FDN

The FDN’s capacity to fulfil its mission is often said to be much better than that of the police. Respondents cite the military as the fifth most serious source of insecurity (8.2%, x=62, n=758). In a survey carried out by CENAP, respondents say that the FDN is better able to respond to security problems than the PNB (CENAP, 2007, pp. 15, 27). In general, the army has a better image than the police given that, according to one interviewee, ‘it is invisible’;¹⁰⁸ military personnel are housed in barracks and thus have less contact with the general population. Moreover, one of the projects of the Peacebuilding Fund provides for the restoration of 14 barracks, which should make it possible to ‘withdraw the members of the FDN from very densely populated neighbourhoods and thus reduce friction’ (UNSC, 2008a, para. 51).¹⁰⁹

The military are usually kept under much better control than the police. The FDN, for example, severely punishes soldiers who steal or lose their weapons; indeed, more soldiers are court martialled or appear before the war council for this offence than for any other (one-third of cases in 2007) (RoB MND, 2007). According to the Observatory of Armed Violence, soldiers are responsible for only 6.6 per cent of the acts of armed violence that occurred between August 2007 and December 2008 (UNPF, 2007; 2008).

The deployment of soldiers on the ground, however, leads to an increase in extortion activities and in the number of violent acts against the civilian population.¹¹⁰ Sometimes soldiers force civilians to work for them without pay and under duress (ONUB–OHCHR-B, 2006d, p. 3; 2006e, p. 3; 2006f, p. 3). This type of incident occurs particularly in the provinces of Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, Cibitoke, Bururi, and in certain areas around Bujumbura-Mairie; that is, in areas where the soldiers are deployed to combat the Palipehutu-FNL (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 11).

The number of acts of armed violence committed by the FDN seems to follow the evolution of the conflict with the Palipehutu-FN very closely. According to the monthly reports on the human rights situation in Burundi produced by ONUB and then BINUB,¹¹¹ the FDN was the force responsible for by far the greatest number of violations committed by the defence and security forces (76%) between March and September 2006, trailed by the SNR and the PNB. The great majority of cases attributable to the soldiers appear to be summary executions or acts of torture against members of the Palipehutu-FNL or its presumed collaborators (ONUB–OHCHR-B, 2006c–e, g–h, j). Just a month after the signing of the ceasefire in September 2006, however, the distribution changed radically, with the PNB being held responsible for more human rights violations than any other defence and security force; specifically, the PNB was held responsible for 74.2 per cent of the cases involving life-threatening assaults and violations of physical integrity between October 2006 and July 2007, while the military was held responsible for only 15.7 per cent of these violations.

In 2007, the military court and the war council heard 195 cases (RoB MND, 2007). One-third of the cases initially scheduled never went to court, which suggests that the military judicial system is inefficient or lacks resources. One-third of the cases heard in 2007 involved the loss of a weapon through negligence, 11.3 per cent involved desertion, 10.3 per cent murder, 8.7 per cent assault and injuries, 6.7 per cent rape, and 3.0 per cent aggravated theft. These figures show that most cases involve breaches of discipline rather than human rights violations. Sometimes, political pressure may cause certain cases to be dropped, increasing the perception that the climate of impunity is widespread among the population.¹¹²

The police

According to the Observatory of Armed Violence, police officers were responsible for nine per cent of the acts of armed violence recorded between August 2007 and December 2008 (UNPF, 2007; 2008). Between 2006 and 2008, 119 cases of torture committed by police officers were referred to the

NGO *Avocats sans frontières* (Lawyers without Borders) (HRW, 2008b, p. 31). In a study on torture carried out in the provinces of Bujumbura-Mairie, Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, and Muramvya by the Ligue Iteka in November 2007, police officers were cited as perpetrators of torture by 86 per cent of respondents (Ligue Iteka, 2007b, pp. 8–14).¹¹³

The reasons for torture seem to vary according to province. According to respondents, torture is mainly used as ‘punishment’ in Muramvya, Bubanza, and Bujumbura Rural. In Bujumbura-Mairie, 50 per cent of respondents said that torture was used to extract confessions, 35 per cent said it was used as punishment, and 15 per cent said it was used to obtain information (Ligue Iteka, 2007b, p. 15). In October 2007, police officers working for the Rapid Mobile Intervention Group tortured 20 individuals whom they suspected of belonging to the Palipehutu-FNL (HRW, 2008b, pp. 9–11).

Since police officers live among the population rather than in barracks, they have much more freedom to act than soldiers. The salaries of PNB officers increased in 2007, but the lowest ranks still earn only around FBU 40,000 (USD 35) per month, which is barely sufficient to pay for housing.¹¹⁴ Poorly paid, barely supervised, and armed, some members of the police commit acts of banditry. Even if authorities acknowledge that such acts take place, it is often difficult to identify the perpetrators with any certainty, as some civilians put on military or police uniforms when they commit their crimes (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 11); at the same time, some members of the security forces do not wear their uniforms when committing crimes. When a series of searches was carried out and weapons seized at the beginning of 2008, the police found police and military uniforms in civilians’ homes on several occasions.¹¹⁵

The National Intelligence Service

In October 2006, Burundi’s president admitted that the SNR was guilty of mistakes during interrogations, acts of corruption, and abuses of power (Butoyi, 2006). The same year, SNR agents were suspected of committing 38 extra-judicial executions and at least 13 cases of torture (HRW, 2006b, pp. 13, 24).

Formerly known as the ‘Documentation nationale’ (National Information), the SNR, which was created by law in 2006, is directly accountable to the president. The agency is generally perceived by the population as the state’s instrument of repression (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 17). It is often accused of various abuses: arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; brutal interrogations; and non-compliance with procedures. Victims are generally afraid to complain, as the SNR has friends in high places (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 17).

The SNR has played an important role in the fight against the Palipehutu–FNL, particularly by holding prisoners arbitrarily—sometimes in secret places and often well beyond the legal time limits. The Ligue Iteka has shown that in 2006, most of these detentions took place in the northern neighbourhoods of Bujumbura-Mairie and the province of Bujumbura Rural (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 19). During their detention, the presumed rebels are sometimes tortured by being struck with truncheons, metal bars, belts, or electric wires (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 18; Ligue Iteka, 2007a, p. 46). According to the Ligue Iteka, the SNR was involved in seven per cent of all recorded cases of torture in 2006 (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, app. III).

The SNR is also suspected of being responsible for the most recent waves of political violence, which occurred in August 2007 and March 2008, during which several politicians were targeted (HRW, 2008a). On 8 March 2008, the homes of three members of parliament were attacked with grenades. They were among the 46 members of parliament who had signed, two weeks previously, a request for protection that was sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-Moon (AFP, 2008a; HRW, 2008a).

The UN Peacebuilding Fund, with the support of the BINUB, is financing a project to reform the SNR with the aim of helping the SNR ‘become a service that protects the population’ through training in law, criminal procedure, professional ethics, and human rights, among other areas (JSC, 2007, p. 2).

Possible solutions

Demobilization

With the assistance of the International Center for Transitional Justice, the PNB is currently counting its members in order to ensure ‘better management of its human and material resources’ and to improve ‘relations between the police and the public’ (RoB and ICTJ, 2008). A count of the FDN is also under way with financing from the World Bank. At this writing, the army estimated its strength at 27,900 people (with a margin of error of about 300 individuals).¹¹⁶

These counts will show how many soldiers and police officers will have to be demobilized in order to reach the targets of 25,000 members for the FDN and 15,000 members for the PNB. This initiative should also make it possible to reduce the state’s security budget and enhance control over these institutions.¹¹⁷ The demobilization of these forces is an extremely sensitive subject, as it must take account of the balance between the various ethnic groups. Matters may be further complicated by the imminent integration of certain

members of the Palipehutu–FNL—who are mainly Hutus. The population views the preservation of the ethnic balance as a guarantee of peace.¹¹⁸ Resistance to demobilization is also related to the prestige and regular income enjoyed by the military, combined with the fact that the reintegration programme is not seen as particularly attractive; between November 2007 and May 2008, 900 members of the FDN refused to comply with the forced demobilization (UNSC, 2008a, para. 53). Another factor is the lack of willingness, on the part of the higher echelons, to reduce the size of the defence and security forces, ‘as evidenced by measures to improve the living conditions of the men in uniform, notably salary increases, which clearly run counter to a reduction in personnel’.¹¹⁹

The battle against impunity

It seems that the condemnation by human rights organizations and the media of certain human rights violations committed by the security forces has borne fruit. For example, since these violations were widely exposed in the Burundian media and NGO reports, the number of cases of forced labour imposed by the military has decreased (Small Arms Survey, 2008, p. 11). More than two years after the events, the conviction in October 2008 of 15 soldiers for the massacre at Muyinga is, according to Human Rights Watch, ‘an important blow against impunity in Burundi’ (HRW, 2008d).¹²⁰

The government encourages the defence and security forces to dismiss members ‘who are guilty of disrupting the security of the country’ (*Burundi Réalités*, 2008). In December 2007, 20 members of the PNB were dismissed and certain members of the FDN charged with human rights violations (UNSC, 2008a, para. 62). In January 2008, according to a high-ranking police officer, more than 300 members of the police service (253 lower ranks, 50 non-commissioned officers, and 20 officers) were dismissed for various offences, desertions, and gross misconduct. They were not demobilized and their weapons and police effects were confiscated.¹²¹ The Ministry of the Interior has also set up a police disciplinary body to oversee police conduct, but it has few resources and does not even have the capacity to travel into the interior of the country (Powell, 2007, p. 14). Moreover, there still are no internal regulations or code of police conduct (PNB, 2007a, p. 196).

Professionalizing the uniformed services

The PNB lacks the resources to carry out its basic missions (Powell, 2007, pp. 13–14). Police training is inadequate: some PNB members do not know, for example, that torture is illegal (Powell, 2007, p. 14). Many international players are committed to improving the situation.¹²² The Belgian development



PHOTO ◀ Women and children watch patrolling soldiers near Gakungwe camp, 2007. © Esdras Ndikumana/AFP Photo

programme aims to improve police ethics by providing training for PNB personnel and support for a specialist commission (Powell, 2007, p. 15). The French are concentrating on training higher-ranking officers. The Dutch provide support for the PNB in terms of strategy and equipment (provision of equipment and construction of infrastructure). ONUB and then BINUB and many NGOs and specialist organizations¹²³ have also organized training for members of the PNB, particularly on human rights and international humanitarian law. According to Powell, these various initiatives are complementary but lack coordination, which risks creating redundancies and pointlessly overloading the police administration (Powell, 2007, pp. 17, 21).

A high-ranking officer within the PNB reported that the police still follows ‘an outmoded model of prevention/repression’.¹²⁴ A new command structure has

been set up and the force’s strategy rethought to create a community police force, but this process is still in its infancy.¹²⁵ The goal is to improve the image of the security forces among the general public, which is mostly unaware of police duties and powers (Powell, 2007, p. 14).

The FDN has also received aid from various sources. Belgium provides training with a view to harmonizing this force, which consists of different groups with a variety of different capabilities. France and the Netherlands, which are helping the army to improve its infrastructure, also provide training. Finally, China is developing military cooperation with Burundi (Powell, 2007, p. 25). Out of the USD 35 million set aside by the Peacebuilding Fund for Burundi, nearly USD 13 million have been allocated to the reform of the security sector through five projects: (1) the disarmament of the civilian

population and the fight against the proliferation of light weapons; (2) the renovation of barracks for the military; (3) the promotion of discipline within the FDN; (4) the reform of the SNR; and (5)—the biggest budget item—support for an ‘operational national Burundian community police force’. In June 2008, most of the projects had begun but were seriously behind schedule.¹²⁶

Domestic and sexual violence

Context

Burundian society is very patriarchal and women suffer many forms of discrimination. According to Bariyuntura and Nindorera (2003), ‘the weight of tradition is such that discrimination is accepted or tolerated, whether consciously or not, including by women, particularly in rural areas’. Women are more likely to be victims than perpetrators of acts of armed violence.¹²⁷ Out of the 310 acts of armed violence reported by the Ligue Iteka in 2007, at least 81 included women among the victims (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I).¹²⁸ Most acts of armed violence that are known to have been committed against women involved accusations of witchcraft or were committed in the course of thefts, the settling of scores, or family quarrels.¹²⁹ These figures do not include sexual violence, which is recorded separately by the Ligue Iteka. In 2007, it recorded 1,013 rapes in total (Ligue Iteka, 2008, p. 106).¹³⁰ This information does not reveal whether the sexual violence involved the use of a weapon.

The level of gender-based violence is high in Burundi, but little is known of this phenomenon as it often goes unreported. During the war, women in particular were the targets of abuse and violence (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 13); rape was commonplace in the provinces most affected by the fighting (Ntiranyibagira, 2005). The highest rates were observed in the areas around military positions (armed forces and rebel).¹³¹ Rape was widely used as an act of war (AI, 2007), often under the threat of a weapon. In a survey of 79 victims of sexual violence carried out in 2005, the Ligue Iteka notes that a little more than one-third of the wartime victims said that ‘they did not resist because the rapist [was] armed’ (Shaka Muhoza, 2004, p. 9). In a survey of households carried out in 2008, more than 20 per cent of respondents who said that acts of armed violence had taken place in their neighbourhood, *colline*, or village (x=130, n=629) cited ‘rape committed under the threat of a weapon’ as one of these acts (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). Although much less common now than during the war, the incidence of rape under the threat of a weapon remains high in Burundi.

Victims

Domestic violence

Domestic violence generally only comes to light when the victim is seriously wounded and needs medical treatment (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 20). This type of violence includes forced abortions following assaults, assaults with wounding, cruel and degrading treatment, and conjugal rape (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 18). The Observatory of Armed Violence recorded 69 cases of armed domestic violence—including family conflicts and armed violence relating to witchcraft—in 2008 (UNPF, 2007; 2008). Fifty per cent of these acts were committed with a bladed weapon, 27 per cent with a grenade, and 18 per cent with a firearm (UNPF, 2008).

In 2007, 356 women benefited from a programme to combat violence against women and children that was run by the Ligue Iteka. According to the organization, this figure is ‘illustrative’ as the majority of victims, particularly those living in the country, dare not report domestic violence. They fear reprisals or the consequences of making a complaint; being totally dependent on their husbands, they would lose their means of subsistence if he were to be incarcerated. Even if they wished to lodge a complaint, they may not know the required procedure, or if they do, they do not always have the resources to take such action.

Sexual violence

Rape is the most common form of sexual violence in Burundi (IRIN, 2008b); it remains a source of serious stigmatization and exclusion. The word ‘rape’ does not have an equivalent in Kirundi (Lebrun and Derderian, 2007, p. 50); the well-known impunity enjoyed by the many individuals who committed rape during the war has only encouraged this crime (AI, 2007, p. 8; ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 15). In 2006, the NGO Nturengaho sheltered 74 girls who had been rejected by their families due to rape or early pregnancy (Nturengaho, 2007a, p. 6). The great majority of rape victims are female; 97 per cent of individuals treated by the Seruka Centre in 2007 were women (MSF–Belgium, 2008). Male victims are usually children.

The victims are usually very young: the Seruka Centre statistics show that out of the 1,435 rape victims treated by the centre in 2007, 64 per cent were under 19 years of age, 33 per cent were under 12, and 15 per cent were under 5 (MSF–Belgium, 2008).¹³² This very high number of rapes of children does not mean that adults are not affected. According to a psychologist who serves as the field coordinator for Médecins sans frontières (Doctors without Borders, MSF), it is much more stigmatizing for a man or woman to admit to having been raped than to say that his or her child has been raped, which partially

explains why it is mainly children who arrive at the centre. The real number of rape victims in Burundi is therefore probably much higher than the number reported. In a survey of households carried out in 2003 in Mwaro Province, respondents said that victims did not report their aggressors for the following reasons: for fear of being marginalized (51%); for fear of reprisals (29%); because they were not able to identify their aggressor (14%); and because they assumed that no penalties would be imposed (6%) (Habimana, Nduwabike, and Butoyi, 2004, p. 27). MSF reports that in Africa generally, only one rape in 36 to 50 is reported to the health services (Bolle, 2007).

Incarcerated and displaced women are among the most vulnerable in Burundi. There is only one women's prison in Burundi; in the other prisons the lack of specific facilities means that female prisoners are at the mercy of male prisoners and guards (APRODH, 2006b, p. 22). In December 2007, the media reported that the 14 women prisoners in the prison at Ruyigi were regularly raped in their cells (Studio Tubane, 2007e).¹³³ Sexual violence is also facilitated in camps for displaced people: ONUB noted in 2005 that with 'the promiscuity that reigns at these sites ... the number of gang rapes has massively increased' (ONUB, 2005, p. 5).

At the MSF–Belgium Seruka Centre, which has been treating rape victims since September 2003, the period from 2004 to mid-2005 was marked by a high number of rapes committed under the threat of a weapon (approximately 40% of victims).¹³⁴ This proportion began to fall in mid-2005, but is still around 15 per cent at this writing. The statistics compiled by Nturengaho on the activity at their centre reflect the same trend (Nturengaho, 2007b). The war was also marked by a greater number of gang rapes (ONUB, 2005, p. 8).

Although Nturengaho received more victims in 2006 than in 2005, the number of rapes seems to have fallen in the same period (Nturengaho, 2007a, app., pp. 2–6). The figures from MSF–Belgium confirm this trend, with nearly 20 per cent fewer rape victims in 2005 than 2006. However, the figures for 2007 show that this improvement was only temporary. In 2007 MSF treated 1,435 victims, as many as in 2005 (MSF–Belgium, 2008); the same year Nturengaho treated 595 victims as compared to 266 in 2006.¹³⁵ Yet this sharp increase is probably not entirely attributable to a rise in the number of rapes; it may also be due, at least in part, to the fact that people are increasingly aware of the reception centres and that, as a consequence, the victims of violence are more likely to go there.¹³⁶

In 2007, only 15 per cent of rape victims treated by the Seruka Centre asked for a medical certificate, which is essential for anybody wishing to lodge a complaint (MSF–Belgium, 2008). This suggests that at most 15 per cent of the

victims intended to bring legal proceedings. In fact, the impunity enjoyed by perpetrators of sexual crimes and gender-based violence was specifically mentioned in Resolution 1791 of the UN Security Council (UNSC, 2007, para. 7). It has also been shown that when Burundian women wish to initiate legal proceedings, they encounter more obstacles than men (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 10). The police authorities take little interest in reports of rape,¹³⁷ and a complaint lodged by a woman is subject to far more delays than a complaint lodged by a man (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 10). In addition, Burundian women are not entitled to inherit and only rarely have any money of their own; dependent on their husbands, they do not often have the financial resources to bring legal proceedings. The weakness of the judicial system and the weight of tradition usually push victims and their families to come to an amicable arrangement with the perpetrator of the rape. In some cases the victim may even be encouraged to marry her aggressor.

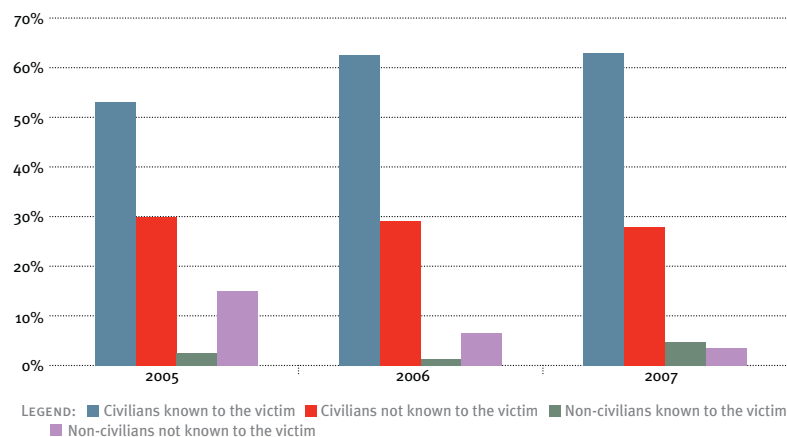
Perpetrators

Statistics from Burundian prisons reveal that 13.5 per cent of male prisoners in December 2007 had been accused of rape. It is the second-most common reason for imprisonment after aggravated theft.¹³⁸ Although not perfect, Burundian law does have the means to punish rapists who, under the new penal code adopted by Parliament in November 2008, may be sentenced to a term of imprisonment ranging from five years to life (HRW, 2008d), while the maximum sentence was previously 20 years.

