BURUNDI POPULATION-BASED SURVEY ON PEACE AND EDUCATION

DECEMBER 2015

BY PATRICK VINCK
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Acknowledgment:

We would first like to thank all the respondents who took part in the study, especially the thousands of randomly selected civilians who patiently shared their views and opinions about education, peace and resilience. This work would not have been possible without the commitment of 44 talented interviewers who are warmly acknowledged here. We would like to thank Peter Dixon, Sandrine Eeman, and Pierre Buysschaert who supported the implementation of the survey. We would like to thank the team at UNICEF which supported the research, particularly Erin Tettensor, Lidewyde Berckmoes, Silas Rapold, and Andrew Dunbrack.

This research has been initiated and supported by the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) to inform the mainstreaming of peacebuilding and conflict-sensitivity in UNICEF activities and those of other actors. UNICEF would like to thank the Government of the Netherlands for its generous support. Additional support was provided by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The views expressed in this study are those of the authors and are not necessarily shared by Harvard University, the Brigham and Women’s Hospital, UNICEF, the UN or the Government of the Netherlands.

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Population-Based Survey on Peace and Education: Burundi

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Published by
Harvard Humanitarian Initiative
(peacebuildingdata.org)
Brigham and Women’s Hospital

Cambridge, Massachusetts
2015
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is based on a survey of 2,991 randomly selected individuals above the age of 14, including 1,484 interviews with youth aged 14 to 24 (50%), and 1,507 interviews with adults 25 years of age or older. Half the study participants were women. The data were collected across Burundi’s 17 province in December 2014 to assess key dimensions of fragility and resilience, adopting a framework based on 5 Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs): (1) legitimate politics, (2) security, (3) justice, (4) economic foundations, and (5) revenues and services. Social cohesion and resilience were also analyzed as key elements of peacebuilding. The results are presented regionally aggregated by province as follows:

- Bujumbura Mairie
- West: Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, Cibitoke
- North: Kayanza, Ngozi, Kirundo, Muyinga
- Center-East: Muramvya, Gitega, Karuzi, Ruyigi, Cankuzo
- South: Bururi, Rutana, Makamba

The study was carried out in partnership with UNICEF’s Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme which seeks to reduce the intergenerational transmission of violence by addressing the underlying causes of structural and cultural violence that result in repeated cycles of conflict. The study provides baseline information that will help trace progress in peacebuilding goals over time and explores differences and similarities between generations to gain insight into change across generations and enable a life cycle perspective. Results detailed in this report highlight key challenges to building a lasting peace in Burundi. Some of the key results are outlined here.
Closing the education gap

Before looking more closely at fragility and resilience dimensions of the PSGs, the survey examined educational achievements. The results indicated that levels of educational achievement among youth are higher compared to the adults above the age of 25, likely as a result of efforts to increase primary school enrollment. However, gender inequalities persist. Gender inequalities in education were wider among adults – 54 percent of the women aged 25 or more had no formal education compared to 37 percent of the men aged 25 or more. Among youth, 12 percent of the women had no formal education compared to 7 percent of the men. Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie were the least likely to have no formal education (7%) compared to all the other regions (range from 30% to 37%).

Rebuilding legitimate politics

The ability of citizens to participate in political activity and electoral processes is an important dimension of legitimate politics. A majority of respondents believed it is possible for people to participate in local politics (82%) and, to a lesser extent, in national politics (69%). 71% indicated having been involved in the selection of local leaders, but just 24% contacted local leaders in the year prior to the survey. In terms of governance, dissatisfaction with elected officials was relatively frequent: just half the respondents (51%) thought that local leaders represented the interest of the population well or very well, and fewer (39%) thought nationally elected officials did so. Youth notably had a less frequent role in political activities, likely reflecting the limited formal role they are given in political processes. Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie felt less frequently able to participate in both local politics and national politics compared to others. This possibly reflects disappointment in political processes about which they have more knowledge and information. It may also reflect the greater distance between local leaders and the population in high density urban areas and/or higher levels of intimidations and security concerns in expressing political opinions.
Addressing divisions

Root causes of past conflicts were identified as identity / ethnicity (73%), inequalities (46%), poverty (23%), and land tenure / distribution (18%). Thinking about current conflicts, respondents emphasized inequalities (64%), poverty (39%), and land issues (36%). Issues of identity / ethnicity were mentioned less frequently as a root cause of current conflicts compared to past conflicts (29% v. 73%). It remains nevertheless an important issue, with important variation between genders and among regions - it is mentioned by nearly half of the men in Bujumbura Mairie (49%) and in the South (44%). There were no differences between age groups, however. Overall, one in four respondents (26%) mentioned ethnic disputes as being among the main conflicts in their village / neighborhood. Uniting the people (63%) and establishing dialogue between actors (50%) are the most frequent propositions advanced to build a lasting peace.

Considering social distance with other ethnic groups, respondents were generally comfortable interacting and cooperating with members of other ethnic groups, with respondents generally least comfortable in Bujumbura Mairie. Elsewhere, measures of social distance did not vary much by region, gender, or age. However, the frequency of interaction between ethnic groups was significantly higher in the South (97%) compared to 71 percent in the West.

Accountability for the violence

Accountability is important to the population: 69 percent said holding those responsible for the violence to account was crucial; most said they should face trials (56%) or otherwise be punished (46%). Men were significantly more likely than women to value accountability (80% v. 58%), whereas no differences were found between age groups. Wealthier households, however, tended to support accountability more than poorer households. Geographically, accountability was most frequently valued in Bujumbura Mairie (81%), compared to 61 percent in the north, where it was least valued. It is also in Bujumbura Mairie that
Building a safer Burundi

Respondents generally felt safe and were mostly optimistic about security, with a majority believing security would stay the same (27%) or improve (42%) in the next year. Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie reported feeling safe and optimistic about future security much less frequently than respondents in the other regions.

Insecurity was frequently associated with criminal activity such as burglaries (33%) as well as the presence of drunken individuals (24%), and insecurity resulting from unsolved disputes over land and natural resources. This suggests that general security concerns are primarily about day to day activities and events rather than political tensions and events, as one may expect in a conflict prone context. It may also indicate that security issues have become entrenched in everyday life as political events and shocks are no longer considered ‘eventful’ but have become entrenched and part of a chronic crisis. Furthermore, the general sense of security may not reflect security issues that follow shocks or political events leading up to the 2015 elections – after the data for this survey were collected.