According to the head of the Seruka Centre, until mid-2005 rapists were often men in uniform who were unknown to the victims. This trend is now less prominent. Only seven per cent of rapists recorded by the Seruka Centre in 2006 and 2007 were men in uniform¹³⁹ (which corresponds to more than 100 victims in 2007), compared to 17 per cent in 2005 (MSF–Belgium, 2008) (see Graph 12).

The profile of rapists has changed since the war, as evidenced by a preponderance of civilians known to victims. This trend is confirmed by the figures from the Ligue Iteka: of the 254 acts of sexual violence for which perpetrators have been identified (out of a total of 311) in 2006, 226 were committed by civilians. The remaining cases are split between police officers (9 cases), soldiers (8 cases), unidentified men in uniform (3 cases), demobilized combatants (6 cases), and combatants from the Palipehutu–FNL (2 cases) (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, app. IX). The resumption of fighting between the army and the Palipehutu–FNL in April–May 2008 triggered a new rise in the number of rapes in the regions concerned, before the number declined again with the cessation of the fighting (IRIN, 2008b).

GRAPH 12 Rapists of victims treated at the Seruka Centre in 2005, 2006, and 2007



SOURCE: MSF–Belgium (2008)

Possible solutions

Little is known of the extent and nature of gender-based violence in Burundi. In order to improve understanding of the issue, the Ministry of National Solidarity, Human Rights, and Gender is currently developing ‘a harmonized system for the collection of data on GBV at national level’ (Cimpaye, 2007). At this writing, BINUB, in partnership with UNICEF and UN Population Fund, was conducting a study on action against sexual violence in order to lay down a strategy at the sub-regional level (UNSC, 2008a, para. 63). A project involving the creation of a ‘police unit specializing in gender-based violence and child protection’ was also launched within the framework of the Peacebuilding Fund (UNSC, 2008a, para. 77).

Combatting impunity remains the cornerstone of any effective action against gender-based violence. The above-mentioned study carried out in Mwaro shows that nearly 60 per cent of respondents say that the best way to deal with those who inflict degrading treatment on women is to impose dissuasive penalties, while 22 per cent wish to encourage the victims to report their aggressors (Habimana, Nduwabike, and Butoyi, 2004, p. 29).

Some civil society groups are focusing on combating the taboo that still surrounds sexual violence. For example, the Forum for African Women Educationalists is leading a campaign to increase awareness in schools (Nijebariko, 2007). The ONUB human rights division has organized sessions for senior staff from local authorities, police officers, and primary and secondary school students which are intended to increase awareness of sexual violence. They

have laid emphasis on the importance for the victim to complain to the police, and to go to a medical centre within 72 hours of the rape. They have also stressed the fact that *bashingantahe* (local traditional judges) have been prohibited from attempting to seek amicable settlements in rape cases (ONUB–OHCHR-B, 2006b, p. 6; 2006c, p. 5).

As part of its new community policing strategy, the PNB should be able to more effectively prevent gender-based violence, which often occurs in a domestic setting (Powell, 2007, p. 19). In addition, in order to combat the armed violence committed by the security forces, the Association of Women Lawyers, Niturengaho, and UNIFEM have developed training and awareness raising initiatives (Kandanga, 2007; Niturengaho, 2007a). The reform of the penal code and the Code of Criminal Procedure represents a significant step forward, as the proposed texts explicitly mention domestic violence and provide new measures to protect women. A recent report notes: ‘With respect to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment within the home, a penalty equal to that laid down for torture (10 to 15 years’ imprisonment) is demanded’ (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 12). The Burundian Parliament adopted the code in November 2008; however, the Senate is still hesitant. The implementation of the code will be an indispensable step towards a reduction in the level of sexual violence, and its prevention. The new code also specifies that in the case of rape, carrying, threatening to use, and using a weapon are aggravating factors (RoB MoJ, 2008, para. 555).

Violence relating to land disputes

Context

Burundi has a large population given the size of the country: more than eight million inhabitants in an area of a little more than 27,000 km², with a population density of nearly 300 inhabitants/km² (IRIN, 2007b). The economy is dominated by the primary sector: more than 95 per cent of the population is dependent on agriculture for a living (IFAD, 2008, p. 2). The demographic expansion of the country and the deterioration in the quality of some soil due to excessive or inappropriate exploitation have led to shortages, particularly in the provinces of Kayanza in the north of the country and Rutana in the south-east (BINUB–DDH, 2007e, p. 2). In addition to these problems, the country also suffers from disputes over property rights, in which individuals and families are in conflict over the possession of exploitable land (ICG, 2003, p. 1).

Land disputes take many forms.¹⁴⁰ Among other causes, CENAP cites: challenges to sales contracts concluded during various Burundian crises,

Box 3 Witchcraft as a pretext for violence: those accused of witchcraft are sometimes really victims of land disputes

Accusations of witchcraft, which are not rare in Burundi, conceal the most varied motives, which vary from personal vengeance to land disputes. Accusations are sometimes linked to the fear of strangers, and by extension to the return of refugees. In Ruyigi and other provinces, it is rumoured that the communities returning from Tanzania will bewitch those who remained.¹⁴¹ This may explain the disproportionately high number of accusations of witchcraft recorded by the Ligue Iteka in the province of Cankuzo (16 cases of the violation of the right to life in 2006 were linked to questions of witchcraft).

The Ligue Iteka data also shows that in a certain number of cases, couples or entire families were attacked, in which case the perpetrators mainly used grenades, which can kill or wound several people at once. A person accused of witchcraft is generally attacked (and often killed) by a crowd. In 2006, people were lynched for this reason in provinces as diverse as Bubanza, Cankuzo (two cases), Kayanza, and Makamba. Finally, the majority of victims of this type of aggression are women, although men are not immune to attack. Out of 30 violations of the right to life relating to accusations of witchcraft recorded by the Ligue Iteka in 2006, for which the sex of the victim was known,¹⁴² 17 of the victims were women and 13 men (57% and 43% of the victims, respectively).

SOURCES: PNB (2007a); Ligue Iteka (2007a, app. I, IV)

often in the absence of owners who had been forced to flee; disputes over the division of parcels of land that are too small between an ever-increasing number of heirs; and the difficulty of asserting land rights in a system in which most transactions are not recorded formally (CENAP, 2006). It is very difficult to quantify acts of violence relating to land conflicts as the motive is not always known, and the victims are sometimes accused of something quite different by those who covet their land—such as witchcraft (see Box 3)—so that they are subject to ‘popular justice’ (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 13).

The land problems facing returnees fall into two categories: the despoilment of land and the problems of the ‘landless’.¹⁴³

- *Despoilment of land*: returnees sometimes find that the local authority allocated their land to someone else in their absence.¹⁴⁴ Often, conflicts arise within families when refugees return to find that those who remained behind sold or appropriated their land.¹⁴⁵ The government itself encouraged the sale of the land, as each transaction is taxed and is a source of income for the state and the district.¹⁴⁶ Finally, returnees sometimes find that their neighbours appropriated some of their land.

- *The problem of the ‘landless’*: returnees who do not possess any land in Burundi are referred to as the ‘landless’. The term can also apply to individuals who have been rejected by their family, particularly if there is only a small amount of land available. This includes many cases of widows rejected by their husband’s family,¹⁴⁷ refugees with a new wife and children who are rejected by the rest of the family, children born abroad, and orphans.¹⁴⁸ The situation became more tense when the Tanzanian government made it known that it would close all refugee camps on 30 June 2008.

Some returnees arrive in groups to physically occupy the land they claim (actions referred to as ‘sittings’). It is not unusual for disputes of this type to be settled by violence, which has become more extreme since 2007. Formerly, hostile exchanges occurred during the day and were mostly verbal, even if force was sometimes used. Today violence is increasingly taking place at night and the adversaries may have recourse to arms—often grenades—which they might use to destroy houses or injure whole families.¹⁴⁹

Victims

When violence occurs in connection with land disputes, the victims are usually heads of families (mainly men) or eldest sons (who are to inherit the land). Women, however, may be targeted when they have a usufructuary right to the land (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 8). When entire families are targeted, women and children are also often victims of the violence, as are day labourers who work the land and may also be attacked (Niyonkuru, 2008, pp. 8–9).

Women are a particularly vulnerable group under Burundian property law since they may not inherit land from their fathers (unless they do not have brothers, which is rare) (RCN, 2004, p. 56). They are therefore dependent on their parents or their husband and his family for their survival. A law has been drafted that would allow women to inherit, but the government has decided to submit it to the general public for consultation rather than to parliament, which does not bode well for its chances of success as Burundians seem to be generally hostile to this reform.¹⁵⁰

The land problem particularly affects returnees, who are in a very precarious financial situation and often are not very familiar with Burundian law.¹⁵¹ In 2008, more than 94,000 refugees returned to Burundi (UN News Centre, 2008). Burundi saw several waves of forced exodus. The first was in 1972, when many Hutus, mainly from Nyanza-Lac and Rumonge in the south, had to leave the country. Their land, which was particularly fertile as it was at the

edge of the lake, was rapidly redistributed by the local authority to those who remained (RCN, 2004, pp. 8–9; ICG, 2003, p. 1). Many Burundians also left the country during the 1993–96 crisis, but their return to their land has in general been easier than for the returnees who left in 1972; having been away for a shorter time, the community is more likely to consider them the ‘legitimate owner’ of the land (RCN, 2004, pp. 24–27).

Perpetrators

The victims and perpetrators of the violence (or those who order it) are often related, but this is not always the case. Many conflicts arise between returnees and those who began to occupy their land when they left. They may be former neighbours or individuals who arrived more recently (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 9).

Acts of violence linked to land disputes are often committed by intermediaries; these individuals have no interest in the conflict themselves but commit acts of violence ‘under contract’ (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 4). Demobilized combatants as well as active members and ex-combatants of the Palipehutu–FNL are often suspected of acting as ‘hired assassins’ in land disputes (Niyonkuru, 2008, pp. 4–5), although it is not possible to be certain about the accuracy of these accusations.

Possible solutions

Land disputes are particularly difficult to settle due to the lack of clarity surrounding title deeds. The Land Code only came into existence in 1986,¹⁵² and the registration of land at the land registry is not compulsory. Furthermore, searching for title deeds (when they exist) or having such deeds drafted is a long, complicated, and costly procedure. For example, a title deed for a house with three or four rooms in a low-income neighbourhood of Bujumbura will cost FBu 800,000 (USD 700), which explains why few people choose this option.¹⁵³ In the absence of a solid legal basis by which property rights could be determined, the population in general relies on ‘knowing’ to which family a particular plot of land belongs. Conflicts must therefore be settled locally, by individuals who know the parties to the conflict and the land in question.¹⁵⁴


When refugees who left the country in 1972 come back, they face the fact that the families who are occupying their land have been there for several generations and are not planning to move anywhere else. The small size of the plots means that dividing the land between the old and new owner is not usually a viable solution (RCN, 2004, p. 18). Under these circumstances, the

most common solution is to compensate the former occupier and allow him to set up house elsewhere (RCN, 2004, p. 22); however, this approach may pose serious cultural problems and often provokes resistance.¹⁵⁵

Various associations attempt to settle the problems through mediation to keep the parties from going to court. The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), for example, has a success rate of around 35 per cent in its mediation efforts.¹⁵⁶ Other conflicts are settled through *bashingantahe*, who deliver traditional justice based on consensus and reconciliation. The Law of 20 April 2005, relating to the organization of district administration, provides that the *bashingantahe* should work with the elected representatives of the district in order to resolve community conflicts, including land disputes.¹⁵⁷

The action of the National Commission for Land and Other Assets (CNTB), which is focused on mediation at the local level, reflects this willingness to settle disputes without going before the courts, which are already overloaded and relatively ineffective. Created in 2006 under the aegis of the vice presidency in order to attempt to solve these problems, the CNTB is the fourth initiative (after the commissions that were set up in 1977, 1992, and 2000) that aims to help returnees recover their land and settle disputes¹⁵⁸ (RCN, 2004, pp. 9, 12, 17).¹⁵⁹ As the name implies, the mandate of the new commission goes beyond land disputes to take account of ‘other assets’ that the refugees and displaced persons lost when they left. These include, for example, destroyed houses, stolen vehicles, and plundered bank accounts.¹⁶⁰

The main task of the CNTB is to settle land disputes through local structures.¹⁶¹ It must also prepare an inventory of the land belonging to the state and recover land that was acquired illegally during the war¹⁶² in order to redistribute it to victims in need. The CNTB is still seeking to define the basis of its operation. Illegal occupants will have to return the land, but nothing has yet been decided regarding compensation (whether financial compensation or other land), if compensation can be awarded.¹⁶³ Out of a total of 18,832 complaints lodged—of which a little more than 10,000 relate to land alone, mainly in the western provinces of the country—only 358 or 2 per cent of the total have been settled (272 by amicable settlement, 86 by decision of the CNTB) (CNTB, 2008).

The government of Burundi has also launched a proposal to reform the Land Code and set up an interministerial technical committee with responsibility for the revision. In September 2008, the committee drafted a ‘land policy letter’ whose aim was to lay down an operational strategy (Nkurunziza, 2008). 



III. Costs and Consequences: Medical Treatment and Legal Support

Medical care for victims

The effects of armed violence are exacerbated by the lack of medical care available for the Burundian population—a state of affairs that is condemned by many organizations.¹⁶⁴ However, despite the destruction caused by the war, there are many medical structures: the World Health Organization (WHO) reports that 80 per cent of Burundians live less than five kilometres from a health centre (WHO, n.d., p. 17). The real problem is the lack of qualified personnel and equipment, as well as the fact that most patients are unable to pay for medical care in the hospitals that have staff.

Burundi needs doctors. In 2004, there were three doctors on average per 100,000 inhabitants (UNDP, 2007, p. 250). Most of the qualified personnel left the country during the war and few have returned. Only about 30 doctors are trained each year (compared to 300 nurses) and the low salaries push many of them to work abroad. Among those who stay in the country, few agree to leave Bujumbura, as salaries are even lower outside the capital.¹⁶⁵ Public health expenditure is particularly low in Burundi—0.97 per cent of the GDP in 2005—compared with 4.1 per cent in Rwanda and 2.9 per cent in Tanzania, for instance (Perspective Monde, n.d.).

WHO has begun to train a few doctors in light surgery,¹⁶⁶ but the programme is insufficient to provide all victims of armed violence with the possibility of being treated. For instance, bullet injuries often cause fractures and bone injuries but the Prince Régent Charles Hospital, Bujumbura's largest, with 600 beds, does not even have a qualified orthopedist. It has to rely on a general practitioner who has little experience in orthopedics and who is employed on an ad hoc basis.¹⁶⁷ The Kamenge military hospital can treat neither the cases requiring maxillofacial surgery nor those requiring neurosurgery, and a number of bullet injuries (fractures of the jaw or facial bone, brain and spine injuries) fall into these categories. These cases have to be treated abroad, usually in Kenya or South Africa.¹⁶⁸ Hospitals also need equipment, such as prostheses. Some existing equipment, such as scanners, cannot always be used because of the shortage of specialists who know how to use it.¹⁶⁹

Nor are there specific care structures for the disabled. According to a high-ranking official from the Public Health Ministry, any patient who needs a wheelchair 'must first of all rely on himself', either by buying it or by making a request to an NGO, such as Handicap International. Only military personnel disabled following a war injury are entitled to receive this type of appliance free of charge.¹⁷⁰

The psychological after-effects are not treated any better: the respondents in the household survey and focus groups mentioned anxiety attacks, lack of sleep, memory problems, mood fluctuations, and psychological trauma following acts of armed violence (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008).¹⁷¹ Despite the considerable amount of trauma that the war caused among the population, the mental health field receives only 0.43 per cent of the total public health budget (WHO–AIMS, 2008, p. 5). In 2006, the country had only one psychiatrist and only one mental health service, the Kamenge Neuropsychiatric Centre (CNPK), which has only 65 beds (WHO–AIMS, 2008, pp. 5, 11).

Under these circumstances (and considering the prohibitive costs of medicines that must sometimes be taken for long periods), patients turn to other types of therapy: psychologists, traditional medicine, or 'religious therapists' who practise within evangelical churches (Vignaux, 2004). They are sometimes cared for by NGOs that provide psychosocial follow-up (WHO–AIMS, 2008, p. 10); one such NGO is the women's rights group ADDF, which employs a psychologist on a part-time basis to treat victimized women.¹⁷² The capacity of these structures is limited, however. The ADDF can care for up to 35 women (each with two children) and 15 girls;¹⁷³ the Nturen-gaho association accommodates an average of five people. The victims' length of stay in these structures may be long—several weeks, even several months depending on the case.¹⁷⁴

The situation is even more precarious outside the capital. Together with the NGO HealthNet TPO, which has a psychiatrist, the CNPK has developed ambulatory care outside the capital; yet only 53 patients per 100,000 inhabitants make use of the service (WHO–AIMS, 2008, pp. 5, 9). More than 90 per cent of the psychologists, nurses, and therapists in Burundi work for NGOs or in private offices, which are located almost exclusively in Bujumbura (WHO–AIMS, 2008, pp. 13–14).

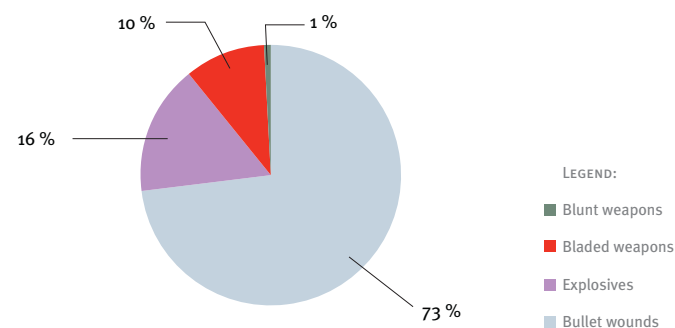
Medical costs

WHO reports that 90 per cent of Burundians do not have any type of medical insurance (WHO, n.d., p. 18). Since May 2006, maternity care and care for children under five years of age has been free (UNICEF, 2007). For the rest of

the population, there are several types of medical insurance: a mutual insurance company for public sector employees, a health insurance card system, and purchase orders. But the health insurance card is refused in most hospitals and purchase orders depend on the employer's good will. According to WHO, 90 per cent of Burundians do not have any type of medical coverage (WHO, n.d., p. 18). Those without means are cared for in certain hospitals (particularly the Prince Régent Charles Hospital) until they recover, but they may then be literally imprisoned in the hospital until someone (family, friend, or benefactor) comes to pay the bills.¹⁷⁵ The Ligue Iteka notes, for example, that on 26 January 2006, 48 people who could not pay for care were held against their will at the Kamenge university hospital centre, which was also storing 11 corpses whose families could only take them back once the bills were paid (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, p. 87).

The cost of medical care is a huge problem for most Burundians. In 2004, an MSF study assessed the number of Burundians without primary health care at one million (MSF, 2004, p. 2), or approximately 12 per cent of the population. At the Kamenge military hospital, the bill for a bullet wound amounts to FBU 450,000–500,000 (USD 380–430), including FBU 100,000 (USD 85) for the operation alone. The other costs include hospitalization, threads, dressings, care, and medicine.¹⁷⁶ Other estimates put the cost of such an operation between FBU 300,000 and 1,000,000 (USD 260–860) in Bujumbura and between FBU 130,000 and 500,000 (USD 112–430) in the rest of the country. The cost of hospitalization depends mainly on the length of stay and on the wounds caused by weapons; injuries such as disembowelments and bone injuries that require amputation or another operation may call for hospitalization for several months. In 2007, bullet wounds accounted for 73 per cent of the medical costs borne by hospitals for wounds related to armed violence (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 24) (see Graph 13).

GRAPH 13 Percentage of hospital medical costs per type of injury in 2007



SOURCE: Dalal and Nasibu Bilali (2008, p. 24)¹⁷⁷

Eleven cases examined in four provinces (Bujumbura-Mairie, Gitega, Ngozi, and Bururi) show that the costs generated by armed violence may vary considerably from one person to another (in particular, according to the type of wound to be treated), but the average medical cost for each one of these 11 people was approximately FBU 601,000 (about USD 500).¹⁷⁸ The loss of productivity of eight of these individuals was calculated at an average of FBU 631,875 (USD 520)¹⁷⁹ (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, pp. 25–26). These averages reveal large differences: from FBU 181,000 to FBU 1,652,000 (USD 150–1,400) for medical costs and from FBU 120,000 to FBU 2,030,000 (USD 100–1,700) for productivity losses.

Some hospitals simply reject the patients who cannot afford to pay for their treatment. At the Kamenge military hospital, patients must pay a deposit of FBU 100,000 (USD 85) before they undergo surgery and FBU 30,000 (USD 25) for a bed. Only first aid is provided without a deposit.¹⁸⁰ Those who cannot pay the fees are sent to the Prince Régent Charles Hospital. These practices can be partly explained by the difficult financial situation in which many Burundian hospitals and medical centres find themselves: at the beginning of January 2006, for instance, the Kamenge hospital had arrears of FBU 469,924,779 (USD 400,000) to collect (Ligue Iteka, 2007a, p. 87). Meanwhile the state only partially reimburses what it owes to the hospitals for insurance, and with long delays (HRW, 2006a, p. 69). Hospitals have a semi-public status: they are public but are managed independently. For example, the subsidies that the Prince Régent Charles Hospital receives from the state cover only about five per cent of its total budget. The remaining 95 per cent comes from bills for care and medicines.

Many patients seek help at health centres as they are cheaper and often closer to their homes than the hospital. However, the mortality rates are high there, as they lack equipment and qualified personnel. Some health centres in Bujumbura-Mairie and Bururi are managed by ordinary nurses who cannot care for the seriously injured, who are sent to the hospitals (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 3).

When the perpetrators of acts of violence have been identified and arrested, they are expected to pay their victim's medical expenses, in addition to a fine and possibly some other criminal penalty. In all other cases, it is the victim himself or, if necessary, his family and friends who have to pay (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 10). The perpetrator often threatens the victim with reprisals if he or she speaks, which means that in practice the victim and his or her family often have to pay the medical costs incurred on account of the injury, without any assistance.



PHOTO ◀ A man is treated for a stab wound after walking five hours to reach a hospital in Ruyigi. © Markus Marcetic/Moment/Redux

Access to justice

In 2005, the human rights organization APRODH recorded 1,110 victims of violence; only 27.4 per cent of them initiated legal proceedings and 100 perpetrators were arrested, i.e. barely nine per cent of the total (APRODH, 2006a, p. 4).

Inefficiencies in the judicial system

Filing a complaint and obtaining justice is a real challenge. From the outset, victims are discouraged by the authorities' lack of diligence in recording complaints, particularly in rape cases (AI, 2007, p. 5). The treatment of complaints is also hampered by the inefficiency of the PNB and lack of cooperation between the police and courts (UNSC, 2008a, para. 68).

The monthly reports on the human rights situation in Burundi by ONUB and subsequently by BINUB highlight the weaknesses of the Burundian judicial system: delays in the processing of files; incorrect classification of offences; poor knowledge of the penal code and the Code of Criminal Procedure on the

part of the PNB; and the detention of suspects beyond the legal time limits. These are all frequent problems (ONUB–OHCHR-B, 2006a, p. 3). The fines set out in the 1981 penal code no longer correspond to the economic realities of the country and are often too low to be dissuasive. The inadequacy of the judicial system discourages not only victims from filing complaints but also witnesses from testifying (Niyonkuru, 2008, pp. 6–7).

A study conducted at the end of 2007 by the Prisons Department in partnership with BINUB shows that the Burundian prison population consists of 30 per cent convicted prisoners and 70 per cent prisoners on remand (UNSC, 2008a, para. 68), evidence of the slow pace of the judicial system. By comparison, the situation in France is the reverse, with 28 per cent of prisoners on remand, and 72 per cent convicted (French Republic, 2008, p. 3). According to a senior member of the Burundian prison authority, prisoners may be held on remand for periods ranging from six months to three years.¹⁸¹ Human rights observers note numerous cases of illegal and arbitrary detention every month as well as deplorable prison conditions; minors and women do not usually have separate accommodation and the registers of prisoners, when they exist, are badly kept.

Another problem is escapes from prison. In December 2007, 13 individuals escaped from six different detention centres.¹⁸² According to the 2006 report of the PNB, many escapes are related to ‘police officers’ ignorance of laws and regulations’ and escapes are sometimes facilitated by corrupt police officers (PNB, 2007a, p. 182). Professionals also complain of the dilapidated state of the facilities.¹⁸³ The prison situation is therefore a cause for concern and the budget allocated each year to the authority is not enough to remedy the numerous failings in the system. The authority asked for FBU 4.5 billion (USD 4 million) in 2007 but was granted less than half that amount.¹⁸⁴

Chronic impunity

The weakness of the judicial system generates and encourages a culture of impunity. In the focus groups conducted in various provinces, impunity was often cited as a direct source of insecurity.

The Arusha Agreement laid the foundation for a transitional judicial system consisting of two entities: an international criminal court for Burundi and a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CENAP, 2008, p. 35). No progress has been made since then: while the UN opposes the granting of an amnesty, the party in power wishes to set up a commission that would favour ‘mutual pardons’ and a special court to try those who have not admitted their crimes (Burundi Information, 2007). National consultations designed to find out what Burundians expect from the transitional justice system were planned. In June 2008, the government and the joint steering committee for peacebuilding in Burundi signed a project in support of the consultations. However, these consultations have still not begun (CENAP, 2008, pp. 35–36). The fact that war crimes and numerous human rights violations committed during the conflict have not been punished or acknowledged has led many to perceive a culture of impunity.

The first to benefit from this impunity are the members of the defence and security forces, particularly the members of the SNR. By March 2008, for example, only two police officers had been convicted as a result of the 59 cases of police torture brought before the courts since 2006 with the help of Lawyers without Borders (HRW, 2008b, p. 31). If these individuals can act with impunity, it is because their victims do not dare file complaints, witnesses are afraid to testify, and public prosecutors are reluctant to take on these types of case. In 2006, the Muyinga public prosecutor was given police protection after receiving threats when he was dealing with the case of a high-ranking official of the SNR (HRW, 2006b, p. 23). According to Human Rights Watch, there is a real ‘culture of mutual protection between

police officers, public prosecutors and judges’, which is often motivated by political affiliations (HRW, 2008b, p. 33). The members of the SNR should be subject to clear laws that would give them limited powers under the supervision of the judicial authorities (HRW, 2006b, p. 4).

More generally, even though 40 per cent of the victims of the 31 acts of armed violence detailed in the household survey knew their aggressor, only 3 perpetrators have been punished (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). Most victims of acts of armed violence do not file complaints as they do not know the identity of their aggressor, fear the cost of legal proceedings, or fear reprisals (BINUB–DDH, 2008b, p. 7). As noted above, the same phenomenon is observed with rape victims, who rarely file complaints, even when they know their aggressor(s).

What are the alternatives?

Because of the inadequacies of the judicial system and the climate of impunity, Burundians resort to other forms of justice. Vigilantism in the form of personal revenge or lynching is widespread, as is traditional justice as administered by *bashingantahe*. The human rights observers from BINUB and other organizations have led a campaign to raise awareness among local administrators and the *bashingantahe* on the dangers of reaching private settlements as a way of dealing with crimes; however, their efforts have met with little success (BINUB–DDH, 2008a, p. 4).

The Palipehutu-FNL seems to mete out its own justice in the areas where the movement is most active (CENAP, 2008, p.14). It settles disputes and punishes the guilty, at times to the satisfaction of the population, which, in some cases, prefers its more expeditious justice to that of the courts.¹⁸⁵ This parallel justice may be brutal: the Ligue Iteka affirms that in Bubanza, in particular, the ‘movement purports to settle disputes by beating the accused with a stick’ (Ligue Iteka, 2007b, p. 11).

Improving judicial competence

The powers and resources of the judicial system need to be strengthened in order to combat the climate of impunity. In March 2008, BINUB launched two projects to achieve this objective. One aimed to ‘reduce and eliminate the settling of scores by re-launching the national programme to record and enforce court rulings and judgements’ and the other was designed to ‘restore the basic judicial system by reducing conflicts within communities through



PHOTO ► Prisoners gather at Ngozi Prison, 2006. © Jose Cendon/AFP Photo

the construction and fitting out of local courts'. BINUB also organized training to improve the competence of 520 judges, judicial officers, and court clerks (BINUB Press Service, 2008). The human rights division of ONUB, and subsequently BINUB, organized training for court personnel, local authorities, the *bashingantahe*, and secondary school students (ONUB–OHCHR-B, 2006b, p. 5). The enhancement of judicial competence should help to reduce the high number of prisoners on extended remand.

The cost of justice

A final element that considerably curtails victims' recourse to justice is cost. Plaintiffs must pay their travelling expenses when they deliver a police summons to the accused, the travelling expenses of the judicial officers who serve the summons on the other party (and, if the latter is absent, the expenses of a second trip by the judicial officer), and any travel expenses incurred by judges in order to collect evidence. In addition, a lawyer charges on average between USD 200 and 500 to defend his client's interests,¹⁸⁶ in a country where per capita GDP does not exceed USD 144 (IMF, 2008). The

above fees add up to the average cost involved in taking a case to the court of first instance; the same amount must be paid again if the case is appealed at the level of the regional court and if it goes to Burundi's highest court of appeal (Cour de Cassation).¹⁸⁷ Moreover, the plaintiffs must be physically present to follow their case, which entails substantial travelling and accommodation expenses, as the regional courts are located in the provincial capitals and the highest court of appeal is in Bujumbura.¹⁸⁸ These incidental expenses, plus the income not earned because the plaintiff is unable to work during the trial, quickly become an insurmountable obstacle if the trial lasts for several weeks. Furthermore, in the event of imprisonment, the victim sometimes has to pay for the prisoner or have food sent to him (ACAT and WOAT, 2008, p. 27). In the case of rape, access to the judicial system is made more difficult due to the fact that the victim has to submit a medical report that costs an average FBU 10,000 (USD 8.50).¹⁸⁹ These expenses are often too high for victims if they are not helped by a local or international NGO.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, victims often decide not to bring legal proceedings or to abandon proceedings before a case is resolved.¹⁹¹ Some NGOs specialize in legal aid, but the demand far exceeds their capacity.

Even the traditional justice of the *bashingantahe* may prove to be expensive: victims who wish to see their case settled must bring them a crate of beer or soft drinks (a custom known as the *agatutu*).¹⁹² If the *bashingantahe* decide in favour of the plaintiff, he or she must bring even more drinks.¹⁹³ Many families cannot afford this expense and thus may not even resort to this type of justice in which, in the end, the victim pays the bill.¹⁹⁴ Lastly, *bashingantahe* justice, particularly in land-related disputes, relies mainly on testimony, for or against the accused. It is customary for the parties to pay witnesses who back their position, which is a handicap for the poorer party (RCN, 2004, p. 66). Nonetheless, the *bashingantahe* are the solution favoured by most people who fear that the justice rendered by locally elected officials (who may, if necessary, intervene to stop the enforcement of a judgment rendered by the *bashingantahe*) will not be as impartial, as they are tied to a political party.¹⁹⁵

The indirect costs of armed violence

The costs for individuals

The costs of armed violence are significant for a country whose resources are limited. Burundi ranks 167th (out of 177 countries) in terms of human development, with 72–90 per cent of its population below the poverty line in all provinces except Bujumbura-Mairie, where it is 41 per cent (UNDP, 2007; IMF, 2007, p. 14).

In this context, armed violence uses scarce resources. Indeed, it generates a whole series of costs, from medical and funeral expenses to lawyers' fees, including indirect costs such as the drop in productivity of victims who suffer after-effects. The prevention of armed violence is also expensive: among the 8.6 per cent ($x=51$, $n=590$) of respondents who said that they had taken measures to protect themselves or their families against armed violence, almost one-quarter (23.4%, $x=11$, $n=47$) reported having spent money for this purpose (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008). The replies gathered in focus groups show that even organizing night watches between neighbours has a cost: the participants need torches, warm clothing, and sometimes weapons, which weigh heavily on already modest budgets.¹⁹⁶ Some people also invest in mobile phones so as to be able to contact the police in the event of a problem.¹⁹⁷ In total, among those who spent money to protect themselves, 44.4 per cent spent FBU 1,000–5,000 (USD 1–5), 44.4 per cent spent FBU 5,000–10,000 (USD 5–10), and 11.1 per cent spent more than FBU 10,000 (USD 10) for this purpose (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2008).

Armed violence generates many indirect costs. As the victims are mainly men,¹⁹⁸ and often the head of the household and breadwinner, their dependents

(women, children, parents) may find themselves in a very precarious situation if the person on whom they depend is killed or if he suffers serious after-effects. Cases of homeless children and of women turning to prostitution following such attacks were mentioned in the focus groups conducted as part of this study.¹⁹⁹ This problem is particularly important in the cases of armed violence relating to land disputes as family heads, being owners of the land, are the first concerned (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 8).

The prevention of armed violence also has indirect costs. Spending the night on guard has an effect on a person's productivity at work the next day.²⁰⁰ In other cases, particularly when individuals are involved in land disputes, threats come before the acts of violence, causing victims to take refuge far from their homes; they spend the night hidden in the forest and take all the concomitant risks for their health and security (Niyonkuru, 2008, p. 10).

The costs for companies


According to the Burundian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the National Institute of Social Security (INSS), companies' security costs accounted for 0.25 per cent of their turnover, i.e. a total of FBU 1.25 billion (USD 1.1 million) in 2006, a considerable amount in a country where the national budget was USD 594 million in 2008 (Panapress, 2008d). This figure only includes security companies or security guards who are properly registered with the INSS. In practice, companies use all types of private security—such as police officers who hire themselves out—and the total must therefore be much higher (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 11). The number of private security companies registered with the INSS increased from two in 1994 to 14 in 2008 (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 11).

TABLE 1 Costs of security services invoiced by private security companies in USD, May 2008

Type of building	Locations	Average cost per month
Residencies and warehouses	Town centres	40
	Outskirts	55
Offices	All locations	100
Embassies, NGOs, banks, and insurance companies	Town centres	175

SOURCE: Dalal and Nasibu Bilali (2008, p. 14)²⁰¹

The costs of private security companies depend on the type and location of the building being protected: a premises on the outskirts of Bujumbura is more expensive to protect than one located in the city centre (see Table 1) (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 14).

Insecurity also has indirect costs; shops and warehouses, for instance, do not stay open after nightfall.²⁰² When it was decided to increase the number of police on the streets of Gitega, the shops which had been closing at 5 p.m.—which led to a sharp drop in traders’ income—were finally able to stay open until 9 p.m.²⁰³ In addition, even though this phenomenon is difficult to assess, it is clear that insecurity discourages foreign investment. For instance, in April 2008, Brussels Airlines suspended its flights to Bujumbura for security reasons for nearly two weeks,²⁰⁴ following the renewed outbreak of fighting between the FDN and the Palipehutu–FNL (Panapress, 2008b). 



IV. The Instruments of Armed Violence

Arms in circulation in Burundi

In 2006 it was estimated that 100,000 households were in possession of firearms or grenades, which means that there are more than 100,000 arms in circulation among the civilian population in Burundi, given that a single household may own several weapons (Pézard and Florquin, 2007, p. 17). Yet in August 2008, a total of only 4,139 gun licences had been issued in Burundi;²⁰⁵ most of the arms circulating in the country are therefore illegal.

The regional nature of the successive crises affecting the various countries of the Great Lakes Region of Africa, the porosity of their borders, and their many commercial, political, and human interactions push governments to cooperate at a regional level. The aim of various regional projects—such as the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region, Tripartite Plus,²⁰⁶ or the Nairobi Protocol—is to motivate and strengthen national initiatives. In order to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region, Burundi and about ten other countries in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa signed the Nairobi Protocol in April 2004.²⁰⁷ In 2005, the secretariat of the Protocol became an inter-governmental organization known as the Regional Center on Small Arms and Light Weapons (Huybrechts and Berkol, 2005, p. 6). In August 2008, with the support of UNDP, the Ministry for Public Security organized a study group to analyse the draft bill regulating firearms and ammunition. This bill takes account of Burundi’s international obligations to combat the trafficking, illicit manufacturing, possession, registration, and marking of firearms and to crack down on firearm-related offences (UNDP, 2008b).

At the national level, in 2006 Burundi also set up a disarmament commission, the CTDC, which became the CDCPA in 2008. A civilian disarmament programme remains to be established, however (UNSC, 2008a, para. 57).

Yet sporadic seizures of arms have been conducted by the police, with mixed results. In 2008, the PNB seized 388 small arms and light weapons and 39,228 rounds of ammunition during the course of their forced disarmament

operations among the civilian population (Panapress, 2008e). These very modest results suggest that people were expecting these searches and had the time to hide their weapons,²⁰⁸ or that the police strategy for conducting them was ineffective. These searches have been politicized and became the subject of debate; one article even describes them as ‘a spectacle for the television channels and the international community’ (Rukindikiza, 2008). Some people have accused the authorities of targeting neighbourhoods with a majority of one ethnic group or another.²⁰⁹ There were still more seizures following the murder of a French woman who was a member of the NGO Action Against Hunger, in Ruyigi on 31 December 2007 (*Libération*, 2008).

The arms seized during these operations are stored at the five regional police headquarters throughout the country. Set up with the help of the Mines Advisory Group (MAG), a mobile team responsible for creating an inventory of the arms seized or surrendered to the police, and for destroying them, has been operational since August 2008. The team collected 2,090 weapons, nearly 90 per cent of which are assault rifles, mostly still in working order, and began to destroy them in December 2008. Over a five-month period, two MAG teams on the ground are to assess the weapons with which the PNB is equipped, the security at the armoury, and the level of competence of armourers.²¹⁰ A programme to destroy the obsolete or unusable arms and ammunition of the FDN is also in progress. With the help of BINUB, the army destroyed 1,697 guns and 29 mortars during the month of January 2008 alone (UNSC, 2008a, para. 58).²¹¹

The weapons seized by the police provide an idea of the type of firearms circulating in Burundi. Between January 2005 and December 2007, the internal security police (which is part of the PNB) seized 1,138 weapons, mainly grenades and Kalashnikovs. Slightly more than 5,945 rounds of ammunition were also seized during this period (see Table 2).

Most of the weapons and grenades seized by the police were found in Bururi, Bujumbura-Mairie, Bubanza, Ruyigi, Muramvya, Cibitoke, and Bujumbura Rural (see Graph 14). In theory, this does not necessarily mean that these provinces are the most problematic in terms of security—the size of the province, and the number and zeal of police officers there, may also explain the variations from one province to another. In practice, this result is not unduly surprising, insofar as crime levels are particularly high in Bujumbura-Mairie, and the rebels are still active in Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, and Cibitoke. Bururi is an anomaly in that no other source indicates that this province is particularly affected by armed violence, but, historically, it is known to have had a high number of firearms.

TABLE 2 Arms and ammunition seized by the police, 2005–07

Arms	Ammunitions (rounds)
R4s (3)	5.56 x 45mm (1,736)
Kalachnikovs (311)	7.62 x 39mm (1,874)
Simonovs (5)	
Light automatic rifles FAL (26)	7.62 x 51mm (107)
General-purpose machine guns MAG (4)	
G3s (2)	
Pistols (33)	Unknown caliber (2,080)
Sub-machine guns (3)	
Uzis (1)	No ammunition seized
B10s (5)	
Rocket launchers (6)	No ammunition seized
No corresponding weapon seized	Mortar shell 60 mm (54)
No corresponding weapon seized	Mortar shell 82 mm (94)
Grenades (739)	
Total : 1,138	5,945

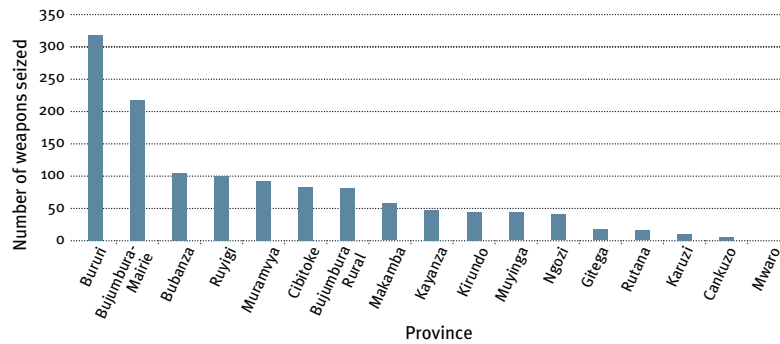
SOURCE: PNB (2007b)

NOTE: The magazines, mines, and bayonets seized are not included in this table.