The police are identified as the main actors providing security. However, they are not trusted actors. Just 41% of the population indicated having a lot to extreme trust in the police. Furthermore, less than half (43%) of respondents believed that the police treat everyone equally. Negative perception of the police on these two questions was most frequent in Bujumbura Mairie and in the South. Older respondents (25 or above) were slightly more frequently trusting the police than younger ones (43% v. 37%), but there were no differences by gender.

To improve security, respondents frequently identified one measure directly related to security actors: improving the capacity of the police (35%). Overall, however, socio-economic responses to insecurity were
more frequently proposed, including uniting the people of Burundi (37%), reducing poverty (27%), uniting political leaders (22%), and establishing the truth about past violence and conflicts (16%). Youths tended to emphasize the reduction of poverty more than other groups, while men of all ages tended to emphasize the strengthening of police capacities.

**Fostering justice**

Beyond the police, justice institutions were perceived poorly in terms of their accessibility, performance, and independence, and the informal traditional justice system was generally seen more positively than the formal judicial system. Men, especially youth, were more likely to see the justice system as unfair.

**Engaging youth meaningfully in education and economic activities**

Unsurprisingly, for an economy dominated by the agricultural sector, most respondents were involved in agriculture as their main activity (70%), with another 14% being students. More generally, 66% of the respondents identified agriculture as the main source of livelihood for the household. Important to this survey, 61% of the youth in Bujumbura described themselves as students. Elsewhere, that percentage was significantly lower: 46% in the South, 36% in the Center-East, 27% in the West, and 19% in the North. Respondents were also negative about future economic conditions, including their future income, future prospects to find jobs, and general economic and business conditions. Youth were slightly more pessimistic about job prospects than adults, including students (57% v. 53% among non-students negative about future job prospects).

**Ensuring effective and equal access to services**

Few respondents saw their current access to services and basic needs positively, although perception of services was better on average in the capital, Bujumbura. Elsewhere, there were only small differences among regions, suggesting that there are no significantly marginalized
areas in terms of perceived access to services. Despite some evidence to the contrary (e.g., poor access to justice among women), the majority of respondents believed equal access to services exists, including equal access to education, public administrative services, and health care. Respondents least frequently thought that access to land ownership was equal based on ethnic origins, political affiliation, or gender (66%). There were significant geographic differences: for example, access to land ownership was least frequently seen as equal based on ethnic origins or political affiliations in the West (66%). Respondents also judged poorly the performance of the government in terms of maintaining peace, uniting political, ethnic and religious groups, and reducing crimes. Respondents were especially negative about the government’s performance in fighting corruption, reducing poverty, and developing jobs and the economy.

**Education for peacebuilding**

Respondents overwhelmingly felt that school should prepare students to settle disputes non-violently and learn peaceful conflict management. However, few thought this was currently the case, indicating little confidence in schools to teach students to respect others who are different. While respondents want to see students learn more about conflict management, fewer wanted them to learn about past conflicts in school. This may indicate the need to address the sensitive past and current divisions on a broader, community level first.

Schools themselves were largely found to be safe places (94%), even though violence and lack of safety in school were mentioned as major problems by 20% of respondents, with a small difference based on gender (22% among women v. 17% among men). Schools are indeed far from being free of violence. Some respondents reported having (1) experienced hurtful insults/name calling (11%), (2) been the subject of rumors (7%), (3) suffered direct physical attack by a teacher (7%), or (4) experienced exclusion/discrimination (6%). The most commonly reported problems in school, however, related to students’ lack of discipline, political appointments of teachers and school staff, and
political interference in the functioning of the school. Other frequently mentioned problems in school included the use of drugs and alcohol by both students and teachers. Sexual violence was cited as a major problem by 19% nationally, with significant variations by gender and region.

**Building engagement and trust**

Membership in groups and associations is relatively infrequent in Burundi compared to neighboring countries. It is even less frequent among youth compared to adults. The relatively low level of community engagement was also found when examining support networks. Although 61% said that people were ready to help each other in their community, few respondents indicated turning to neighbors for advice (15%) or help (11%), and few indicated being a frequently sought source of advice (16%). This may reflect a perception that no one is able to help in the community. Rather, respondents turned most frequently to family members for support. Women are significantly less likely than men to engage in community activities, but do not differ from men in their levels of community support. Other factors associated with community engagement and/or support included age, education and regions.

Levels of trust (in which respondents have a lot to extreme trust) toward family relatives was high but decreased when considering trust outside of immediate familial connections. Levels of trust in the state were the lowest, as measured by trust in key institutions such as justice (36%), the police (41%), and administration at all levels (district 36%; national 39%). Women and youth tended to have a lower generalized trust score than men and adults, respectively. Generalized trust was lowest in Bujumbura Mairie, followed by the Center-East region.

**Strengthening resilience**

This survey adopted three standardized self-reported indicators of resiliency: the 10-item Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale, the
Rosenberg (R) self-esteem scale, and Antonovsky’s sense of coherence scale (SOC). Together, these scales offer a narrow but nevertheless useful perspective on resilience based on mental health and individuals’ self-reported capacity to overcome adversity.

Results on the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale suggest that resilience levels in Burundi are relatively low, below what was found in Uganda for example. Respondents in the South and in Bujumbura were the most resilient (highest score). On average, women had a lower score than men, and the score was significantly associated with education level and wealth. The self-esteem score did not vary significantly across regions and age groups, but women had a significantly lower average score than men. There were significant differences in average score on the self-esteem scale by education level and wealth groups. The SOC score also did not vary significantly across regions, except in the South, where it was higher than other regions. Women had a significantly lower SOC score compared to men, and the SOC score is significantly associated with education and wealth. This suggests that to foster individual capacities for resilience, equitable access to environmental resources such as education and economic opportunities are critical.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Together, these results provide a complex snapshot of fragility, social cohesion and resilience from the population’s perspective. Based on these findings, we offer the following recommendations:

Institutional level

1. Strengthen legitimate politics, develop and strengthen outreach mechanisms to raise awareness of opportunities to (1) participate in decision-making processes and (2) hold elected officials accountable for their actions, with a specific focus on raising positive, full engagement of youth.
2. Support an independent judicial sector and strengthen performance and accountability mechanisms with meaningful engagement of youth organizations.

3. Establish and maintain rigorous processes to hold perpetrators of serious crimes accountable for their actions.

4. Develop initiatives aimed at citizens’ participation and cooperation with state institutions to restore or generate trust in government and other public institutions.