There is a risk that weapons belonging to the police or the army may find their way into civilian hands. All police officers are armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles, a weapon inherited from the war and unsuited to the daily routine tasks undertaken to maintain law and order. Handguns would be more appropriate, but Burundi does not have sufficient stocks of them.

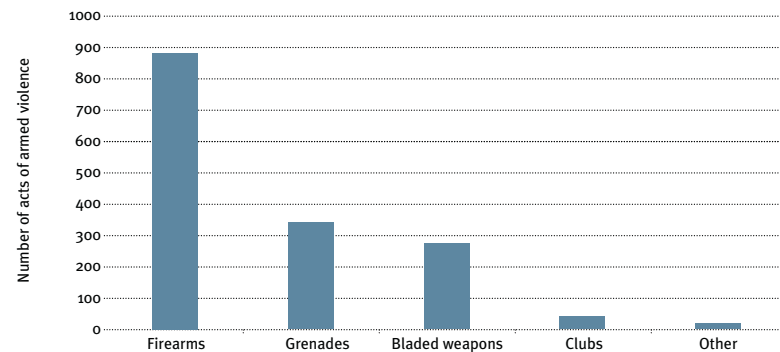
Weapons used in acts of violence

The 1,535 cases of armed violence recorded by the Observatory of Armed Violence in 2008 reveal that firearms are the weapon most commonly used, featuring in 58 per cent of cases.²¹² The other types of weapon used are grenades (22%), bladed weapons (18%—mainly knives and machetes), clubs (including truncheons and bludgeons), ropes, stones, and poison (see Graph 15).

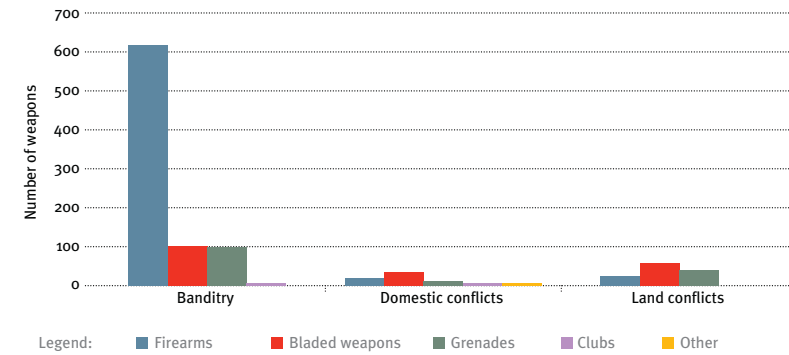
GRAPH 14 Weapons seized by the police, per province (2005–07)

SOURCE: PNB (2007b)

Different weapons are used depending on the motive for the act of violence (see Graph 16). The number of firearms used to commit theft is disproportionately high relative to other types of weapons. According to one interview, only firearms represent a powerful enough threat for assailants to achieve their ends; bladed weapons such as machetes are less ‘convincing’ and are thus rarely used.²¹³ The weapons used in cases of banditry are mainly automatic rifles of the Kalashnikov type, craft weapons (*mugobore*), and grenades.²¹⁴ Yet bladed weapons such as machetes are more frequently used in acts of domestic violence or between neighbours.²¹⁵ Finally, the type of weapons used to commit acts of violence varies according to the sex of the perpetrator. Women mostly use instruments of everyday life (knives, sticks, rope, poison) (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I), which suggests that armed

GRAPH 15 Instruments used in acts of armed violence recorded by the Observatory of Armed Violence, 2008

SOURCE: UNPF (2008)

GRAPH 16 Weapons used according to motives as recorded by the Observatory of Armed Violence, 2008

SOURCE: UNPF (2008)

violence by women remains largely confined to the private sphere, and that they probably have less access to firearms than men.

These figures also show that firearms are more frequently involved than bladed weapons in acts of violence leading to the death of one or more victims. Seventy per cent of incidents involving a firearm have resulted in one or more deaths, compared to 62 per cent of those involving a bladed weapon. Conversely, of the 211 incidents leading to at least one death, 72 involved one or more firearms (34% of cases), and 51 involved one or more bladed weapons (24% of cases).

The type of weapon used varies according to the perpetrator. According to the Ligue Iteka, civilians mainly use bladed weapons (37%), such as machetes, knives, or hoes. Next come clubs or bludgeons (15%), small arms (10%), and finally grenades (9%) (Ligue Iteka, 2008, annexe 1).

On the other hand, small arms are the weapon of choice for men in uniform, rebels, and bandits. For suicides, rope is most commonly used, and those dispensing ‘popular justice’ mostly use clubs to execute their victims. Some lynching victims have also been killed with stones or bladed weapons (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I). Between March 2006 and April 2008, the human rights division of BINUB recorded 143 cases of ‘popular justice’; that is, more than seven cases per month.²¹⁶ In general, these acts were committed following accusations of witchcraft or theft.

The use of grenades in violent attacks is extremely common in Burundi. In 2008, the Observatory found that grenades were involved in 22 per cent of cases in which a weapon was used in an act of violence (see Graph 15). The



PHOTO ◀ Weapons burn during the official launch of the disarmament, demobilization, rehabilitation, and reintegration process in Muramvya, 2004. © UN Photo/WPN

population has so many grenades because they are particularly cheap and easy to hide, they were easy to keep after the war (Pézard and Florquin, 2007, p. 17), and they can cause extensive damage at minimal cost. In July 2008, for example, a grenade thrown during a family celebration in central Burundi killed two people and wounded 45 (AFP, 2008e). Perpetrators of acts of banditry use grenades mainly to discourage people from chasing them following hold-ups or burglaries. Grenades are sometimes thrown in several different directions during the course of an attack in order to create confusion among the forces of law and order as to which building is really under attack.²¹⁷

Arms held by the population

The ownership of weapons in Burundi: a history

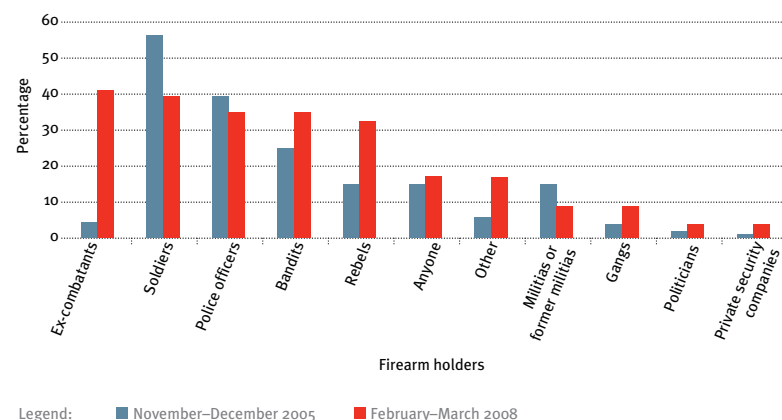
During the numerous political crises that have succeeded one another in Burundi, weapons were distributed to the population by the various warring factions. This strategy was carried out at the time of the crisis in 1972, and, on a larger scale, in the 1990s. In 2006, the militias that had fought or

supported the government troops during the war—the Peace Guardians (Gardiens de la paix)—were dismantled (in exchange for a reintegration allowance of USD 100 per person) and their weapons were recovered in the military regions. An identical initiative was set up for civilians known as ‘Militant Combatants’, who had supported the CNDD–FDD. According to a list kept at the staff headquarters in Bujumbura, 4,002 arms (2 pistols and 4,000 ‘weapons’, in all probability automatic rifles) were distributed by the military regions for the purposes of civil self-defence; 3,705 of these were recovered in September 2007 (FDN, 2007). In Makamba and Gitega, however, focus group participants said that civilians and demobilized soldiers still possessed some of the weapons distributed to them during the war,²¹⁸ a view that was shared by demobilized soldiers interviewed in Bujumbura.²¹⁹

Perceptions of weapons and their holders

The most common response to the question ‘Who possesses firearms in your neighbourhood/*colline*?’ was ex-combatants (41.4% [x=87, n=210] of the replies), ahead of soldiers and police officers. This surprising result emphasizes

GRAPH 17 Types of firearm holders according to survey respondents, November–December 2005 and February–March 2008



Legend: ■ November–December 2005 ■ February–March 2008

SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

NOTE: The categories ‘don’t know’ and ‘do not wish to reply’ are not represented here. The total percentage for each category is greater than 100, as respondents could give several replies to this question. The Y coordinates therefore show the percentages of replies given and not the percentages of respondents.

to what extent the population still see ex-combatants as a threat in terms of armed violence. This figure stands in stark contrast to the corresponding one from the first survey of Burundian households conducted by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka in November–December 2005. At that time, ex-combatants only accounted for 4.1 per cent of the replies to this question (Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka, 2006) (see Graph 17). This change underlines a significant shift in the general perception of ex-combatants. At the time of the second survey in 2008, hopes of seeing the ex-combatants reintegrated into society seemed to be fading.²²⁰

As regards the types of firearm held by these population categories, according to the respondents (n=191), the majority are Kalashnikov-type automatic rifles (83.8%, x=160), followed by grenades (75.9%, x=145), handguns (49.2%, x=94), and, to a lesser extent, knives and daggers (13.6%, x=26). The same pattern is clearly seen in the six provinces covered by the household survey, with the exception of Mwaro, where there seemed to be proportionately fewer handguns than elsewhere. Certain weapons of war (such as machine guns) are also cited, although infrequently, and mainly in Bujumbura Rural (15.2%, x=7, n=46).

Craft-produced weapons (*mugobore*) were only cited by 3.7% (x=7, n=191) of respondents, who stated that they know that there are weapons in circulation

in their neighbourhood or *colline*; this response rate appears relatively low, considering how easy it is to make this type of weapon. Moreover, *mugobore* are often found in great numbers at the weapons collecting ceremonies that have been organized for several years by civil society organizations in Burundi.

According to 55.1% (x=109, n=198) of respondents, banditry is the main reason why individuals who are neither police officers nor soldiers possess weapons.²²¹ The next most common reasons are personal protection and the protection of the family and property, followed by ‘it’s a holdover of the conflict’, which shows that the legacy of the war still weighs heavily, especially in Bujumbura Rural. The reply for the ‘protection of the community’ obtained very low scores in all the provinces, except in Bururi. Finally, ‘political protection’ and ‘it’s tradition’ were only cited as grounds for possessing a weapon in Bujumbura-Mairie.

Change in the number of firearms, 2005–08

Almost one in three survey respondents said that the number of firearms present in their community had fallen over the last two years (30.6% [x=67, n=219]). For 15.1% (x=33, n=219) of respondents, the number of firearms had remained the same. In 2005, only 4.8 per cent of respondents thought that the number of firearms had increased over the last two years. At the time, this result was hardly surprising, insofar as the country was emerging from the war, and it was to be expected that the effect of the transition from conflict to a post-conflict situation would be a reduction in the number of firearms in circulation. Three years later, this post-conflict situation seems markedly unstable, with 26 per cent (x=57, n=219) of respondents convinced that the number of weapons in their community increased during the previous two years.

Asking this same question in focus groups at Makamba, Gitega, Mwaro, and Bujumbura drew mixed responses. In Makamba, some people said that the disarmament of the militias had had only a marginal effect on the total number of weapons in circulation in their neighbourhood.²²² During these focus group sessions, it came to light that a Kalashnikov or a pistol costs about USD 50–100 whereas grenades cost about USD 3.²²³ According to the respondents, the price of weapons has fallen steadily since the end of the war, and is still falling today, which would tend to indicate either lower demand on the part of Burundians, or an increased supply. In its annual report for 2006, the PNB notes that many goods cross the Tanzanian border illegally, and the 2005 APRODH report indicates the existence of firearms trafficking across this same border, in the province of Ruyigi (APRODH, 2006a, p. 12).²²⁴

PHOTO ► Grenades and ammunition handed in by civilians.
© Stéphanie Pézard



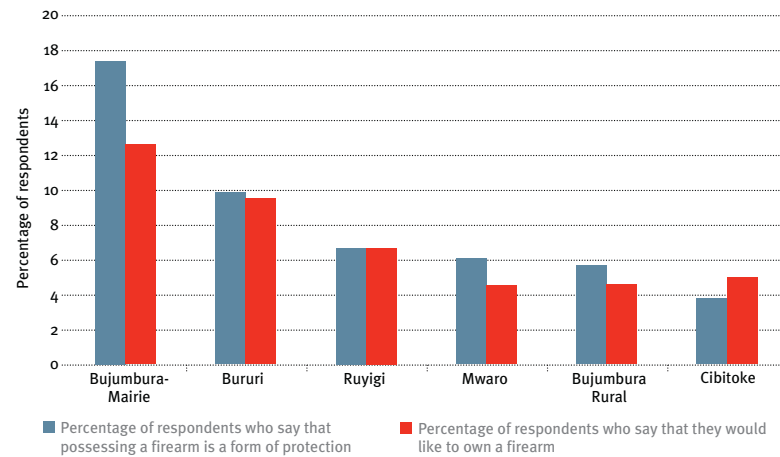
Prospects for civilian disarmament

Weapons: means of protection or source of danger?

The household survey included the question, ‘Do you think that certain types of weapons can be useful to protect you or members of your household?’ In reply, only 19 per cent ($x=282$, $n=1,487$) of respondents answered ‘yes’ compared to 78.7 per cent ($x=1,170$) who said ‘no’ (see Map 8). These results must nevertheless be interpreted with caution, as questions about weapons are always sensitive and the respondents may fear revealing that they have a positive image of them. Ownership of weapons is widely regulated, and, for the most part, prohibited by law. Nevertheless, very few people chose not to answer this question (0.7% [$x=11$] of respondents), which seems to indicate that those who did reply did so without fear. This gives more weight to the results in favour of a negative perception of weapons. During a women’s focus group session in Makamba, the participants emphasized the importance of raising the population’s awareness about the dangers of possessing a weapon, particularly in terms of potential accidents involving children.

Similarly, a majority of respondents expressed a negative opinion of weapons in general, stating that the possession of a weapon in the home is more likely to put people in danger (82.8%, $x=1227$, $n=1,482$) than to protect them from it (9.1%, $x=135$, $n=1,482$). These results show a change for the better since 2005, since at that time only 76.1% ($x=2,343$, $n=3,078$) of respondents considered weapons to be a danger and 18.8% ($x=579$, $n=3,078$) saw them as a means of protection. Here, too, the replies varied considerably between provinces, the belief that weapons help to protect being more widespread among the population of Bujumbura-Mairie than elsewhere (see Graph 18 and Map 9).²²⁵ Yet in Bujumbura Rural, in spite of the difficult security situation, there is a widely held view that weapons are dangerous, which may be due to the fear of being perceived as a member of the Palipehutu–FNL if caught in possession of a weapon. The replies to the question ‘Would you like to possess a firearm?’ confirm that opinion is moving in that direction. Indeed, 92.2 per cent ($x=1,312$, $n=1,423$) of respondents replied ‘no’, compared with 7.5 per cent ($x=107$, $n=1,423$) saying ‘yes’ (only 0.1% preferred not to reply). Here, too, Bujumbura-Mairie and Bururi are the provinces that had the highest number of positive responses with respect to weapons (see Map 10).

GRAPH 18 Percentage of respondents who say that being in possession of a weapon is a form of protection and that they would like to own a firearm, per province



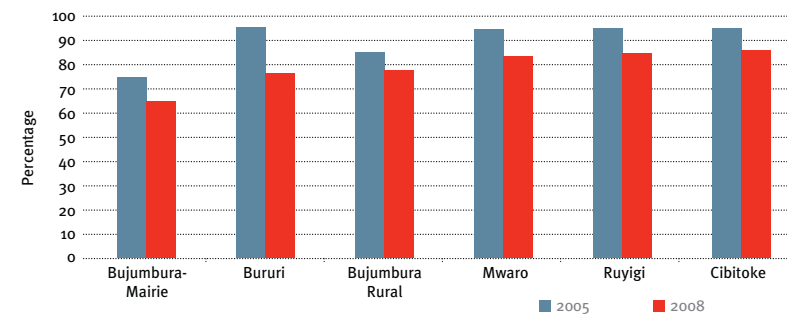
SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Iteka League (2008)

The respondents who replied in the affirmative to the question ‘Do you think that certain types of weapon can be useful to protect you or members of your household?’ (n=279), gave firearms first place as ‘useful’ weapons. Of these, automatic rifles came at the head of the list (59.9%, x=167), followed by handguns (41.2%, x=115), machetes (34.4%, x=96), grenades (22.6%, x=63), and knives and daggers (21.9%, x=61). During a focus group session, some inhabitants of Mwaro confirmed that firearms played an important role, not only as a means of defence, but also as a deterrent, since they can be fired into the air to frighten away thieves.²²⁶

Perceptions of disarmament

The survey results are relatively encouraging with respect to the potential outcome of a future disarmament campaign. Across the six provinces under review, 77.4 per cent (x=1,149, n=1,485) of respondents stated that they thought a disarmament programme in their neighbourhood/*colline* would be ‘a great success’, compared with only 3.6 per cent (x=54, n=1,485) who said that it would ‘not succeed at all’. These figures, however, mark a slight retreat in comparison with the 2005 survey, in which 88 per cent (x=2,708, n=3,078) of respondents stated that a disarmament programme would be ‘a great success’ and only 2 per cent (x=62, n=3,078) of the population said that it

GRAPH 19 Percentage of respondents who replied that a disarmament programme might be a ‘great success’ in their neighbourhood/*colline*, per province, 2005 and 2008



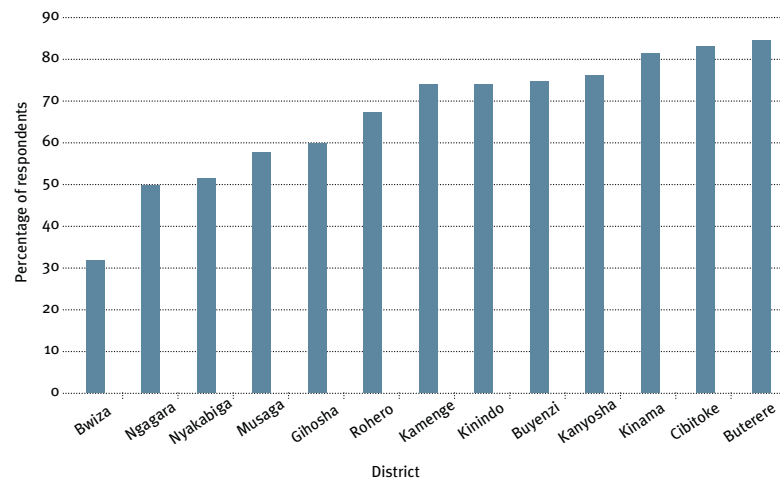
SOURCES: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2006; 2008)

would not succeed ‘at all’ (Pézard and Florquin, 2007). As in 2005, slight variations between provinces were apparent in 2008. Bujumbura-Mairie remains the province where respondents are most pessimistic about the chances of success of a disarmament programme, whereas Mwaro, Cibitoke, and Ruyigi show very high rates of positive replies (see Graph 19).

The 2008 survey also shows that perceptions regarding disarmament vary according to the districts of Bujumbura-Mairie. Bwiza is the district where the population has the least faith in the success of a possible disarmament programme (see Graph 20); it is also the district that seems to harbour the smallest number of weapons. Only 8.3 per cent of respondents (n=23) stated that the people in their neighbourhood possessed weapons or explosives, compared with 90.9 per cent for Kamenge. There also seems to be a particularly large number of people holding weapons in the districts of Ngagara (82.4%, n=25) and Kinindo (73.7%, n=27). Apart from in Bwiza, however, a majority of people in all the districts of Bujumbura-Mairie have distinctly positive expectations of a possible disarmament programme, whatever the socio-economic and ethnic profile of their population.

When the question is asked in a more personal way (‘If you had a weapon, would you agree to take part in a disarmament programme?’), the majority of the replies at the national level are also positive (with 82.3% [x=1,219, n=1,482] of respondents replying ‘definitely’, and only 2% ‘definitely not’ [x=29, n=1,482]), irrespective of the age of the respondent (the least enthusiastic being those aged 20–29, and the most enthusiastic being those over 50). If the replies ‘definitely’ and ‘probably’ are combined, it emerges that 95.4 per cent (x=2,934, n=3,078) of respondents in 2005 and 95.9 per cent

GRAPH 20 Percentage of respondents who say that a disarmament programme would be a 'great success' in their district (province of Bujumbura-Mairie)



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

($x=1,219$, $n=1,487$) in 2008 gave a positive reply to this question, which shows remarkable stability. As a general rule, these results have to be approached with some caution, however, as there may well be discrepancies between what respondents say and their willingness, in practice, to surrender their weapons the day a disarmament programme is actually established.

This stated willingness to disarm also varies depending on the province. Bujumbura-Mairie records the lowest score, with 72.1 per cent ($x=245$, $n=340$) of respondents 'definitely' ready to take part in a disarmament programme, compared, for example, with 84.2 per cent ($x=271$, $n=322$) in Bujumbura Rural (see Map 11). It is possible that the inhabitants of Bujumbura-Mairie fear that a disarmament programme may take away their weapons while failing to recover those of criminals; inhabitants of Bujumbura Rural, who bore the brunt of clashes between the government and the Palipehutu-FNL, probably see disarmament as a wider phenomenon encompassing the demobilization, cantonment, and disarmament of the rebels as part of a future peace agreement. The type of armed violence taking place in one province or the other may therefore have a significant effect on the willingness of the population to disarm.

The focus groups generally confirm this near-total willingness to disarm the population. In the absence of such a measure, according to some female participants in Makamba, 'people will be tempted to use their weapon every

time they come into conflict with someone'.²²⁷ There is one caveat, however: focus groups show that people are generally familiar with the disarmament initiatives that were undertaken in their community by local organizations and are extremely pessimistic as to the impact these programmes had in terms of reducing to the number of weapons in circulation.²²⁸

Ensuring successful disarmament

According to the female respondents in Gitega and Makamba, a disarmament programme may be a success if it is well prepared and organized by the government. In particular, it is crucial that the latter should establish clearly that the surrender of weapons will not give rise to legal proceedings. The importance of raising public awareness on this issue has also been emphasized by other participants.

During these focus group sessions, the participants also emphasized the fact that a disarmament campaign would have more chance of success if the government offered something in exchange for the weapons, without specifying the nature of this 'something' (money or goods).²²⁹ At the time of the survey, a financial incentive came top of the list, with 28.0 per cent ($x=402$, $n=1,436$) of respondents wanting someone to buy back their weapons from them (see Graph 21). Yet 64.6 per cent ($x=927$, $n=1,436$) of the respondents asserted that they were already convinced they should take part without needing additional motivation.

The possible forms of compensation cited by the respondents are means of transport (mainly bicycles), livestock or agricultural produce, building materials or housing, jobs, foodstuffs, and arable plots of land. According to the respondents in Bujumbura, the reward offered must depend on the value of the weapon returned and meet individual needs (such as livestock for livestock farmers or fertilizer for farmers).²³⁰ Yet most of the focus group participants were conscious of the risk of creating a further motive for procuring arms if the programme were too attractive.²³¹ The participants also emphasized that a minority of the population makes such a profit from owning weapons that no sum of money, however large, could convince them to turn them in.²³²

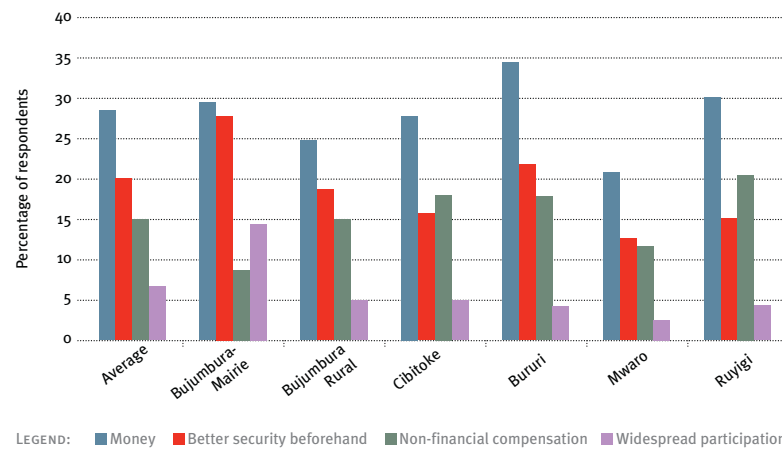
Obtaining an improved level of security as a precondition to taking part in a disarmament programme ranks even higher than the prospect of non-financial compensation, especially in Bujumbura-Mairie, where the desire for better security almost equals the wish for financial compensation. According to the women questioned in Bujumbura, 'as long as the FNL remains active, disarmament cannot work. New weapons will come in. It's a vicious circle.'²³³ Focus group participants in Makamba and Gitega also emphasized this point.

According to respondents in Gitega, there must first be an improvement in security so that people are convinced that they can hand in their weapons without mortgaging their future protection. ‘It’s a vicious circle because if someone hands over their weapon, and later hears gunshots, they are going to reuse the same means to get hold of weapons once again.’²³⁴

This list of reasons to disarm, ranked in order of importance, is broadly similar to that revealed by the previous survey of 2005, which shows that financial compensation is still important. Yet it also shows that an improvement in the security situation remains a fundamental preoccupation for Burundians and that it is considered by many to be an essential precondition for disarmament.

As was the case in response to the 2005 survey, only a handful of respondents seem willing to surrender their weapons ‘to a political party’, ‘to a trade union’, or to ‘someone in my community’ (1% or fewer than 1%) (see Graph 22). Likewise, the local NGOs and the UN still get relatively mediocre scores. In 2005, when the government launched a scheme to disarm the militias in return for financial compensation, respondents may have been expected to prefer this solution rather than calling on the UN or the local NGOs (Pézard and Florquin, 2007, p. 77). This explanation is, however, no longer valid in 2008; respondents show a strong preference for disarmament to be undertaken by a Burundian institution (the government, the civil authorities, or the police).

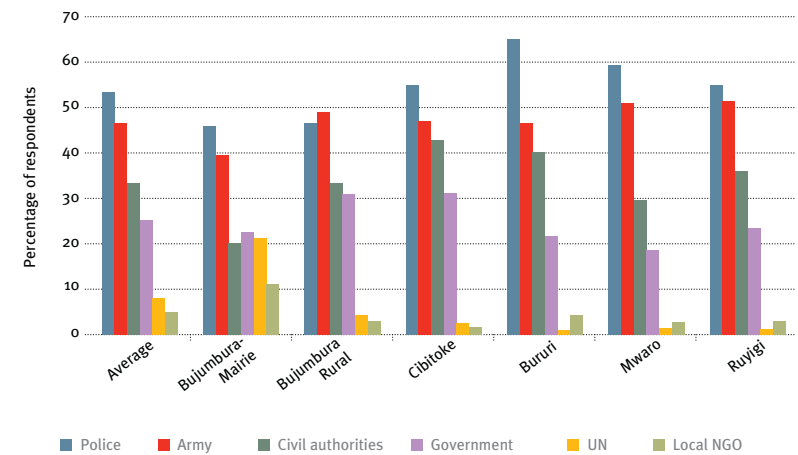
GRAPH 21 Reasons cited to explain why someone might take part in a disarmament programme



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

NOTE: The answers chosen by fewer than one per cent of respondents—‘Other’, ‘Don’t know’, and ‘Do not wish to reply’—are not represented.

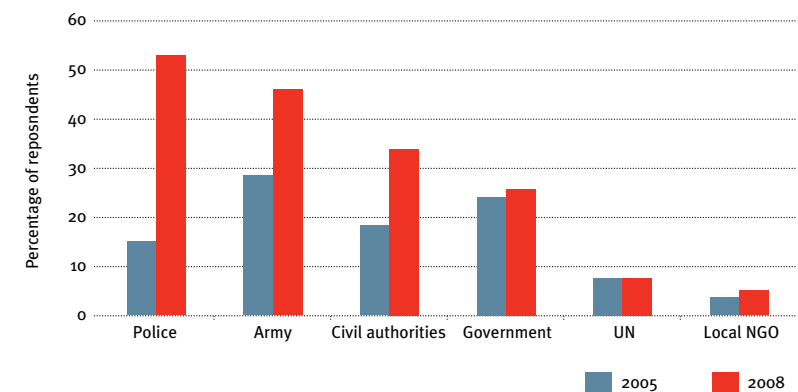
GRAPH 22 Institutions to which the civilian population would agree to hand over weapons, per province



SOURCE: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2008)

The order of preference of these institutions has changed since 2005, however (see Graph 23). Whereas at the time the military came first, followed by members of the government, then senior officials, then the police, in 2008 the police force is at the top of the list, followed by the military, senior officials, and the government. There is a remarkably similar pattern in each of the six provinces studied, perhaps because the police force is now decentralized to the district level (which was not the case in 2005) and is therefore closer to the people.²³⁵

GRAPH 23 Institutions to which the civilian population would agree to hand over weapons, 2005 and 2008



SOURCES: Small Arms Survey and Ligue Iteka (2006; 2008)

Box 4: Weapons and disarmament in urban and rural settings: a difference of perspective

The household survey highlights a certain number of important differences between Bujumbura-Mairie and the five other provinces surveyed on arms and disarmament. The inhabitants of Bujumbura-Mairie have a more positive perception of weapons than those of the five other provinces.²³⁷ Slightly more than one respondent in six asserted that firearms are more likely to serve as protection than put anyone at risk (17.4%, x=59, n=340). The number admitting to owning a firearm (2.6%, x=9, n=341)²³⁸ and to wishing to own one (12.6%, x=37, n=293)²³⁹ is also proportionately higher

These different attitudes regarding weapons are reflected in perceptions towards a possible disarmament programme. Residents of the capital interviewed for the survey are, relative to inhabitants of other provinces, less inclined to think that a disarmament programme could be 'a great success' in their neighbourhood (63.5%, x=217, n=342).²⁴⁰ A higher proportion than elsewhere²⁴¹ also considers widespread participation in a disarmament programme a reason to take part in it (10.2%, x=48, n=469); this position suggests the existence of a 'security dilemma'—people own weapons in order to protect themselves from other people who have them, at the risk of themselves becoming a threat to others. This factor may explain the apparent paradox that a higher proportion of respondents in Bujumbura²⁴² than elsewhere suggested the disarmament of the population as a potential solution to the problems of armed violence in their neighbourhood (40.8%, x=60, n=147). A higher proportion also trusts the UN to collect weapons, which is probably a reflection of its highly visible presence in the capital (12.6%, x=74, n=588).²⁴³

This result is surprising insofar as the Burundian police force does not necessarily get good press.²³⁶ Yet the population often used to call for a greater police presence in response to insecurity and criminality. This ambivalent attitude towards the police shows that, despite being aware of the inadequacies of this institution, especially as regards the training and discipline of new recruits, the population is nevertheless ready to trust it to deal with the security situation and ensure that weapons are collected during a disarmament campaign. Although imperfect, the new Burundian police force is for many the only source of security that exists. 🌀



Conclusion

Burundi has already started to combat armed violence. Various projects directly aiming to tackle this scourge have been set up, such as the reform of the firearms law, the civilian disarmament project, the DDR programme, and the strengthening of the capacity of the uniformed services. Running in tandem with these programmes are so-called 'indirect' initiatives, such as peace consolidation, the struggle against poverty, good governance, care for victims, and the development of techniques for collecting data relating to armed violence. Armed violence is not the chief focus of such initiatives, but they contribute greatly to combating the phenomenon and to alleviating its effects. Nevertheless, this violence and prevention dynamic must be amplified.

In order to understand this complex phenomenon better, it is essential to develop the capacity to monitor armed violence more effectively. Under the aegis of UNDP, a 'UN Integrated Strategy for monitoring and analysis/mapping of criminality and armed violence in Burundi' has been established with the aim of collating the various sources of information on the subject in order to produce a clearer picture. Data on the impact of armed violence is scarce and very scattered. For example, medical records—which are indispensable in an assessment of the extent and impact of armed violence as well as its cost for the victims—remain inadequate (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 27).

The various sources used in this study show that, despite a certain improvement in the security situation since 2003, armed violence remains one of the factors inhibiting the growth of Burundi in this post-conflict period. Armed violence has a negative effect on development by drawing on financial and staff resources that are already in short supply, and by reducing their productivity. This link also operates in the other direction, since development problems help to increase the risk of armed violence.

The population perceives firearms as the main source of insecurity, and they are indeed used in most acts of armed violence. Armed banditry is a worrying phenomenon that intensified in Burundi during the last few months of 2008. This instability is exacerbated by the question of the Palipehutu-FNL. In spite of the signing of a ceasefire agreement in 2006, the situation remains unstable.



PHOTO ▲ Agathon Rwasa, leader of the Palipehutu–FNL, returns from exile four days after his group signed a truce with the government, May 2008. © Jacoline Prinsloo/Government Communication Information Service/AFP Photo

On 17 April 2008, the Palipehutu–FNL resumed mortar attacks on the capital, which were broken off some days later, when the leaders of the movement asked for the cessation of the FDN offensive, food aid for its combatants, and the reopening of negotiations (UNSC, 2008a, para. 13). The situation remained volatile until December 2008, when both parties finally agreed to take a step towards peace. The government announced the granting of 33 posts to senior officers of the Palipehutu–FNL, while the rebel movement agreed to change its name in order to be able to register as a political party. It was also announced on this occasion that the DDR programme would begin immediately, and that the government would free all political prisoners and prisoners of war (Heads of State of the Great Lakes Region, 2008). It is to be hoped that these intentions will be transformed into action and finally enable a durable peace, putting an end to the civil war that has ravaged Burundi for 15 years, fuelling insecurity in the north-eastern provinces of the country.

Another source of instability is the elections scheduled to take place in 2010; each party is already preparing for the confrontations. It is therefore urgent for the various parties to speak out on the fundamental question of armed violence, and for the new Disarmament Commission to set out an action plan and obtain the political support necessary to accomplish the civilian disarmament programme, which, having failed to be implemented for several years now, is more than ever a priority. Only once these steps have been taken, five years after the official end of the civil war, will Burundians truly be able to feel that they live in a country at peace. 📍

Appendices

Appendix I

Survey questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE No _____

N.B.: All the information contained in this questionnaire is confidential; you will not be asked to give your name or the name of any other person and no names will be cited. The purpose of the questionnaire is to increase understanding of the situation in your community, and to identify any problems that the community may encounter.

Q001 – Name of the researcher _____

Q002 – Date of the interview _____

Q003 – Time the interview began _____

Q004 – Province: _____

Q005 – District (*commune*): _____

Q006 – Area (*zone*) _____

Q007 – *Colline* or neighbourhood: _____

Q008 – *Sous-colline*/avenue/unit (*cellule*): _____

The surveyer has read the consent form to the respondent. The respondent has given his/her verbal agreement to reply to the questionnaire.

Surveyer's signature:

100 SECURITY

Q100. In your opinion, what are the main problems affecting your neighbourhood/colline?

(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as most serious, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as second-most serious, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Unemployment
2. Criminality
3. Lack of public transport
4. Lack of opportunities for young people
5. Land-related problem
6. Insufficient educational facilities (schools, universities, etc.)
7. Roads in poor state of repair
8. Insufficient health facilities (hospitals, etc.)
9. Problems relating to the use of weapons
10. Other (*specify*) _____
11. None
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q101. Do acts of armed violence of any kind occur in your village/colline/ neighbourhood?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, or DON'T KNOW, go directly to Q119.

Q102. What type of armed violence takes place in your village/colline/ neighbourhood?

(Several replies are possible)

1. Armed robbery/burglary committed with a weapon
2. Armed assault
3. Murder committed with a weapon
4. Kidnapping committed with a weapon
5. Rape committed under the threat of a weapon
6. Domestic or family violence committed with a weapon
7. Settling of scores or fighting with a weapon
8. Other (*please be specific*) _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q103. In your opinion, what causes armed violence in your village?

(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as most common, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as second-most common, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Marital disputes
2. Family disputes
3. Theft
4. Land disputes
5. Alcohol consumption
6. Consumption of drugs
7. Smuggling
8. Gang rivalry
9. Witchcraft
10. Rivalry between political parties

- 11. Ethnic rivalry
- 12. Activities of rebel forces
- 13. Poverty
- 14. Other *(please be specific)* _____
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q104. In your opinion, what is the most common form of armed violence in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood?

- 1. Armed robbery/burglary committed with a weapon
- 2. Armed assault
- 3. Murder committed with a weapon
- 4. Kidnapping committed with a weapon
- 5. Rape committed under the threat of a weapon
- 6. Domestic or family violence committed with a weapon
- 7. Settling of scores or fighting with weapons
- 8. Other *(please be specific)* _____
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q105. In your opinion, what increases the risk of being a victim of the type of armed violence that you have just mentioned?

Reply: _____

- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q106. I am going to read you a list; I would like you to tell me which of these categories of people are most at risk, in your opinion, of being victims of armed violence.

(Several replies are possible; tick the box if the respondent says that this category of person is particularly at risk of being a victim of armed violence.)

- 1. A rich person
- 2. A person who has a job
- 3. An unemployed person
- 4. Someone who drinks or who has drunk alcohol
- 5. Someone who takes drugs
- 6. A young person
- 7. Someone who belongs to a particular ethnic group
- 8. A refugee or displaced person
- 9. A businessman or -woman
- 10. A public sector employee
- 11. A police officer
- 12. A soldier
- 13. A politician
- 14. A woman
- 15. A child
- 16. A widow
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q107. Do you think that something could be done to reduce the type of armed violence that you have mentioned?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q113.

Q108. In your opinion, what could be done to reduce this type of armed violence in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q109. Have you taken any precautionary measures to prevent the members of your household from falling victim to armed violence?

1. Yes

2. No

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q113.

Q110. What type of measures have you taken?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q111. Do these measures have a financial cost?

1. Yes

2. No

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q113.

Q112. How much do these measures cost you?

Cost: _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q113. Are you aware of any institutions or current projects that aim to prevent armed violence in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood or elsewhere?

1. Yes

2. No

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q119.

Q114. What are the names of these projects or of the institutions that organize the projects?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q115. In your opinion, can any of these institutions or projects be considered a success?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
 If the reply is NO, go directly to question Q118.
 If the reply is DON'T KNOW or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q119.

Q116. Which seem or seemed to be a success?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q117. In your opinion, what is it that has made the project(s) a success, or makes it/them seem to be a success?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the respondent has said that the projects (in his/her village/*colline*/neighbourhood or elsewhere) have been a success, go directly to question Q119.

Otherwise, continue.

Q118. Among all the projects that you have just mentioned, whether in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood or elsewhere, that were not a success, can you explain why they failed?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q119. In your opinion, how has the level of security in your neighbourhood/*colline* changed in the last six months?

1. It is more secure now
2. It is less secure now
3. There has not been any change
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q120. How would you assess your degree of security when you are inside your house in the daytime?

1. Totally secure
2. Quite secure
3. Not very secure
4. Not at all secure
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q121. How would you assess your degree of security when you are inside your house at night?

1. Totally secure
2. Quite secure
3. Not very secure

4. Not at all secure

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q122. How would you assess your degree of security when you are travelling during the day?

1. Totally secure

2. Quite secure

3. Not very secure

4. Not at all secure

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q123. How would you assess your degree of security when you are travelling at night?

1. Totally secure

2. Quite secure

3. Not very secure

4. Not at all secure

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q124. How would you assess your degree of security at your place of work?

1. Totally secure

2. Quite secure

3. Not very secure

4. Not at all secure

5. I am unemployed

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the respondent has replied TOTALLY SECURE to the five previous questions, go directly to question Q127.

Otherwise, continue.

Q125. Which categories of people do you think are most responsible for the insecurity?

(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that is most responsible for the insecurity, put 2 in the box next to the category that is a bit less responsible for the insecurity, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Bandits

2. Rebels

3. Police officers

4. Soldiers

5. Ex-combatants

6. Militia or ex-militia

7. Neighbours

8. Family

9. Gangs

10. Private security companies

11. Other *(please be precise)* _____

12. I feel secure

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

Q126. Whom would you call for help if you felt threatened or in danger?
(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as most common, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as second-most common, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Nobody
2. Family
3. Friends/neighbours
4. Police
5. Soldiers
6. Militant combatants
7. Militia or ex-militia
8. Private security companies
9. Other (please be specific) _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q127. Do you think that the public authorities (police, army, ...) are effective against crime?