5. Increase the quantity, quality and effectiveness of the national police through rigorous and independent recruitment and training processes, including those that address human rights and diversity; review postings based on the type and frequency of security threats.

6. Strengthen capacity more generally for the effective delivery of quality public services, addressing disparities between urban and rural areas.

7. Develop and implement school violence monitoring and reporting services.

8. Create space for independent media.

Societal level

9. Maintain significant progress in addressing societal divisions along ethnic lines through continued support for and promotion of public policies that foster inter-ethnic cooperation. This should include mechanisms to address the sensitive past and current divisions on a broad community level and in schools.
10. Develop and implement activities that address societal division along political lines focused on dialogue and cooperation, with a specific focus on (male) youth.

11. Continue awareness campaigns to raise girls’ participation in and completion of primary school and invest in inclusive secondary and tertiary education.

Individual level

12. Develop educational and economic opportunities for male and female youth.

13. Develop and implement curriculum to foster a culture of peace in schools, and prepare students to settle disputes non-violently by learning peaceful conflict management skills.

14. Support schools further in actively developing individual resilience and enhancing the capacity of individuals to overcome adversity.
1. INTRODUCTION

The key to the consolidation of Burundi’s tenuous peace lies with its youth.

Tina Robiolle-Moul

For decades, Burundi has been plagued by cycles of inter-ethnic, political violence and conflict. The violence has left the population divided, and tensions remain high. Since the signing of the peace accord by the Government of Burundi and rebel forces in 2003, the country has entered a period of transition and consolidation of peace and stability. Challenging issues facing Burundians are numerous and include the need to reintegrate displaced populations (refugees and IDPs) into their communities, addressing sensitive land issues. There is also a need to bolster law and order, and continue to strengthen democratic institutions while addressing poverty, which remains prevalent and a pressing concern.

Moreover, Burundian politics remains fragile. In 2010 President Pierre Nkurunziza and the National Council for the Defense of Democracy - Forces for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) held onto power in elections denounced as fraudulent and boycotted by opposition groups. In 2015, the prospect of constitutional amendments to enable President Pierre Nkurunziza to seek a third term in office has been met with strong protests and a failed coup attempt in May 2015, against a backdrop of prior allegations of harassment of political opposition figures and government backing of youth groups allegedly carrying out human rights abuses. Small rebel groups also remain active in the country.
Transitioning to peace in this context requires addressing underlying causes of structural and cultural violence in ways that strengthen resilience, social cohesion and human security in sustainable ways. This is the primary goal of UNICEF’s Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy Programme, which seeks to reduce the intergenerational transmission of violence by addressing the underlying causes of structural and cultural violence that result in repeated cycles of conflict. Social services in education, health and nutrition, in addition to being peace dividends, are key to addressing underlying causes and consequences of conflict. Meaningfully engaging youth in this process is essential: about half the population of Burundi is aged 18 or below.\(^{11}\)

To reach this goal, however, effective design, monitoring and evaluation of programs require reliable population-based data about perception of and experience with social services and outcomes, and an understanding of how social services may reduce fragility and help strengthen social cohesion and resilience. The data also facilitates the monitoring of peacebuilding and state building goals more general and in the long term.

This study was conducted to meet these requirements and provide information for relevant programs and national policies on peacebuilding, with a focus on key dimensions of fragility and resilience. The New Deal provides a relevant framework for analysis as the proposed goals correspond to key challenges in Burundi.\(^{12}\) The data collected here correspond to the domains explored through fragility assessments conducted as part of the New Deal commitments,\(^{13}\) but use measures that go beyond such assessments and offer valuable information from the population’s perspective.

The report is based on research findings from a comprehensive survey conducted in December 2014, before the outbreak of the 2015 political crisis. The survey was designed to provide an in-depth yet rapid method for understanding the context of peacebuilding interventions and inform their evaluation. Furthermore, the data give insight into differences between adult and youth perceptions, therewith enabling
a life cycle perspective and help in the identification of attention areas regarding the intergenerational transmission of violence and resilience. For the survey, interviews were conducted with a total of 2,991 randomly selected youth and adult residents in all 17 provinces of Burundi to provide nationally and regionally representative statistics.
2. THE STUDY

2.1. Objectives and Analytical Framework

This study was conducted in each of the 17 provinces of Burundi to assess the population’s perceptions along a number of key dimensions of peacebuilding and resilience, including the five Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals, with an additional focus on education. The study was designed to address the lack of data for formative evaluation and monitoring, and evaluation in relation to peacebuilding efforts. It contributes to a better understanding of fragility in Burundi. Specifically, the survey sought to answer the following questions:

| Legitimate Politics (PSG 1) | • What are the roles of the government and the priorities of the population?  
|                           | • What are the levels of political participation and engagement?  
|                           | • How is progress toward peace and stability perceived? |
| Security (PSG 2)          | • What is the sense of security?  
|                           | • How does the population perceive security actors?  
|                           | • How can security be improved?  
|                           | • What is the incidence of various forms of violence and crime? |
| Justice (PSG 3)           | • What are the sources of tension?  
|                           | • How are disputes and crimes addressed/resolved? By whom? How are these processes perceived?  
|                           | • What is the perception of justice Institutions? |
| Economic Foundation (PSG 4) | • How is wealth distributed?  
|                           | • What are the main livelihood activities?  
|                           | • What is the socio-economic outlook? |
| Revenue and Services (PSG 5) | • What is the population’s perception of and experience with services and outcomes?  
• How is government performance perceived?  
• How are institutions perceived by the population?  
• What is the level of conflict in and out of school, and what is the role of education in this context? |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Social Cohesion & Resilience | • What are the perceptions on community engagement and support?  
• To what extent do people trust government and other actors in Burundian society?  
• What are perceptions about other social groups? (social distance)  
• What do people report as their capacities for resilience? |

To achieve its objectives, the study used a primarily quantitative approach informed by existing qualitative work and expert reviews. The survey was designed to provide results that are representative of the population at the national and regional levels, with 5 regions defined as follow:

- Bujumbura Mairie
- West: Bujumbura Rural, Bubanza, Cibitoke
- North: Kayanza, Ngozi, Kirundo, Muyinga
- Center-East: Muramvya, Gitega, Karuzi, Ruyigi, Cankuzo
- South: Bururi, Rutana, Makamba

The research was reviewed by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at Partners Healthcare in Boston, Massachusetts and received the equivalent statistical visa in Burundi. Approval to conduct interviews was also obtained from national (ministry), provincial, and local authorities at survey sites. The interviewers obtained oral informed consent from each selected participant; neither monetary nor material incentives were offered for participation.
2.2. Methodology

2.2.1. Survey Design and Sample

The selection of respondents for the survey was based on a random multi-stage cluster sampling procedure. In each province, we randomly selected 10 sous-collines, the smallest administrative division. The random selection was done proportionately to the population size using 2013 population data provided by the National Institute of Statistics. In total, 160 sous-collines were selected in the provinces, and 60 in the capital of Bujumbura, out of a total estimated 9,915 sous-collines nationwide. A total of 6 selected sous-collines (3% of total sample) had to be replaced - 3 in the provinces and 3 in Bujumbura Mairie.