1. Totally
2. Very
3. Quite
4. A little bit
5. Not at all
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q128. Do you have the feeling that certain modes of transport are safer than others, in terms of the risk of armed violence?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q131.

Q129. In your opinion, which mode of transport is the safest, in terms of the risk of armed violence?

1. Walking
2. Bicycle
3. Moped
4. Bus
5. Taxi
6. Personal car
7. None
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q130. In your opinion, which mode of transport is the least safe, in terms of the risk of armed violence?

1. Walking
2. Bicycle
3. Moped
4. Bus
5. Taxi
6. Personal car

7. None
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q131. Over the last three months, have you or any of the members of your household been the victim of a violent incident in which a weapon or explosives were present?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q200.

I am now going to ask you to concentrate on the most recent violent incident in the last three months. Let me remind you that I am talking only about incidents in which weapons or explosives were present, and in which you personally, or members of your household, were involved.

Q132. How many members of your household were involved in this most recent incident?

Number: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q133. What type of incident was it? (If the incident included several of the following elements, tick all the relevant boxes.)

1. Armed robbery/burglary committed with a weapon
2. Armed assault
3. Murder committed with a weapon
4. Kidnapping committed with a weapon
5. Rape committed under the threat of a weapon

6. Domestic or family violence committed with a weapon
7. Settling of scores or fighting with a weapon
8. Other (*please be specific*) _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q134. Were any of the victims who are members of your household physically wounded in this incident?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q136.

Q135. What physical consequences did the victims from your household suffer?

(Several replies are possible.)

1. Death
2. Total disability
3. Partial disability
4. Injury/injuries requiring surgery
5. Injury/injuries requiring a visit to a medical centre
6. Injury/injuries requiring the purchase of medicines
7. Other (*please be specific*) _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q136. Did this incident have psychological consequences for any of the victims who are members of your household?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to question Q138.

Q137. What were the psychological consequences for the victims who are members of your household?

Reply: _____

- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q138. Did this incident have financial consequences for the household?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to question Q141.

Q139. What was the cause or causes of these expenses?
(Several replies are possible.)

- 1. Medical expenses
- 2. Hospital expenses
- 3. Funeral expenses
- 4. Replacement of items stolen or destroyed in the incident
- 5. Other (please be specific): _____

- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q140. What is your estimate of the expenses incurred by the household as a direct result of this incident of armed violence?

Total expenses: _____

- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q141. How many perpetrators were involved in this most recent violent incident?

Number: _____

- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q142. a) To which categories of person did the perpetrators belong?
(Several replies are possible.)

- 1. Bandits
- 2. Rebels
- 3. Police officers
- 4. Soldiers
- 5. Ex-combatants
- 6. Militia or ex-militia
- 7. Neighbours
- 8. Family
- 9. Gangs
- 10. Private security companies
- 11. Other (please be specific) _____
- 88. Don't know
- 99. Do not wish to reply

Q142. b) Did the victim or victims know the perpetrator or perpetrators of this violence?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q144.

Q143. How did the victim(s) know the perpetrator(s) of the violence?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q144. What type of weapon did the perpetrator(s) of the violence have at the time of the violence?

(Several replies are possible.)

1. Knife or dagger
2. Machete
3. Stick
4. Handgun (pistol or revolver)
5. Automatic rifle (Kalashnikov, FAL, R4...): Type(s): _____
6. Shotgun
7. Sub-machine gun
8. Machine gun
9. *Mugobore*
10. Mortar
11. Grenade
12. Grenade launcher

13. Other (*please be specific*): _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q145. In what type of place did the incident occur?

1. In the victims' house
2. In the perpetrators' house
3. At the victims' place of work
4. At the perpetrators' place of work
5. On a road or path
6. In a vehicle
7. Other (*give details*): _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q146. Did the incident take place during the day or at night?

1. During the day
2. At night
3. During the day and the night
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q147. Can you explain what happened during the incident?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q148. Have the perpetrator(s) of the incident been punished?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q200.

Q149. How have they been punished? (All the punishments should be listed for each perpetrator.)

Perpetrator no. 1: _____

Perpetrator no. 2: _____

Perpetrator no. 3: _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

200 WEAPONS

I am now going to ask you more specific questions about weapons. As I explained at the beginning of the survey (and I think it is useful to repeat it now), if you do not wish to reply to any of the questions because you think they are too delicate, simply say 'I do not wish to reply' at the end of the question.

Q200. Do you think that certain types of weapon can be useful as a way of protecting yourself or the members of your household?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q202.

Q201. What type of weapons are you thinking of?

(Several replies are possible.)

1. Knife or dagger
2. Machete
3. Stick
4. Handgun (pistol or revolver)
5. Automatic rifle (Kalashnikov, FAL, R4...): Type(s): _____
6. Shotgun
7. Sub-machine gun
8. Machine gun
9. *Mugobore*
10. Mortar
11. Grenade
12. Grenade launcher
13. Other (*please be specific*): _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q202. To your knowledge, do the people in your village/*colline*/neighbourhood possess weapons or explosives of any kind whatsoever?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is YES, please continue.
If the reply is NO, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q207.

Q203. Who possesses firearms in your neighbourhood/colline?
(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as most likely to possess a firearm, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as second-most likely, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Bandits
2. Rebels
3. Militia or ex-militia
4. Ex-combatants
5. Gangs
6. Soldiers
7. Police officers
8. Politicians
9. Private security companies
10. Anybody
11. Other (please be specific) _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q204. To your knowledge, what types of weapon or explosive do they possess?
(Several replies are possible.)

1. Knife or dagger
2. Machete
3. Stick
4. Handgun (pistol or revolver)
5. Automatic rifle (Kalashnikov, FAL, R4...): Type(s): _____
6. Shotgun

7. Sub-machine gun
8. Machine gun
9. Mugobore
10. Mortar
11. Grenade
12. Grenade launcher
13. Other (please be specific): _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q205. In your opinion, what is the main reason why the people in your neighbourhood/colline (other than police officers or soldiers) possess weapons?

(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as the most common reason, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites as second-most common, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. Personal protection
2. Protection of the family and goods
3. Protection of the community
4. Political protection
5. Work
6. Banditry
7. 'Holdover' of the conflict
8. It's tradition
9. To be the same as the neighbours
10. For reasons of prestige
11. Other (please be specific) _____

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q206. How has the number of firearms changed over the last two years in your neighbourhood/*colline*?

1. It has increased
2. It has fallen
3. It has not changed
4. It changes regularly

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q207. Some people think that possessing a firearm can help them to protect their family. Others think that possessing a firearm can be dangerous for their family. Which of these views is closest to your own?

1. The possession of a weapon can help to protect
2. The possession of a weapon is dangerous
3. There is no difference

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q208. If you are able to tell me, do you have a firearm yourself?

1. Yes
2. No
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

If the reply to the last question is NO, please continue.
If the reply is YES, DON'T KNOW, or DO NOT WISH TO REPLY, go directly to Q300.

Q209. Would you like to possess a firearm?

1. Yes
2. No

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

300 DISARMAMENT

Q300. Do you think that a disarmament programme would be successful in your neighbourhood/*colline*?

1. Very successful
2. Quite successful
3. Not very successful
4. Not at all successful

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q301. If you had a weapon, would you agree to take part in a disarmament programme?

1. Definitely
2. Probably
3. Possibly but not likely
4. Definitely not

88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q302. What might persuade you to hand in your weapon if you had one?
(Several replies are possible.)

1. Nothing, I have already made up my mind to take part
2. If the authorities agreed to pay me
3. If the authorities agreed to give me something else in exchange
(Please be specific: _____)
4. If everybody took part
5. If there were less crime and more security
6. If there were less unemployment
7. Nothing, I want to keep my weapons
8. Other (please be specific) _____
88. Don't know
99. Do not wish to reply

Q303. To whom would you agree to hand in your weapons, if you had any?
(Several replies are possible; please put them in order of priority: put 1 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites first, put 2 in the box next to the category that the respondent cites second, etc., with respect to all the categories cited by the respondent.)

1. To the police
2. To the army
3. To government representatives
4. To UN representatives
5. To someone in my community (Please be specific: _____
_____)
6. To a local NGO
7. To a senior official
8. To a political party
9. To a trade union

10. Other (please be specific) _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

400 INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT

Q400. How old are you?

Reply: _____

88. Don't know

99. Do not wish to reply

If the researcher thinks that the real age of the respondent is different from the age given, tick the box below that corresponds to the respondent's probable age:

1. 10–20 years old
2. 20–30 years old
3. 30–40 years old
4. 40–50 years old
5. over 50 years old

Q401. How many years of education have you completed?

Reply: _____

Q402. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

1. Primary school
2. First stage of secondary school
3. Second stage of secondary school
4. Technical school diploma
5. University
6. None
99. Do not wish to reply

Q403. What is your occupation?

(Several replies are possible.)

1. Unemployed
2. Unskilled worker
3. Trader
4. Farmer
5. Businessman
6. Manual worker/craftsman
7. Public sector employee
8. Student
9. Other (please be specific) _____
99. Do not wish to reply

THANK YOU FOR TAKING PART!

TO BE COMPLETED BY THE RESEARCHER

Q500. Time at which the interview came to end _____

Q501. Sex of the respondent:

1. Male
2. Female

Q502. Did the respondent sometimes look anxious when you asked the questions?

1. Yes
2. No

Q503. Did you have the impression that the respondent was preoccupied when you asked the questions?

1. Yes
2. No

Q504. Did you have the impression that the respondent was paying attention when you asked the questions?

1. Yes
2. No

Q505. In your opinion, which question or section was most difficult for the respondent and why?

Reply: _____

Appendix II

Methodology of the survey of Burundian households conducted by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka

Ten Burundian researchers, bilingual in French and Kirundi, were given 33 hours' training over five days. The team of surveyers consisted of ten people (two women and eight men) and two substitutes. Before the survey began, one of the female surveyers said that she wished to leave the project due to fears for her personal safety. She was immediately replaced by another female researcher who was given the same training.

The questionnaire was translated into Kirundi by Burundians who speak both French and Kirundi fluently. The various sections of the questionnaire were each translated by groups of three people, in order to encourage a discussion and thereby arrive at the most appropriate and accurate translation possible. The accuracy of the final questionnaire in Kirundi was then checked by a reverse translation into French by a bilingual Burundian who was not familiar with the project and not affiliated to the Small Arms Survey or its partners.

The surveyers' access to the female participants was limited for cultural reasons and due to tradition, particularly when their husband or the head of the household was present. In consequence, the distribution of male and female respondents was distorted: instead of a ratio close to one man for one woman, it was closer to three men for every woman (408 women, 1,075 men, and 4 unidentified participants were interviewed). The majority of women interviewed were either heads of a household or widows.

Eight Burundians were given 25 hours' training in data entry spread over 3¹/₂ days. Ryan Murray of the Small Arms Survey supervised the two first days of the training and Emmanuel Nindagiye (statistician) the remainder. The data was entered in Excel and analyzed with SPSS software.

In order to ensure that each participant gave his/her informed consent, the researchers systematically read certain information to each individual. The information, originally drafted in French, was translated into Kirundi by a team of ten French- and Kirundi-speaking Burundians. Each potential participant was informed of the nature of the study, the tasks expected of the participant, the potential risks, and measures taken to keep the risks to a minimum (including an assurance that the interview would be conducted without witnesses, that the replies would remain confidential and anonymous, and that the data would be stored in a safe place). Participants were also informed that the survey was being carried out solely for research purposes, and that there was no link between the survey and any pro-

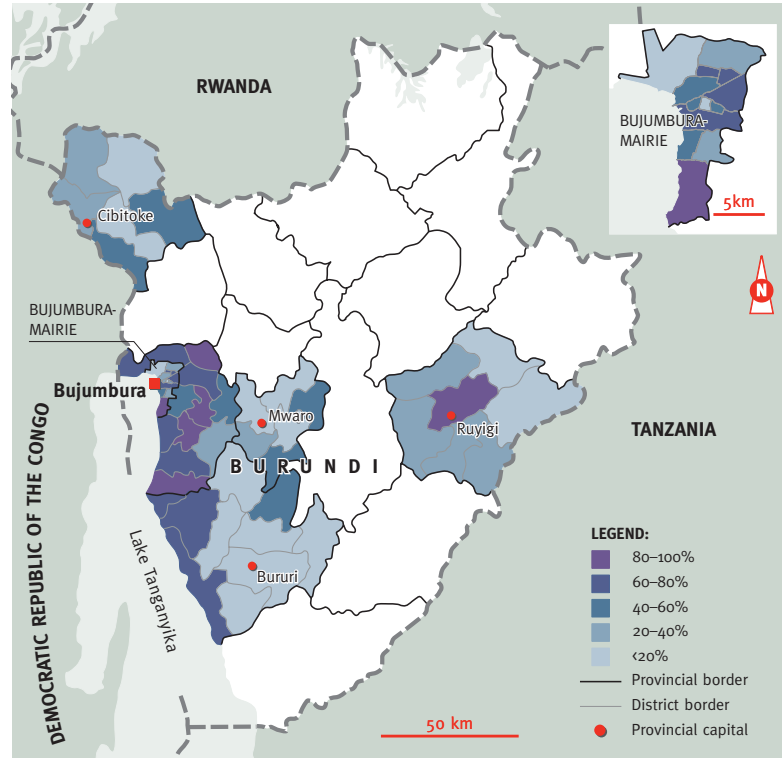
grammes or projects that might be developed in their community in future. The participants did not receive any remuneration, financial or otherwise, for their participation in the survey.

The rate of refusal and the number of those who did not complete the questionnaire were very low. The confidence interval for the survey was defined as 95 per cent, with a margin of error of +/- 2.5 per cent. The purging of the data made it possible to identify cases that might have compromised the validity of the measurement of the survey. Cases in which the error measure exceeded five per cent were excluded, which amounted to 80 questionnaires. The size of the final sample was n=1,487, with a general error measure of 0.73 per cent, which means that the validity of the data measurement was particularly high.

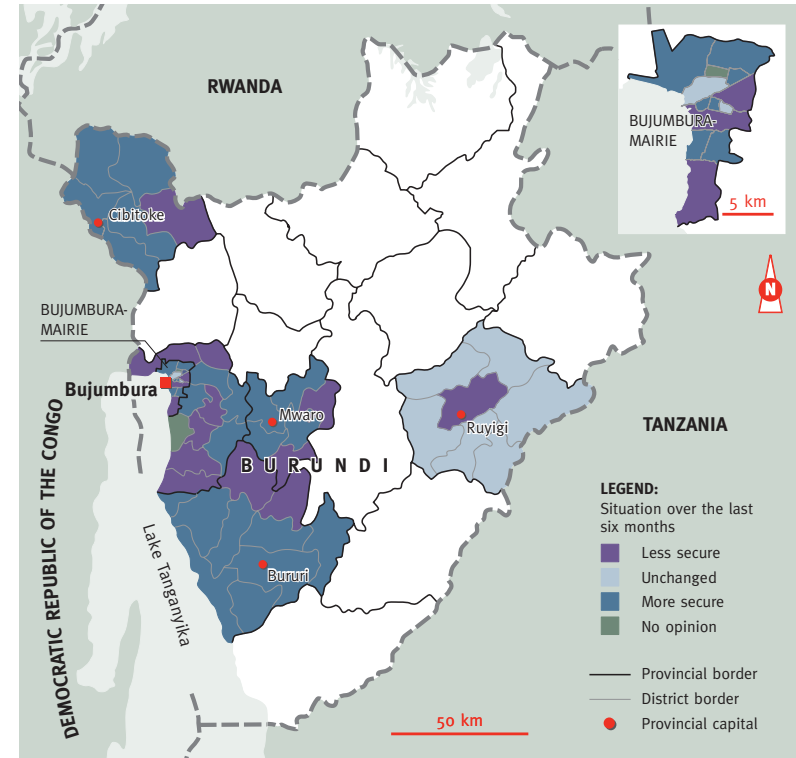
Appendix III

Maps

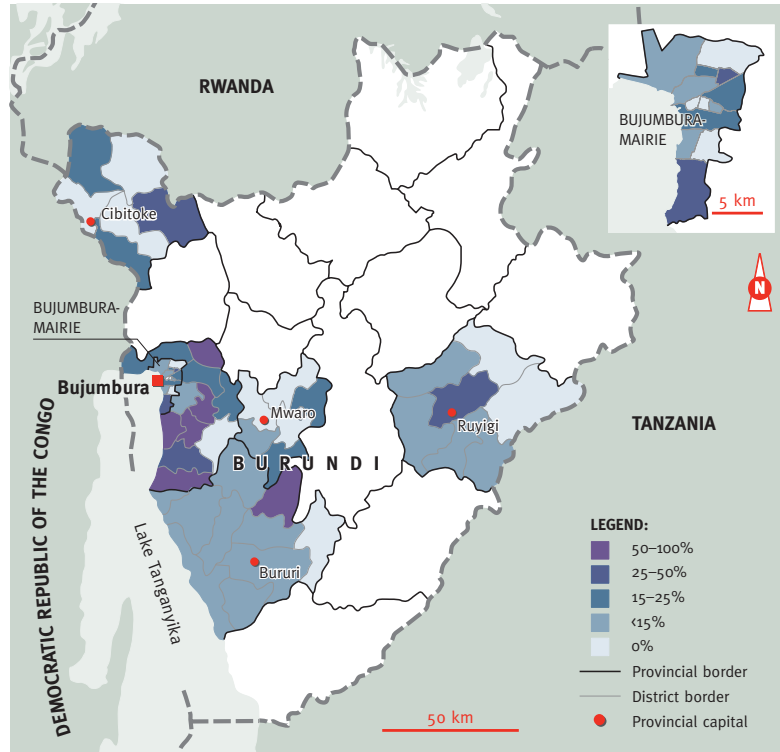
MAP 2 Percentage of respondents who say that there are acts of armed violence in their neighbourhood/*colline*



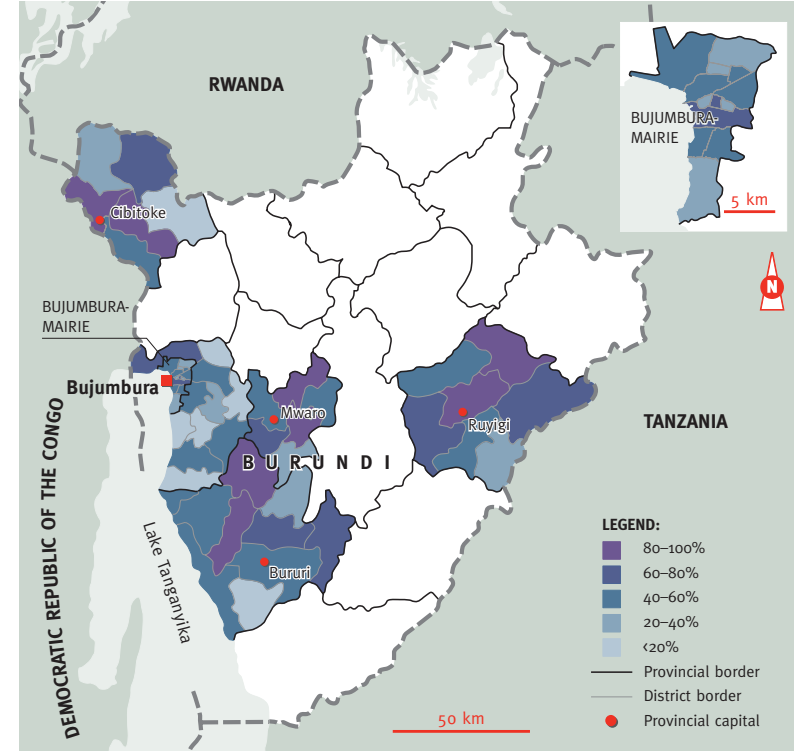
MAP 3 Respondents' perception of changes in the level of security in their neighbourhood/*colline* during the six months prior to February 2008, per district



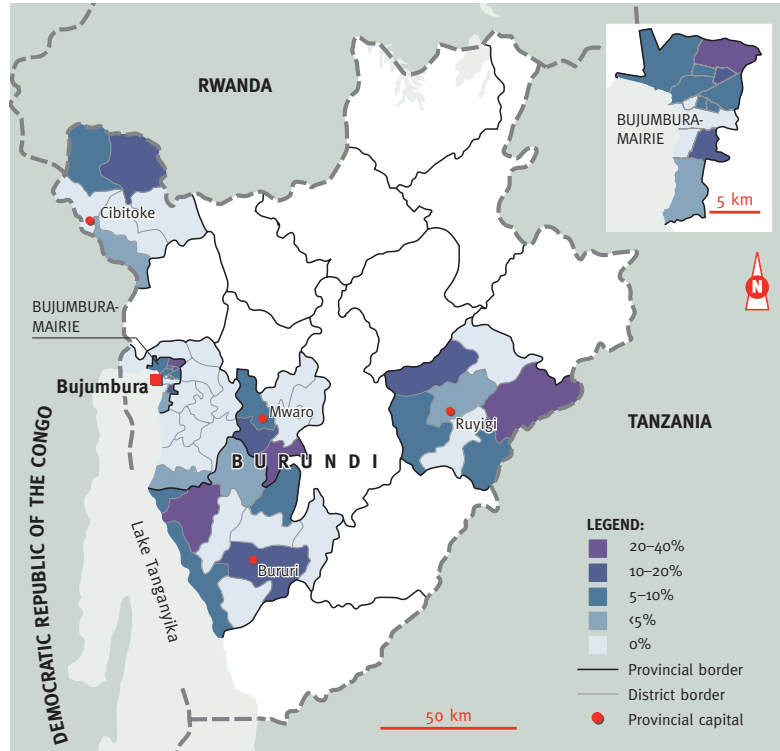
MAP 4 Percentage of respondents who say that they do not feel 'at all' secure inside their house at night, per district



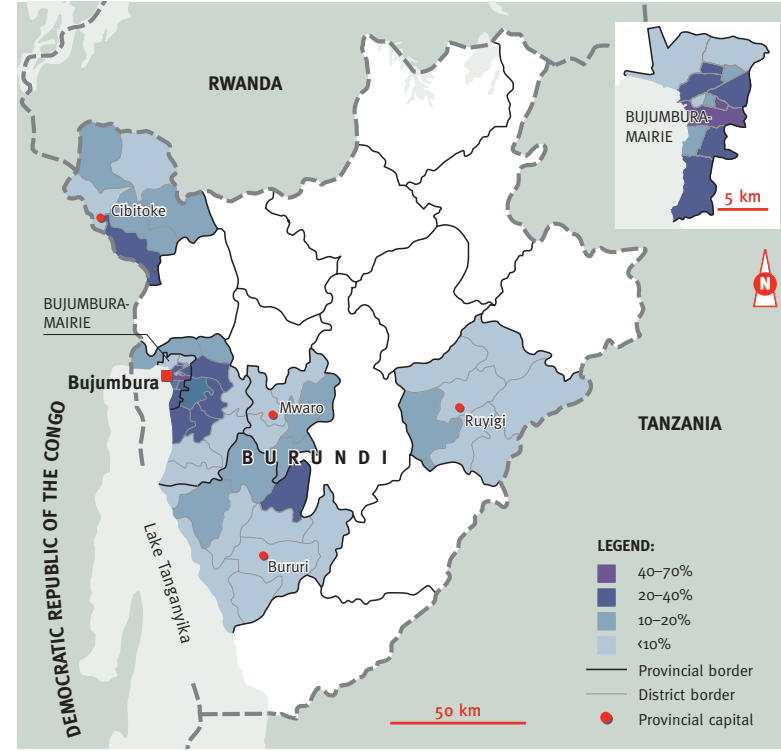
MAP 5 Percentage of respondents who cite bandits as the category of person most responsible for insecurity, per district



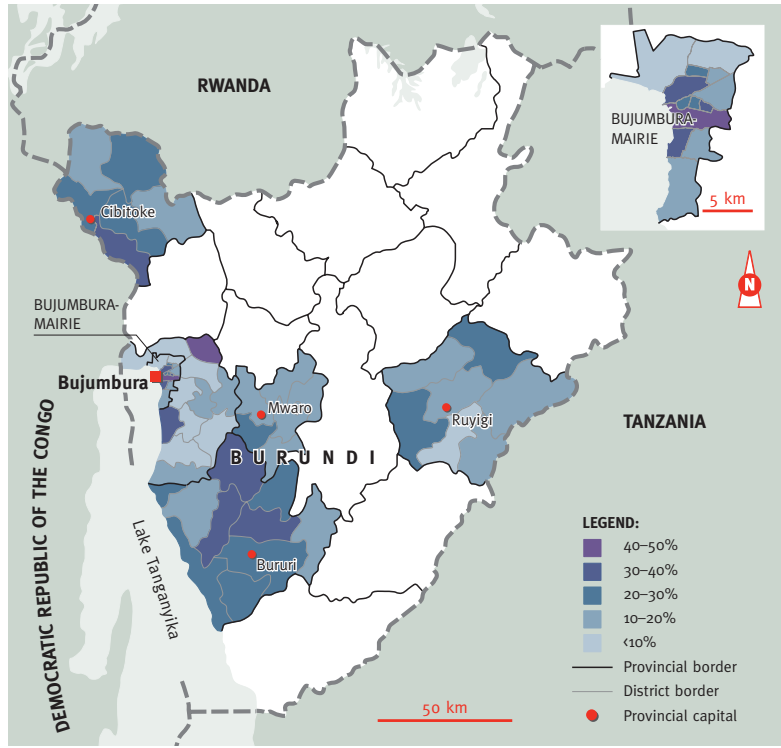
MAP 6 Percentage of respondents who cite ex-combatants as the category of person most responsible for the insecurity, per district



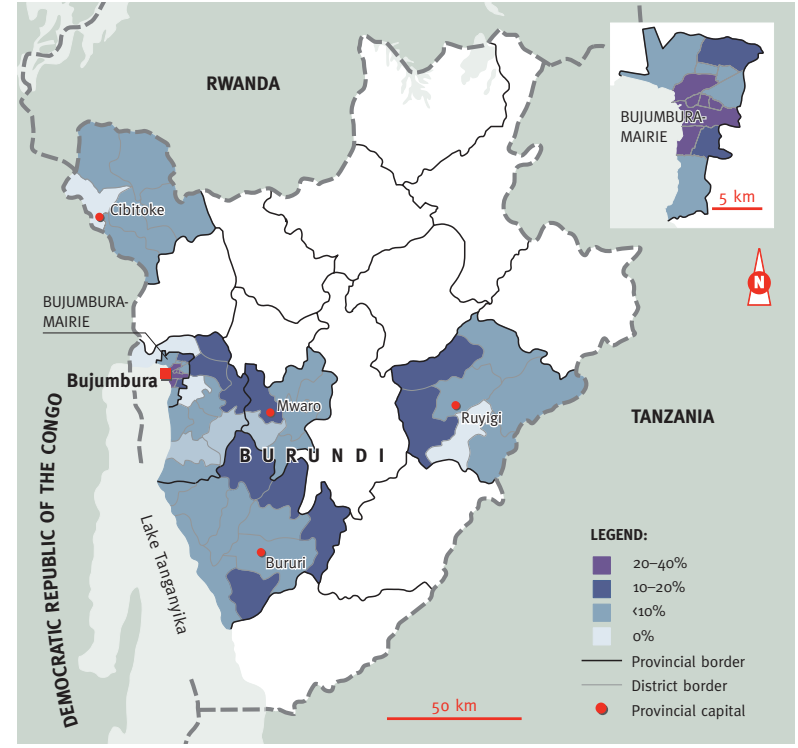
MAP 7 Percentage of respondents who say that the public authorities (police, army, etc.) are ‘not at all’ effective against crime, per district



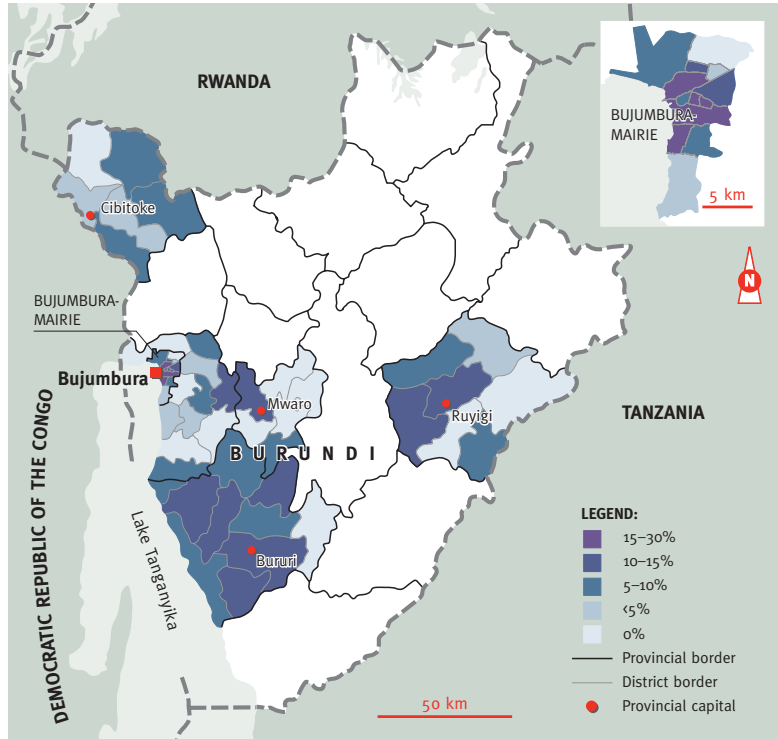
MAP 8 Percentage of respondents who say that certain types of weapon may be useful for their personal protection or the protection of members of their household, per district



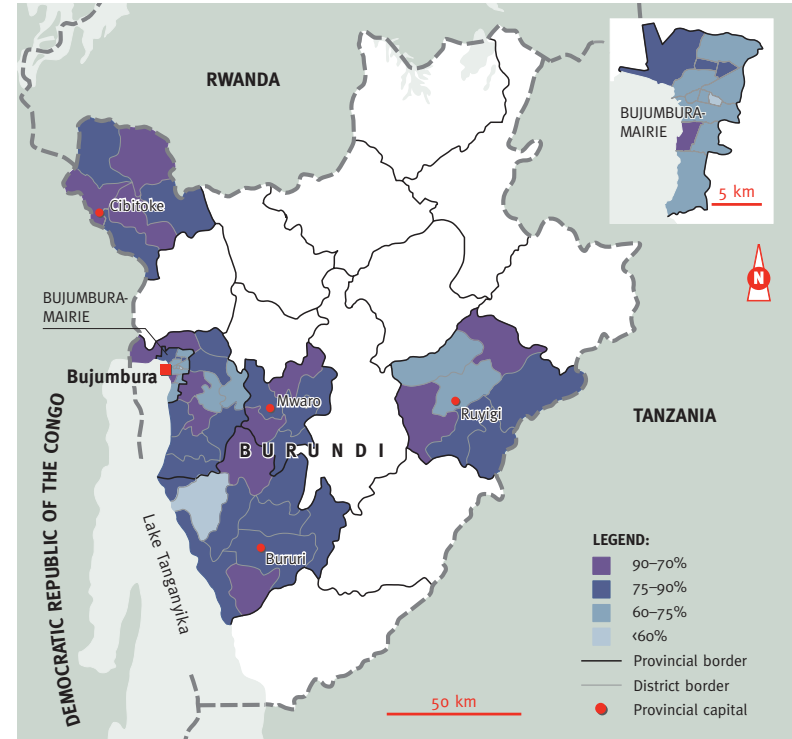
MAP 9 Percentage of respondents who say that a firearm is more a form of protection than a danger, per district



MAP 10 Percentage of respondents who say that they would like to have a firearm, per district



MAP 11 Percentage of respondents who would ‘definitely’ be willing to take part in a disarmament programme, per district





- 1 Dufashe ko abantu baba mu Burundi ari imiliyoni umunani n'ibice bitanu. Tugereraniye n'ahandi, urugero rwo hagati na hagati rw'abapfa rugera ku ndwi n'ibice bitandatu (7,6%) ku bantu ibihumbi ijana. (Itangazo ry'i Genève, 2008, urupapuro rwa 5.)
- 2 Kenshi biroroha kwitura abaganga mu gihe uwafashwe ku nguvu ari umwana gusumba iyo ari umuntu akuze.
- 3 Ibiharuro vy'Ishirahamwe PNUD mu mwaka wa 2007.
- 4 Ibiharuro vy'Ikigega mpuzamakungu mu mwaka wa 2007.
- 5 Izo ntara zitandatu zeremeza zose ariko ko hari ubugizi bwa nabi hamwe n'ukubura ibigo vyakira abantu.
- 6 N represents the number of respondents who answered the question and x the number of people who chose this answer in particular.
- 7 Sources used by the Observatory of Armed Violence include private and public radios (RTNB, RP, RSF-Bonesha, Isanganiro, and Radio France Internationale), local and international print and online media (ABP, Net Press, Burundi Réalités, Agence France Press, @ribnews, Panapress, and ReliefWeb), BINUB security reports, and the Ligue Iteka Web site.
- 8 This rate assumes that Burundi has a population of 8.5 million. The average homicide rate worldwide (committed with or without a weapon) is 7.6 per 100,000 persons (Geneva Declaration Secretariat, 2008, p. 5).
- 9 It is more socially acceptable for a child to seek medical or psychological help than for an adult to do so.
- 10 UNDP figures for 2006.
- 11 IMF figures for 2007.
- 12 The six provinces surveyed are, however, unanimous in decrying the problems of criminality and lack of infrastructure.
- 13 Created in 1995, the regional initiative involves Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, the DRC, Ethiopia, and Zambia (ICG, 2007, p. 3).
- 14 This deterioration led the BINUB security service to reclassify the country's security situation as phase 3 (re-establishment of non-essential personnel) at the beginning of 2008. Interview with UN Department of Safety and Security, BINUB, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 15 Ndayizeye and four other alleged conspirators were acquitted in 2007 by the Supreme Court (Ntiranyibagira, 2007).

- 16 Women's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008. This food-related insecurity may, however, arise from other types of insecurity: war and criminality, for instance, make populations more fragile and may endanger their economic and agricultural survival.
- 17 Women's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008.
- 18 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008; women's focus group, Makamba, February 2008.
- 19 Women's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008.
- 20 Dalal and Nasibu Bilali analysed the records of eight hospitals (Bujumbura military hospital; Ngozi hospital; Prince Régent Charles Hospital in Bujumbura; Gitega Hospital; Prince Louis Rwagasore private hospital in Bujumbura; Kiremba Nord hospital in Ngozi province; Roi Khaled university hospital in Bujumbura; Bururi Hospital) and five health centres (Agasibirwa health centre in Kinama, Bujumbura; Ubuzima clinic in Cibitoke; Espoir health centre in Kinama, Bujumbura; Chez Asmani health centre in Kinama, Bujumbura; Korineza health centre in Bujumbura).
- 21 See the section on victims of banditry in Ch. 2 (p. 57).
- 22 Bujumbura was also a strategic point during the civil war: located near the Kibira forest, a base for several armed groups, the town was one of the targets of their attacks and a recruitment base for new combatants (Ngaruko and Nkurunziza, 2000, p. 379; Small Arms Survey, 2007, p. 202).
- 23 Bururi comes second with 11.6 per cent.
- 24 'Aggravated theft', according to Article 186 of Burundi's penal code, is theft with aggravating circumstances, such as the use of a weapon or violence (RoB, 1981).
- 25 It should be noted that PNB figures contain numerous errors and must therefore be treated with caution; they give a general indication of the main trends but not a detailed picture. For instance, the total number of offences for 2006 is 8,961 according to the table showing the number of offences of each type per month (PNB, 2007a, pp. 70–73), but it totals 10,598 according to the tables showing the number of offences for each provincial police station (PNB, 2007a, pp. 6–69). Some categories of offence also differ in different tables (for example, one records 23 'serious, intentional, bodily injuries' in 2006, while this category is never mentioned in the other table). The tables also contain numerous accounting errors.
- 26 The sources used for the recorded cases of armed violence are public and private local radio coverage (RTNB, RP, RSF-Bonesha, Isanganiro, and Radio France Internationale), the local and international print and online media and wire services (ABP, Net Press, Agence de presse Burundi Réalités, Agence France Presse, @ribNews, Panapress, and ReliefWeb), the reports of the BINUB security unit, and the Web site of the Ligue Iteka (correspondence with Chantal Uwimana, UNDP–Burundi, 14 May 2008). The Observatory's use of

the Ligue Iteka's figures means that some information from the Observatory's database duplicates the information examined elsewhere in this report.

27 The remaining 25 per cent were mainly bars and shops, where customers were robbed of their money or mobile phone or else goods were stolen from their owners (Wille, 2008, pp. 5–6).

28 See the section on victims of conflict-related violence in Ch. 2 (p. 62).

29 In 2007, the Ligue Iteka recorded 641 cases of attacks on human life and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. Of these cases, 310 involved the use of one or more weapons (defined as an instrument or a means used to inflict bodily injury) and may thus be classified as acts of armed violence (Ligue Iteka, 2008, app. I).

30 In one-sided violence, the act is committed by one individual or one group against another; in multi-sided violence, the attacked individual or group responds with violence, thereby becoming both a perpetrator and a victim.

31 Men's and women's focus groups, Gitega, February 2008.

32 Interview with Luk van Baelen, MSF field coordinator, Bujumbura, January 2008.

33 The nine provinces are Bururi, Cankuzo, Cibitoke, Gitega, Muyinga, Mwaro, Ngozi, Rutana, and Ruyigi.

34 When those in custody are accused of rape *and* aggravated theft (seven cases in all), these cases are counted as rape.

35 Percentages calculated on the basis of the annual reports of the following nine prisons: Bubanza, Bururi, Gitega, Mpimba, Muramvya, Muyinga, Ngozi (men's prison), Ngozi (women's prison), and Rutana. The Ruyigi and Rumonge prison reports do not provide information on the offences for which prisoners were convicted or held on remand.

36 The sole notable difference is the fact that police officers come in third position in the CENAP survey but in fourth position, after the demobilized combatants, in the Small Arms Survey–Ligue Iteka survey.

37 See the section on the perception of civilian-held weapons and those who carry them in Ch. 4 (p. 105).

38 The Observatory classifies perpetrators of violence in the following categories: civilians, FDN, PNB, FNL, or uncertain.

39 The Ligue Iteka recorded 537 cases of torture in 2007 but gives details of the weapons used in only 105 cases. Sticks are the most common weapon, but belts, rifle butts, and kicks are also mentioned (Ligue Iteka, 2008, pp. 41–44 and app. II, pp. 27–37).

40 Information was provided on 98 of the 573 acts of torture recorded by the Ligue Iteka in 2006: one-third were committed by police officers, 18.4 per cent by military personnel, and 14.3 per cent by civilians. The number of acts of torture committed by the FNL remained stable. See Ligue Iteka (2007a, app. I, IV).

41 According to Mbaye Faye, chief of BINUB's Security Sector Reform–Small Arms section, criminality increased strongly since the Palipehutu–FNL left

the global ceasefire agreement implementation process in July 2007 (interview at BINUB, January 2008). The increase in violence committed by civilians can be linked to the new outbreak of banditry fostered by the civil war climate of that period.

42 See the section on banditry in Ch. 2 (p. 56).

43 Men's focus group, Makamba and Gitega, February 2008.

44 Interview at the UN Department of Safety and Security, BINUB, January 2008.

45 It is not possible to determine what proportion of aggravated thefts were committed with a weapon, as this offence covers all the aggravating factors recognized by Burundian law, the use of a weapon being only one among several.

46 DanChurchAid (DCA) interview with a Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008.

47 DCA interview with an international source, Makamba, February 2008.

48 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008.

49 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.

50 DCA interview with a Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Mwaro and Cibitoke, January 2008.

51 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.

52 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; focus group with demobilized combatants, Bujumbura, March 2008.

53 Men's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008.

54 Moreover, the category is not used by the Observatory of Armed Violence.

55 Men's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.

56 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008. One member of a focus group in Gitega cited the case of a man who rented out each of his three rifles for FBU 500,000 (USD 420) per month.