For a total target sample size of 3,040, we aimed to conduct 16 interviews in each provincial sous-collines and 8 interviews in the Bujumbura Mairie sous-collines. Half of the interviews were conducted with individuals under the age of 25 and half with individuals 25 years of age or more. Dwellings were selected using a random geographic method, and one respondent in the household (defined as a group of people normally sleeping under the same roof and eating together) was selected per dwelling using an alphabetical random selection technique.

Three attempts were made to contact a household or individual before replacement. Interviewers approached a total of 3,104 dwellings, but could not select a respondent in 103 cases (3%) due to refusal, absence, or other reasons. In the remaining 2,991 dwellings, interviewers approached 3,084 individuals, and 93 could not be interviewed due to refusals, absence, or other reasons (3%). In the end, 2,991 interviews were completed (98% of target), providing a sub-nationally representative sample.

On average, 160 interviews were conducted per province, and 444 were conducted in Bujumbura Mairie.
2.2.2. Survey Instruments

Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers using a standardized, structured questionnaire with open-ended questions. The questionnaire included covered topics on Demographics, Priorities, Access and Perception of Services, Education, Security, Exposure to Violence, Sense of Cohesion and Resilience Factors. The questionnaire took one hour to one and one-half hours to administer. The identification of indicators was guided by consultation with local experts and UNICEF key staff members in Burundi and Uganda, where our team conducted similar research. The research team developed the questionnaire and consent form in English. The final version was translated into French and Kirundi, the official languages of Burundi. Back translation was used between French and Kirundi.

Response options based on pilot interviews were provided to the interviewer for coding but never read to study participants, with the exception of questions employing a scaling format (e.g., the Likert scale). An open-ended field was always available for interviewers to record complete responses. These answers were coded for analysis.

Once complete, the questionnaire was programmed into Android Nexus 7 Tablets running KoBoToolbox, our custom data collection package. The use of the tablets allowed interviewers to enter the data directly as the interview was conducted. Built-in verification systems reduced the risk of skipping questions or entering erroneous values, resulting in data of high quality.

2.2.3. Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected over a total of four weeks, from November 24 to December 20, 2014. Interviewers were organized into ten teams of four interviewers (five groups of two teams) in the provinces and one team for Bujumbura Mairie. One group of two teams covered one province in approximately six days.
The teams conducted the interviews under the guidance of five field coordinators, two lead field managers, and three lead researchers. The interviewers were selected and trained from a pool of experienced interviewers working with other UNICEF research projects.

Prior to collecting the data, the interviewers participated in a weeklong training that covered interview techniques, the content of the questionnaire, the use of tablets to collect digital data, troubleshooting, and methods for solving technical problems. The training included mock interviews and pilot-testing with randomly selected individuals at non-sampled sites. Three training sessions were organized for a total of 50 interviewers.

The research protocol required each team to collect data in one location per day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one, anonymously, and in confidential settings. Each interviewer was responsible for conducting four interviews per day - two with youth respondents and two with adults. Due to the sensitivity of some questions, male interviewers were assigned to male respondents, and female interviewers were assigned to female respondents.

When possible, data were synchronized with a central computer, enabling the lead researchers to check data for completion, consistency, and outliers. The lead researchers and supervisors discussed any issues that arose with the team prior to the next round of data collection.

Once all the data were collected, the database was imported into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 22 for data analysis. The results presented here are adjusted for the complex sample design and weighted to correct known disproportionate stratification of the sample by age groups and provinces, as well as unequal probability of selection down to the household level. After analysis, all of the results were imported online in an interactive map platform to enable users to browse detailed results at the territory and district / provincial levels. Data are presented by regions, and can be
disaggregated by gender and age groups. All of the results are available through an interactive map available at: www.peacebuildingdata.org/interactivemaps/burundi2014_regions. This report and the map can be read together: the report highlights key results, while the map provides a more comprehensive overview of the survey responses by regions, gender, and age groups.

**Figure 1: Interactive Map of Study Results – www.peacebuildingdata.org**

The survey’s margin of error for the entire sample is ±3.0 percentage points. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 3.0 percentage points away from their true values in the population.

2.2.4. Limitations

The present study was developed and implemented carefully to ensure that the results would accurately represent the views and opinions of
the youth and adult population in Burundi during the period of data collection (November/December 2014). Limitations to the study include aspects generally associated with survey research:

- Some selected sous-collines could not be reached (3%), and some households (3%) and individuals (3%) could not be interviewed. It is uncertain how responses from individuals who could not be interviewed would have differed from those of the sampled individuals. However, the sampling approach was designed to reduce any potential for selection biases, and the non-response rate is minimal.

- Results represent the population over 14 years of age in Burundi at the time of the survey. They may not represent opinions elsewhere or at other times. Opinions may change over time, especially in light of the 2015 political crisis. However, many indicators are relatively stable and the survey provides a valid snapshot of perceptions and opinions at the time of the survey.

- The study relies on self-reported data. A number of factors may have affected the quality and validity of the data collected. These factors include inaccurate recall of past events, misunderstanding of the questions or concepts, reactivity to the interviewer due to the sensitive nature of the questions, and intentional misreporting (e.g., for socially unacceptable answers). We minimized such risks through careful development of the questionnaire to make the questions sufficiently clear and to reduce potential bias.
3. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The project interviewed a total of 2,991 individuals above the age of 14. A total of 1,479 interviews were conducted with women (49%), and 1,512 with men (51%). In order to better understand differences between youth and adults, for example in terms of attitudes about social cohesion or government institutions, the sample was stratified into two age groups: youth aged 14 to 24 and adults aged 25 or above. A total of 1,484 interviews were conducted with youth aged 14 to 24 (50%), and 1,507 interviews were conducted with adults 25 years of age or older. Figure 1 below illustrates the sample distribution by region. As noted above, data were weighted to correct known disproportionate stratification of the sample and unequal probability of selection.