57 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

58 DCA interview with an international source, Makamba, February 2008.

59 DCA interview with two official Burundian sources, Gitega, February 2008.

60 Men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008; men's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.

61 Women's focus group, Cibitoke, January 2008.

62 Originally the DRR programme, financed by the World Bank, was due to end on 31 December 2008 (World Bank, 2004, p. 19) and 55,000 combatants (MDRP, 2008b) were to be demobilized. In August 2008, fewer than 27,000 combatants had been demobilized, and of those only a little more than half had received any assistance with reintegration. Beneficiaries of the programme were supposed to receive assistance with rehabilitation in the form of money and then, six months later, assistance with reintegration in the form of equipment to start a small business, a craft business, or training. The

delay in the programme led to further long delays: some of the demobilized combatants waited for more than two years for their reintegration aid. In 2008, very few demobilized combatants had managed to set up a durable income-generating activity. Burundians often describe the demobilization programme as a failure, which does not encourage members of the security forces to choose this option as part of the programme to reduce their own strength.

- 63 Focus group with demobilized combatants, Bujumbura, March 2008; women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 64 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008; women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 65 Men's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008; women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008. See the section on perpetrators and victims in this chapter (p. 69).
- 66 More precisely, 6.3 per cent of respondents (out of a total sample of 1,487 individuals) said that there were acts of violence in their village/*colline*/neighbourhood and that it was possible to do something to reduce the violence.
- 67 Women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008; men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 68 Men's and women's focus groups in Makamba and Gitega, February 2008; interviews with women and demobilized combatants in Bujumbura, January and March 2008. Due to their socio-economic situation, which is particularly critical (high rate of unemployment and great poverty), Batwas are perceived as particularly likely to be involved in banditry. DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; DCA interview with an international source, Makamba, February 2008.
- 69 This is the sub-sample of respondents who said that there were acts of violence in their village/*colline*/neighbourhood and that it was possible to do something to reduce the violence.
- 70 See endnote 69.
- 71 Men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008.
- 72 DCA interviews with two Burundian sources, Gitega, and an international source in Makamba.
- 73 Women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008.
- 74 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008.
- 75 Focus groups with men, women, and demobilized combatants in Bujumbura (January and March 2008).
- 76 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 77 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 78 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 79 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.

- 80 DCA interview with an international source, Makamba, February 2008.
- 81 Men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008.
- 82 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 83 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 84 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 85 Men's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 86 DCA interview with a Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008; men's and women's focus groups, Gitega, February 2008.
- 87 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 88 Correspondence with a member of the Palipehutu-FNL's *Directoire*, October 2008.
- 89 The acts of armed violence committed by this latter category are explored in the section on violence related to the armed forces (p. 66).
- 90 In August 2004, members of the Palipehutu-FNL attacked the refugee camp at Gatumba, which is close to the border with the DRC. They massacred Congolese civilians, mostly Banyamulenge (a group often grouped with the Tutsis) (HRW, 2004b).
- 91 The Observatory recorded six acts of armed violence among FNL combatants in September and eight in October, compared with one in August and one in November (UNPF, 2007).
- 92 Interview with a Burundian source who had visited the two dissidents' camps in December 2007, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 93 In April 2008, after negotiations with the dissidents, UNICEF was able to move 238 children from the camps at Randa and Buramata to the demobilization centre at Gitega (UNSC, 2008a, para. 56).
- 94 Interview with a Burundian source who had visited the dissidents' camps in December 2007, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 95 Interview with a Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 96 Under the Burundian Constitution, political parties are not permitted to use a name that proclaims any ethnic membership whatsoever.
- 97 Demobilized combatants have sometimes had to wait two years between reinsertion and reintegration, which causes many of them to get into debt and leads to the failure of their economic reintegration project.
- 98 Rank was not the sole criterion used to decide who could join the army. Burundian citizenship and a technical knowledge of arms, for example, were two other important criteria. Interview with Brig. Déo Kamoso, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008.
- 99 Interview with a representative of an international agency, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 100 Interview with a member of Burundian civil society, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 101 Several studies confirm this finding; see, particularly, Forbes (2007) and CENAP (2007).

102 Men's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008.

103 See the section on real and perceived insecurity in Ch. 1 (p. 41).

104 The CENAP survey was conducted in eight districts in five different provinces: Ngozi, Bururi, Bujumbura-Mairie, Bubanza, and Bujumbura Rural.

105 The SNR was in sixth position (6%) and the FDN in ninth (3%).

106 See the section on the modalities of a successful disarmament programme in Ch. 4 (p. TK).

107 Most of the monthly reports drafted by prison directors include both police officers and soldiers in the category 'military personnel'; as a result, it is not possible to distinguish between these two groups.

108 Interview with a Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

109 This use of barracks for housing may be a mixed blessing: a member of a focus group in Mwaro said, 'The soldiers are not close to the population, but the police are; therefore I would call on them for assistance.'

110 Interview with a Burundian officer, Bujumbura, April 2008, cited in Small Arms Survey (2008, p. 11).

111 Although these reports are based on extensive fieldwork and contain detailed information, the data is not always presented in a homogeneous fashion. Certain categories of human rights violations or perpetrators are present for certain months.

112 See the section on victims' access to the justice system in Ch. 3 (p. 90).

113 This figure is an average calculated in the four surveyed provinces.

114 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

115 Interview with a high-level police officer, Bujumbura, January 2008.

116 Interview with a Burundian officer, Bujumbura, January 2008. The army arrived at this figure by compiling material from different documents: data from human resources staff who receive the numbers belonging to each unit every month; lists of wages paid; workforce fed by the logistics service; and observations collected by agents who count the workforce on the ground.

117 The current workforce—between 18,000 and 22,000 men—does not seem excessive in a country with more than eight million inhabitants. By comparison, London has more than 31,000 police officers for more than seven million inhabitants. It is, however, preferable to have a smaller but better trained police force, which would be easier to control. Interview with a representative of an international agency, Geneva, May 2008.

118 Women's focus group, Cibitoke, January 2008.

119 Interview with Madjior Solness Dingamadji, Senior DDR Specialist, Secretariat of the *Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program* (MDRP), Bujumbura, January 2008.

120 In July and August 2006, some people from Muyinga reported the disappearance of friends and relatives. At the same time bodies were found in the Ruvubu River (HRW, 2006b, p. 19). It was later discovered that 30 people

accused of belonging to the Palipehutu–FNL had been imprisoned in the military camp at Mukoni and then summarily executed by the state security forces. It was two years before the perpetrators were brought to trial.

121 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

122 According to a survey conducted by CENAP and the North–South Institute in 2007, 45 per cent of respondents thought that giving the police training in human rights would improve the level of security and respect for human rights in their community (Nindorera, 2007, p. 18).

123 Organizations that are particularly involved are the Réseau de citoyens justice et démocratie (Network of citizens for justice and democracy, or RCN), Avocats sans frontières (Lawyers without Borders, or ASF), and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

124 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

125 Interview with a Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

126 See UNPF (n.d.).

127 See the section on real and perceived insecurity in Ch. 1 (p. 43).

128 With respect to 21 of these acts, neither the identity nor the sex of the victims is known.

129 Certain categories have been combined: the 'settling of scores' includes land disputes; 'family disputes' include conjugal violence.

130 The 1,013 cases of rape were recorded in ten provinces, i.e. in the whole country except Bujumbura-Mairie (the data being from the Seruka Centre) and Karuzi (where the Ligue Iteka does not have an observer).

131 Interview with a representative of the Ligue Iteka, July 2007, Bujumbura.

132 A WHO study from 2005 shows that sexual abuse of children worldwide is, on average, responsible for 27 per cent of cases of post-traumatic stress disorder, 10 per cent of panic attacks, 8 per cent of attempted suicides, and 6 per cent of cases of depression, alcoholism, or excessive consumption of drugs (Andrews et al., 2005, p. 1853).

133 In his report to the prison authority that month, the director of this prison explains that 'prison officers, ever since they were introduced here, have never wanted to work inside the prison at night. For this reason some undisciplined groups invaded the women's section, either by climbing the wall or by tearing off the padlocks [...]. This is why some of the women are pregnant' (RoB Ruyigi Prison, 2008).

134 Interview with Luk van Baelen, MSF field coordinator, Bujumbura, January 2008.

135 Interview with Aline Ndayikeza, programme officer in Nturangaho, Bujumbura, January 2008.

136 This does not explain the fall in the number of cases between 2005 and 2006, however.

137 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.

138 RoB Bubanza Prison (2008); RoB Bururi Prison (2008); RoB Gitega Prison

(2008); RoB Mpimba Prison (2008); RoB Muramvya Prison (2008); RoB Muyinga Prison (2008); RoB Ngozi Prison (2008); RoB Rumonge Prison (2008); RoB Rutana Prison (2008); RoB Ruyigi Prison (2008).

139 The ‘men in uniform’ are members of the PNB, FDN, or Palipehutu–FNL.

140 Land disputes in Burundi have been the subject of numerous reports and studies. See, for example, the reports of USAID (Niyongabo and Nsabimana, 2007; Manirakiza, Hatungimana, and Nkezabahizi, 2007; Ndiokubwayo, 2007) and of the Observatory of Government Action (Nzosaba, 2008a).

141 Interview with a representative of an international NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.

142 The figures only include cases in which the victim was alone (as opposed to a couple or a family).

143 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the National Commission for Land and Other Assets (CNTB), Bujumbura, January 2008.

144 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.

145 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.

146 The state and district receive three per cent of the purchase price on each transaction, which represents a considerable source of revenue. Interview with René-Claude Nyonkuru, independent consultant, 26 August 2008.

147 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008; men’s focus group, Cibitoke, January 2008.

148 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

149 Interview with a representative of an international NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.

150 Interview with a representative of a local NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008. A similar reform in Rwanda in 1999 was, however, successful (CIDA, 2007).

151 Interview with a representative of an international NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.

152 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

153 Interview with a representative of ACCORD, Bujumbura, January 2008.

154 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

155 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

156 Interview with a representative of ACCORD, Bujumbura, January 2008.

157 Law No. 1/016 of 20 April 2005, which deals with the organization of district administration, stipulates: ‘Under the supervision of the head of the *colline* or neighbourhood, the council of the *colline* or neighbourhood council is to [...] provide arbitration, mediation, conciliation and ensure the settlement of neighbour disputes, in the *colline* or neighbourhood, with the *Bashingantahe* of the entity.’ Previously, a law passed in 1987 made the *bashingantahe* the

first level of jurisdiction, which could not be bypassed; cases had to be heard by this local jurisdiction before they could be referred to a court (RoB, 1987). Correspondence with René-Claude Niyonkuru, independent consultant, Bujumbura, 30 May 2008.

158 The new commission, however, has a wider mandate, as it does not deal solely with returnees but also with people who have suffered any kind of disaster, including victims of crises, victims of violence, displaced persons, and minorities such as the Batwas. Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.

159 Even now, many of the land disputes dating back to 1972 remain to be settled.

160 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

161 This mediation involves locally prominent people, such as elected representatives for the district or *bashingantahe*. Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

162 At the same time, the Ministry of Regional Development recovers state-owned land that had been lent to people for specific projects that were not carried out.

163 Interview with Father Aster Kana, president of the CNTB, Bujumbura, January 2008.

164 See, for instance, MSF (2004) and HRW (2006a).

165 Interview with a representative of an international agency, May 2006; correspondence with a Burundian source, July 2007. In addition, doctors in Bujumbura have the possibility to do overtime in private hospitals, which do not exist in the rest of the country. Interview with Dr Basila, deputy director with responsibility for patient care at the Prince Régent Charles Hospital, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008.

166 Interview with a representative of an international agency, May 2006.

167 Interview with a Burundian medical source, January 2008.

168 Interview with Dr Protais Ntihogora, head of the surgery department of the Kamenge military hospital, Bujumbura, January 2008.

169 Interview with Dr Basila, deputy director with responsibility for patient care, Prince Régent Charles Hospital, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008.

170 Interview with a Burundian medical source, Bujumbura, June 2006.

171 Men’s and women’s focus groups, Gitega, February 2008.

172 Correspondence with a representative of the Association pour la défense des droits de la femme (Association for the Defence of Women’s Rights, ADDF), Bujumbura, January 2008.

173 Correspondence with an ADDF representative, Bujumbura, January 2008.

174 Interview with Aline Ndayikeza, Nturingaho programme manager, Bujumbura, January 2008.

175 Interview with a Burundian medical source, January 2008. In some rare cases, the district authority will issue a ‘certificate of indigence’, which enables the

- holder to apply to the Ministry of Solidarity for a purchase order by which the Ministry will cover the indigent's medical expenses. The State spends an average of FBU 520 million (USD 450,000) per year covering the bills of patients who are unable to pay their medical bills.
- 176 Interview with Dr Protais Ntihogora, head of the surgery department of the Kamenge military hospital, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 177 Dalal and Nasibu Bilali carried out interviews with the care personnel and searches in the registers of eight hospitals (Bujumbura military hospital; Ngozi hospital; Prince Régent Charles Hospital, Bujumbura; Gitega hospital; Prince Louis Rwagasore clinic, Bujumbura; Kiremba Nord hospital in Ngozi province; Roi Khaled University Hospital, Bujumbura; Bururi Hospital) and five health centres (Agasabirwa health centre, Kinama, Bujumbura; Ubuzima clinic, Cibitoke; Espoir health centre, Kinama, Bujumbura; Chez Asmani health centre, Kinama, Bujumbura; Korineza health centre, Bujumbura).
- 178 This estimate includes pre-hospital, hospital, and physical therapy costs. The hospital costs represented here do not include certain costs such as the cost of buildings, recurrent costs, or the salaries of the health personnel (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, pp. 25, 27).
- 179 These calculations were made by multiplying the monthly income of each injured person by the number of months the individual could not work as a result of the injuries (Dalal and Nasibu Bilali, 2008, p. 26).
- 180 Interview with Dr Protais Ntihogora, head the surgery department of the Kamenge military hospital, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 181 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 182 RoB Bubanza Prison (2008); RoB Bururi Prison (2008); RoB Gitega Prison (2008); RoB Mpimba Prison (2008); RoB Muramvya Prison (2008); RoB Muyinga Prison (2008); RoB Ngozi Prison (2008); RoB Ngozi Women's Prison (2008); RoB Rumonge Prison (2008); RoB Rutana Prison (2008); RoB Ruyigi Prison (2008).
- 183 Comment made during the study validation workshop, 26 August 2008.
- 184 Interview with an official Burundian source, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 185 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 186 Interviews with representatives of Burundian NGOs, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 187 Interview with a representative of an international NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 188 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 189 Interview with Luk van Baelen, MSF field coordinator, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 190 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008. The Seruka Centre of MSF–Belgium carries out these types of appraisal.
- 191 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 192 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, January 2008; correspondence with a Burundian source, 30 May 2008.
- 193 Interview with a Nturingaho representative, Bujumbura, January 2008.

- 194 Interview with a representative of a Burundian NGO, January 2008.
- 195 Interview with Father Aster Kana, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008.
- 196 Men's focus group, Cibitoke, January 2008.
- 197 Men's focus group, Cibitoke, January 2008.
- 198 See the section on real and perceived insecurity in Ch. 1 (p. 43).
- 199 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 200 Men's focus group, Makamba, February 2008.
- 201 Dalal and Nasibu Bilali interviewed managers and office personnel of security companies (KKSecurity, INTERSEC, NESTEC, and PSG), Bujumbura, May 2008.
- 202 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 203 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 204 Correspondence with the press service of Brussels Airlines, December 2008.
- 205 Figure as of 26 August 2008. Interview with Gen. Déo Tutuza, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008. These gun licences, administered by the army, mainly apply to pistols, but since the 1990s an increasing number of automatic rifles have been registered.
- 206 Made up of Burundi, the DRC, Uganda, and Rwanda, the Tripartite Plus initiative aims to combat 'negative forces' in the region (Tripartite Plus Joint Commission, 2007).
- 207 The full name is the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa.
- 208 Interview with Col. Isaïe Nibizi, Principal Defence/Security Adviser, First Vice-Presidency of the Republic, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 209 Interview with Col. Isaïe Nibizi, Principal Defence/Security Adviser, First Vice-Presidency of the Republic, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 210 Correspondence with MAG, December 2008.
- 211 Anti-personnel mines are now a minor problem in Burundi. It is estimated that in 2008 only 0.5 per cent of the population and 4 per cent of the country's *collines* were affected by their presence. Moreover, the army has destroyed its stock of 664 mines in accordance with the Ottawa Agreement (UNDP, 2008a).
- 212 Several types of weapon may be used during a single act of armed violence, particularly if there are several perpetrators.
- 213 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 214 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 215 DCA interview with an official Burundian source, Gitega, February 2008.
- 216 The data concerning cases of 'popular justice' is missing for the months of June and August 2006, April, May, June, and November 2007, and March 2008. The calculations have therefore been carried out on the basis of 19 monthly reports that provide precise information on this subject.
- 217 DCA interview with an international source, Makamba, February 2008.
- 218 Women's focus group, Makamba, February 2008; men's focus group, Gitega, February 2008.

- 219 Demobilized combatants' focus group, Bujumbura, March 2008.
- 220 See the section on the perpetrators of acts of banditry in Ch. 1 (p. 58).
- 221 These respondents stated that they knew there were arms in circulation in their neighbourhood/*colline*.
- 222 Men's focus group, Makamba, 2008.
- 223 The average based on a total of five estimates.
- 224 For a complete list of the sources and trafficking of arms in Burundi, see Pézard and Florquin (2006, pp. 19–29).
- 225 This perception may result from the fact that, being more prosperous, the population of Bujumbura-Mairie is more likely to possess arms than people in other provinces. People who do not own weapons are more likely to see weapons as a source of danger.
- 226 Men's focus group, Mwaro, January 2008.
- 227 Women's focus group, Makamba, 2008.
- 228 Women's focus group, Gitega, 2008.
- 229 Men's focus group, Makamba, 2008; men's and women's focus groups, Gitega, 2008; demobilized combatants' and men's focus group, Bujumbura, 2008; men's focus group, Cibitoke, 2008. A person from Cibitoke suggested exchanging a grenade for a sack of salt.
- 230 Men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 231 Women's focus group, Makamba, February 2008; women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008; men's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 232 Women's focus group, Gitega, February 2008.
- 233 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 234 Women's focus group, Bujumbura, January 2008.
- 235 Interview with Celcius Barahinduka, Bujumbura, 26 August 2008.
- 236 See the section on the perception of uniformed services in Ch. 2 (p. 67).
- 237 Bujumbura Rural: 5.6%, x=18, n=322; Bururi: 9.9%, x=26, n=262; Cibitoke: 4.0%, x=7, n=176; Mwaro: 6.2%, x=11, n=177; Ruyigi: 6.8%, x=14, n=205.
- 238 Bujumbura Rural: 0.0%, x=0, n=323; Bururi: 0.4%, x=1, n=236; Cibitoke: 0.0%, x=0, n=176; Mwaro: 0.6%, x=1, n=177; Ruyigi: 0.5%, x=1, n=206.
- 239 Bujumbura Rural: 4.7%, x=15, n=317; Bururi: 9.7%, x=25, n=259; Cibitoke: 5.1%, x=9, n=176; Mwaro: 4.0%, x=7, n=175; Ruyigi: 6.9%, x=14, n=203.
- 240 Bujumbura Rural: 79.2%, x=255, n=322; Bururi: 77.1%, x=202, n=262; Cibitoke: 86.6%, x=152, n=176; Mwaro: 83.6%, x=148, n=177; Ruyigi: 85.0%, x=175, n=206.
- 241 Bujumbura Rural: 5.1%, x=16, n=312; Bururi: 4.0%, x=10, n=251; Cibitoke: 5.2%, x=9, n=172; Mwaro: 2.3%, x=4, n=172; Ruyigi: 4.1%, x=8, n=196.
- 242 Bujumbura Rural: 11.1%, x=25, n=226; Bururi: 26.6%, x=17, n=64; Cibitoke: 28.6%, x=14, n=49; Mwaro: 12.2%, x=5, n=41; Ruyigi: 25.4%, x=15, n=59.
- 243 Bujumbura Rural: 4.5%, x=14, n=311; Bururi: 0.8%, x=2, n=258; Cibitoke: 2.9%, x=5, n=173; Mwaro: 1.7%, x=3, n=173; Ruyigi: 1.0%, x=2, n=197.



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