Figure 2: Sample distribution (2,991 interviews)
After weighting, the mean age of respondents was 31.6 years (S.D. 16.4). Most respondents described themselves as married or in a marital relationship (54%), or single, never married (38%). The average household size was 5.6 (S.D. 2.6). Regarding religion, most respondents described themselves as Catholic (62%) or Protestant (17%). Three percent of the respondents described themselves as Muslim, with the highest percentage found in the capital Bujumbura Mairie (13%).

With regard to education, 73% of respondents had primary education or less: 33% had no formal education, 26% had incomplete primary education and 14 percent completed primary education but had no secondary education. About one in four respondents (27%) had at least some secondary education, including just 4% with completed secondary education or higher.

Educational achievements among youth are higher compared to adults above the age of 25, likely as a result of efforts to increase primary school enrollment, such as the introduction of the fee-free primary school education policy in 2005. Among youth between 14 and 24 years old, just 10% had no formal education, compared to 49% of the adults. Despite these measures of progress, challenges remain: 28% of the youth had not completed primary school education.

Gender inequalities also persist: 40% of the women had no formal education compared to 26% of the men. Gender inequalities were wider among adults – 54% of the women aged 25 or more had no formal education compared to 37% of the men aged 25 or more. Among youth, 12% of the women had no formal education compared to 7% of the men. Overall, just 28% of the women had education above primary school, compared to 38% of the men. This confirms official statistics: while rates of enrollment in primary school are high, the rate of attendance is significantly lower (73% and 74% respectively for boys and girls), and enrollment rates drop drastically at the secondary level (19% and 16% respectively for boys and girls).14
Geographically, respondents in Bujumbura Mairie were the least likely to have no formal education (7%) compared to all the other regions (range from 30% to 37%). In Bujumbura Mairie, 87% of the respondents had completed their primary education or more, compared to less than half the population in all the other regions (West: 41%, North: 33%, Center-East: 36%, South: 40%).

Figure 3: Education by age group and gender
4. LEGITIMATE POLITICS (PSG 1)

Legitimate state politics can be seen as politics that “strengthens the perceived legitimacy of the state and its institutions.” This population-based analysis on legitimate and inclusive politics in Burundi revolves around three major dimensions: (1) the role of the state, (2) political participation and civic engagement, and (3) political settlement and accountability.

4.1. The role of the state and priorities

The role of the state was discussed with respondents to better understand their expectations, which in turn influence the perceived legitimacy of the state and its institutions. Discussion of PSG 5 (revenues and services) will analyze perceptions of state performance and fairness in more detail.

For close to half the respondents (45%), maintaining peace and security is the primary role of the state. The second most frequent role associated with the state was generically defined as helping the poor. This is a broad category that may have been understood as providing basic access to services and economic opportunities. However, as it is defined, it suggests the importance of the state providing some social safety net to ensure that even the poorest are guaranteed basic services, clearly linking social services and protection with government legitimacy and inclusive politics. Providing economic opportunities, education, and health services were also mentioned directly as main roles of the state, albeit less frequently (10%, 7% and 4% respectively).

Women tend to emphasize helping the poor more than men (31% v. 20% respectively), whereas men emphasized supporting the economy
and jobs more frequently (13% v. 8%). Among youth, education was more frequently identified as the main role of the government compared to adults (15% v. 3%).

Figure 4: Main role of government

A large majority of respondents (85%) identified the government as the main actor responsible for improving life in their community. In practice, however, less than half the respondents (46%) identified the government as improving life in their community. Rather, respondents frequently identified the community itself (35%), local leaders (18%), or nobody (16%) as improving life in their community. Women in Bujumbura Mairie were significantly less likely to identify the government as improving life in their community compared to the rest of the population (23% v. 46% overall). There was no difference based on age group.

Overall, the main roles identified for the government mirrored respondents’ priorities. For the survey, respondents identified their own top priority and what they thought the top priority of the government ought to be. On both questions, peace (defined by respondents as the absence of violence and in positive terms of as peace, freedom and development) was the most commonly cited priority.
Respondents’ priorities further included education (12%), food (10%), and money (10%) among others. Security was identified by 15% of the respondents as what ought to be the main priority of the government.

Priorities differed little across regions, although peace was less frequently mentioned in the capital Bujumbura Mairie compared to the other regions. Inversely, education was mentioned more frequently than in the other regions. There were also few differences by gender, although women tended to emphasize peace (26%) more than men (18%) among their priorities. The only important differences concerned education, which was seen as a priority for 27% of the youth, compared to 2% of the adults. Similarly, 17% of the youth said education ought to be the main priority of the government, compared to 2% of the adults, similar to the more general perception about what is the role of the government. This further confirms the perceived importance of education among youth.16

Figure 5: Respondents’ priorities

![Bar chart showing respondents' priorities and proposed priority for government.](image-url)
4.2. Political participation and engagement

The ability of citizens to participate in political activity and electoral processes is an important dimension of legitimate politics. In Burundi, a majority of respondents believed it is possible for people to participate in local politics (82%) and to a lesser extent national politics (69%). In line with these responses, 71% of respondents indicated having been involved in the selection of local leaders. However, just 24% contacted local leaders in the year prior to the survey.

Figure 6: Political participation and perception by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>ADULTS</th>
<th>YOUTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ability to participate in national political processes (% yes)</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to participate in local political processes (% yes)</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to contribute to events in community</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved in local leader selection (% yes)</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacted local authorities in last year? (% yes)</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local elected officials represent the interest of the population? (% well-very well)</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationally elected officials represent the interest of the population? (% well-very well)</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Geographically, respondents in Bujumbura Mairie felt more frequently unable to participate in both local politics (70% v. 82% nationally) and
national politics (63% v. 69% nationally). They also reported being involved less frequently in the selection of local leaders (54% v. 71% nationally). These results may reflect a higher level of information, knowledge and expectations about how political processes should take place.

There were few differences between men and women. However, youth notably played a less frequent role in the selection of leaders. This reflects the limited role given especially to individuals in the youngest age group sampled (below 18) but also likely reflects a general perception of limited value of youths in governance and election issues. Rather, qualitative work suggests that youths are seen as having to obey orders and seek advice from elders, instead of being capable of giving advice. According to this survey, youths were also less likely to report being able to contribute to events happening in their community compared to adults.

In terms of governance, dissatisfaction with elected officials was relatively frequent: just half the respondents (51%) thought that local leaders represented the interest of the population well or very well, and fewer (39%) thought nationally elected officials did so.

4.3. Political settlement and accountability

Since the signing of the peace agreements by the Government of Burundi and rebel forces in 2000 and 2003, the country has entered a period of transition and consolidation of peace and stability. Since 2005, Burundian politics were stable but remain fragile. The prospect of constitutional amendments to enable current President Pierre Nkurunziza to seek a third term in office were met with strong protests and a failed coup attempt in May 2015. At the time of the survey, perceptions associated with political settlement and accountability were explored through three main components: the root causes of violence, the meaning of and prospects for peace, and accountability for serious crimes.
4.3.1. Root causes of violence

To provide context to data on respondents' perception of peace and what needs to be done to achieve peace, the survey examined what the population identifies as the root causes of the large scale conflicts which have affected Burundi. Respondents were asked to distinguish between past and current causes of conflicts. Root causes of past conflicts were identified as identity / ethnic conflicts (73%), inequalities (46%), poverty (23%), and land tenure / distribution (18%). With respect to current conflicts, respondents emphasized inequalities (64%), poverty (39%), and land issues (36%). Education was rarely mentioned as a root cause among past and current conflicts.

![Figure 7: Root causes of conflicts (past and current)](image-url)

Identity conflicts were mentioned less frequently as a root cause of current conflicts compared to past conflicts (29% v. 73%). It remains nevertheless an important issue, with striking variation by gender and...
region. Nationally, women were significantly more likely than men to cite identity as a root cause of current conflicts (in contrast to men’s citing identity as a cause of past conflicts).

In the capital, nearly half of the men cited identity (49%) compared to 16% of women. A similar pattern emerged in the South (44% of men vs. 17% of women). In contrast, in the North, only 11% of men cited identity compared to 42% of women. These results are challenging to interpret – they may point to openness to talk about sensitive issues.
longstanding grievances, and other community dynamics – importantly, they point to the importance of including gender perspective in identifying and addressing root causes of violence. There were no difference in perceived root causes of conflicts between age groups.

4.3.2. Meaning of and prospects for peace

Respondents defined peace broadly, not merely as the absence of violence (48%) but also as freedom (53%), justice (37%), development (33%), or education (25%). They also mentioned the absence of armed groups (24%), and the ability to live without fear (23%).

A large majority (88%) believed such a peace to be possible in Burundi. Men tended to be more optimistic about the possibility of peace (92%) than women (85%). Geographically, respondents in Bujumbura were least positive about the possibility of living in peace (84%), compared to the South, where they were most frequently positive (94%). There were no differences between age groups.

Figure 9: Confidence that peace is possible (% yes)

Respondents identified a large number of mechanisms as the means to achieve peace. They most frequently mentioned the need to unite the people (63%) and establish dialogue between actors (50%). Socio-economic measures were mentioned as well, including reducing poverty (39%) and educating youth (14%). Addressing land disputes was mentioned by 10% of the respondents. Respondents did not emphasize aspects of political settlements and transition toward a
democratic state, but this does not mean that these are not important issues for the population, as illustrated elsewhere. It is also possible that these processes are included under the general idea of working toward uniting the people.

4.3.3. Accountability

Accountability for the serious crimes committed during the past conflict is important to respondents: 69% said holding those responsible for the violence was important; most said they should face trials (56%) or otherwise be punished (46%). However, accountability and justice were rarely mentioned among the means to achieve peace, which may partly explain the prevailing silence and impunity, along with the lack of political will for justice. Men were significantly more likely than women to value accountability (80% v. 58%), whereas no difference was found between age groups. This may be explained by the fact that accountability for crimes committed against women may further stigmatize victims, especially in the case of sexual and gender-based violence. Wealthier households tended to support accountability more than poorer households. Geographically, accountability was most frequently valued in Bujumbura Mairie (81%), compared to 61% in the North, where it was least valued. It was also in Bujumbura Mairie that respondents were most likely to want those responsible for the violence to face trials or be punished.
Establishing and strengthening basic safety and security is an essential component of peacebuilding. Insecurity translates, among other things, into the looting and destruction of necessary infrastructure and the loss of human resources, and it creates major barriers to trade and the transportation of goods. The survey examined security along five main dimensions:

- The existing security conditions
- The perception of security actors
- Means for improving security
- Domestic violence

5.1. Security Conditions

The first dimension of security sought to examine current perceptions of security conditions at the time of the survey. Overall, a majority of respondents considered themselves safe or very safe generally (86%), or specifically, such as when walking alone at night (78%). Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie reported feeling safe much less frequently than respondents in the other regions: just over half (55%) felt safe in general and less than half (47%) felt safe walking alone at night. There were no differences in the sense of security between genders or age groups.

The lack of security was often associated with criminal activity such as burglaries (33%) as well as the presence of drunken individuals (24%) and unsolved disputes over land and natural resources. This suggests that concerns regarding security are primarily about day-to-day activities and events, although some concerns, such as land disputes, may have roots in past wartime events. Some causes of insecurity played a more important role regionally. For example, the presence of
armed groups was a frequent cause of insecurity in Bujumbura Mairie (29%), but not elsewhere (9% nationally). Insecurity related to land and natural resource disputes was most frequent in the South (24%), where historically many people fled and have been returning.

Figure 10: Sense of Safety

Crimes such as burglaries were a major factor driving perception of insecurity. The survey examined incidence level of various crimes in the year prior to the survey. Overall, one in three respondents (32%) reported exposure to one of the crimes examined. The most frequent crimes were unarmed burglaries by unknown individuals, unarmed burglaries by a known individual (acquaintance, family), and armed burglaries by unknown individuals. Physical assaults were less frequent (2%), and less than 1 percent of the respondents reported an incidence of rape or sexual violence over the one-year period prior to the survey. This is low, and seems to contradict concerns expressed
elsewhere (e.g. priority concern of sexual violence expressed in the context of schooling), but it is important to note that the statistics refer to incidence over a one-year period prior to the survey, not prevalence or lifetime exposure. Furthermore, the topic is known to be very sensitive and may thus have been underreported, especially concerning sexual violence within the household.

For most respondents, the level of security had remained the same (34%) or improved (50%) compared to one year before the survey. Respondents were mostly optimistic, with a majority believing security would stay the same (27%) or improve (42%) in the next year. However, 20% thought security would worsen. There were important regional differences, illustrated in the following figure. Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie were more likely to say that the security situation had worsened over the last year (43% v. 15% nationally) and that it would worsen in the future (30% v. 20% nationally).

Women tended to be more optimistic than men about future security: 48% of the women said security would improve in the next year,
compared to 36% of the men. The difference was most important in Bujumbura Mairie, where 39% of the women said security would improve compared to just 11% of the men. There were no differences between age groups, but wealthier individuals tended to be more pessimistic about future security: 36% of the individuals in the wealthiest quintile said security would improve, compared to 46% of those in the poorest wealth quintile. This may be explained by the better access to information among the wealthier respondents.

Figure 12: Changes and confidence in security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security situation one year from now</th>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Worsened</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bujumbura Mairie</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center-East</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security situation compared to last year</th>
<th>Improved</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Worsened</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bujumbura Mairie</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center-East</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2. Security actors

Respondents identified who ensures security in their village or neighborhood according to them. Nationally, the police was the most common answer (46%). The community itself was the second most
frequent response overall (39%), and the most frequent in the South region. The third most frequent answer was local authorities (30%) which were identified in all regions as a major security actor, most frequently in the North region (46%), and least frequently in the capital, Bujumbura Mairie (5%). Other frequent responses included local defense groups separately from the community itself (15%), and the military (10%).

Police are identified as the main actors providing security. However, they are not trusted actors. Just 41% of the population indicated having a lot to extreme trust in the police. Trust was least prevalent in Bujumbura Mairie (12%). Furthermore, less than half (43%) of respondents believed that the police treat everyone equally, and many (35%) believe that involving the police when needed means that they will have to pay a bribe. Negative perception of the police on these two questions was highest in Bujumbura Mairie and in the South. Considering age, youths were generally more negative about the police compared to adults.

Box 1: Conflict related violence and trauma

Exposures to traumatic events during conflict have long-term implications for peacebuilding. Besides the direct effect of violence on human resources, exposure to war-related events has been associated with mental health issues and possibly post-conflict violence. It is, globally, a predictor of future violence and a major factor in the inter-generational transmission of violence: in Burundi, one in five youths have witnessed a violent death. The survey assessed exposure to a series of violent events that are common during conflicts. The results show overall high levels of exposure, especially among men aged 25 or above, with the exception of sexual and other gender based violence, for which women under 25 come out as more vulnerable.
Figure 13: Exposure to conflict-related violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>≥25</th>
<th>&lt;25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ever displaced</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently displaced</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to flee</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness pillaging</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness beating</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness killing of HH member</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness killing of other</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness sexual violence against woman</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witness sexual violence against man</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House destroyed</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest stolen or destroyed</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land taken away</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically beaten</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacked with weapon</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touched sexually without consent</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other gender-based violence</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abducted</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to carry loads or other work</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to loot/destroy goods</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to beat someone</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to kill someone</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of father/mother</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a child</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a brother/sister</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of other HH member</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a friend</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death of a neighbor</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No death/loss</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever displaced</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3. Improving security

To improve security, respondents frequently identified one measure directly related to security actors: improving the capacity of the police (35%). Overall, however, socio-economic responses to insecurity were more frequently proposed, including uniting the people of Burundi (37%), reducing poverty (27%), uniting political leaders (22%), and establishing the truth about past violence and conflicts (16%). Respondents in Bujumbura Mairie emphasized the training of the police, accountability mechanisms, and poverty reduction more than respondents in any other location.

5.4. Violence at Home

Separately from other security aspects, the survey assessed experience of domestic abuse, a frequently forgotten form of violence that has been found to be associated with exposure to war. Lifetime prevalence of domestic abuse was assessed. Spousal abuse was assessed only among respondents with a spouse, excluding those singles who were never in a partner relationship.

Overall, about one in seven respondents with a spouse indicated experience of physical violence, including being slapped and beaten by a spouse or partner. The experience was most frequent among women (25%) compared to men (3%). Youths were slightly more likely than adults to report experience of domestic violence: Among those with a spouse, 20% of the youth had experienced physical violence by a spouse, compared to 15% of the adults. This may reflect under-reporting among adults as well as higher levels of domestic violence when the spouses or partners are young. Just 9% of respondents recognized having beaten a spouse or partner. The frequency was 18% among men, and less than one percent among women.

The primary circumstances in which beating a spouse was found to be acceptable is infidelity (14%), followed by being late (4%), or money
issues (2%). For a large majority (78% overall, 73% among men), however, beating a spouse or partner was never acceptable, under any circumstances. These results strongly contrast with earlier findings from the Burundi Health and Demographic Survey of 2010 that for 73% of the men find it justifiable to beat a spouse or partner under some circumstances. The difference may reflect changes in attitudes over time, but are more likely to reflect methodological and language differences.18

Physical violence in childhood was frequently reported: 82% of respondents indicated having experienced a beating by their parents as a child, and 52% indicated having been beaten by other household members as a child. The practice appears to continue, albeit possibly less frequently: just 36% of the respondents with children indicated having physically slapped or beaten their child at some point. Beating of a child is found to be acceptable when the child is disorderly (44%), insults others (37%), or fights with others (20%). Only 27% agreed that it was never acceptable to beat a child. Physical violence against their children was acknowledged as frequently among women (36%) as it was among men (36%).
6. JUSTICE (PSG 3)

Justice is a key element of peacebuilding and statebuilding, with the specific goal of addressing injustices and increasing people’s access to justice mechanisms that are seen as affordable and fair. The survey examined these elements through two dimensions: (1) dispute resolution mechanisms, and (2) perception of the justice system.

6.1. Disputes

Disputes are a normal outcome of social interactions, but in the statebuilding context, the population’s choice of dispute resolution method can indicate levels of confidence in formal judicial institutions versus informal systems. After disputes over theft (40%), respondents identified issues of land ownership and boundaries as the most frequent disputes existing in their community (respectively 37% and 35% of respondents). One in four respondents (26%) mentioned ethnic disputes as being among the main conflicts in their village/neighborhood. There were important geographic differences: ethnic disputes were most frequently mentioned in Bujumbura Mairie (40%) compared to 15% in the South and 21% in the Center-East regions. Nationally, women were less likely than men to cite ethnicity as a frequent source of disputes (14% compared to 37%).

Respondents had not frequently been involved in a dispute themselves over the last year (16%). The proportion of respondents reporting disputes did not vary between genders, but adults were much more likely than youths to report disputes in the previous year (21% v. 10%). For respondents who experienced a dispute, the issue was most frequently related to land ownership (title – 28%; land boundaries - 28%). These types of conflicts were most frequently reported in the Southern region.
As a general approach to dispute resolution, respondents indicated that disputes are typically resolved by local authorities (66%), the formal justice system (31%), traditional authorities (17%), and the police (12%) as the main avenues. More in-depth data shows that avenues for dispute resolution depend on the type of dispute happening. For example, domestic disputes are largely resolved with local authorities, family and parents, or traditional authorities. Land disputes, on the other hand, are more frequently resolved through the formal justice system (courts), and less frequently by local authorities.

These results suggest that for each type of dispute, there are privileged dispute resolution mechanisms. General disputes, domestic disputes, and money-related disputes are most frequently dealt with by local authorities. Whereas most serious crimes and disputes, including theft, physical violence, and land conflicts are dealt with by formal state institutions (primarily the police).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dispute</th>
<th>Main dispute resolution actor</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal justice system</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional authorities</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic / family disputes</td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family, parents</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional authorities</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money disputes</td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal justice system</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional authorities</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dispute</th>
<th>Dispute resolution actor</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal justice system</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical violence</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal justice system</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land conflicts</td>
<td>Formal justice system</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local (formal authorities)</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2. Performance and Independence of Justice Institutions

Judicial institutions were perceived poorly in terms of their accessibility, performance, and independence. Less than half the respondents (42%) reported good to very good knowledge of (42%) and access to (43%) the formal judicial system, with women reporting good knowledge about justice more frequently than men (45% v. 39%), but men reporting good access slightly more (41% v. 44%). Knowledge and access to the formal judicial system were both reported least frequently in Bujumbura Mairie (24% and 33%, respectively) compared to the other provinces (42% and 43% nationally). This may seem counterintuitive, but may be explained by higher standards in defining ‘good’ access and knowledge.

The informal traditional judicial system was generally seen more positively than the formal judicial system. With regard to the formal judicial system, just 42% and 44% of the respondents agreed that ‘Judges treat everyone the same, according to the law’ and that ‘Justice is the same for everyone’. Only 49% trusted the judicial system, with the lowest percentage in Bujumbura Mairie, at just 21%. Overall, a higher percentage of women thought that the formal system was fair compared to men. On the other hand, more adults thought that the formal system was fair compared to youth. A similar pattern of responses was found with regard to trust in judges – all suggesting that there is an overall lack of trust in the formal judicial system. A majority of respondents did perceive the courts to be corrupt, and about one in three respondents indicated bribery of judges being an important issue.

Approximately half of the respondents agreed to statements such as ‘Traditional courts are fair to everyone’ and ‘Elders’ decisions are fair to everyone,’ (50% and 55%, respectively). Men and adults more frequently believed in the fairness of traditional courts compared to women and youth groups, respectively. This may reflect gender inequality and hierarchies based on age and seniority. Together, these results suggest that many challenges remain in order to rebuild a functioning justice system that effectively serves the population.
Figure 15: Selected indicators of perception of justice institutions by gender

Knowledge of judicial system (% good - very good)
- TOTAL: 42%
- MEN: 39%
- WOMEN: 45%

Access to judicial system (% good - very good)
- TOTAL: 43%
- MEN: 44%
- WOMEN: 41%

Traditional courts are fair to everyone (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 50%
- MEN: 59%
- WOMEN: 42%

Elders’ decisions are fair to everyone (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 55%
- MEN: 64%
- WOMEN: 46%

Judges treat everyone the same, according to the law (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 42%
- MEN: 39%
- WOMEN: 44%

Justice is the same for everyone (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 44%
- MEN: 39%
- WOMEN: 49%

Going to courts is too expensive (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 48%
- MEN: 54%
- WOMEN: 41%

I trust the judicial system (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 49%
- MEN: 44%
- WOMEN: 54%

I trust the judges (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 49%
- MEN: 44%
- WOMEN: 53%

Going to court means having to pay a bribe to judges (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 30%
- MEN: 35%
- WOMEN: 24%

Lawyers are competent and honest (% agree - strongly agree)
- TOTAL: 51%
- MEN: 56%
- WOMEN: 47%
7. ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS (PSG 4)

One key challenge of peacebuilding is to rebuild an economy that provides employment and opportunities, especially for marginalized groups and youth. This in turn can help alleviate past grievances related to poverty and inequality and rebuild trust in the state and confidence in the future. The focus of the survey was not on economic foundations; nevertheless three related dimensions were explored: wealth, employment, and confidence in the economic foundations of Burundi.

7.1. Wealth

To the extent that wealth is a product of economic activity, it is a valuable proxy measure of the current economic conditions in Burundi. Wealth was assessed using ownership of a series of non-productive assets such as bed, chairs, tables, etc. Quintiles were computed to group individuals in wealth categories. Overall, Bujumbura had the smallest proportion of individuals in the poorest quintile (4%). Inversely, it had the highest proportion of individuals who belonged to the wealthiest asset quintile (57%). Three regions (West, North, Center-East) had a high proportion of households in the poorest quintile (27% or more), and few households in the richest quintile (10% or less). The South region was somewhat between Bujumbura Mairie and the other regions in terms of wealth distribution: it had fewer households in the poorest quintile than the other regions, except Bujumbura, and more households in the richest quintile than the other regions, except Bujumbura. To some extent wealth, which is a household level characteristic, cannot be associated with the demographic data of individual respondents. Nevertheless, the results show that women respondents were more likely to belong to the poorest wealth quintile, and youth respondents were less likely to belong to the poorest wealth...
quintile. This may explain why women were more likely to say that “helping the poor” ought to be a priority of the state.

Figure 16: Wealth Distribution

7.2. Livelihood Activities

The types of activities undertaken by individuals in the workforce reflect economic opportunities available to them. Not surprisingly for an economy dominated by the agricultural sector, most respondents were involved in agriculture as their main activity (70%), with another 14% being students. More generally, 66% of the respondents identified agriculture as the main source of livelihood for the household. Fewer identified day labor (11%) and small trade (10%) as the main livelihood activity of the household. In Bujumbura Mairie, few individuals were involved in agriculture (4% v. 62% or more elsewhere). Rather they undertook a wide range of activities, with the most frequent being either education (27% overall, 61% among youth) or trade (17%).
Important to this survey, while 61% of the youth in Bujumbura described themselves as students. The percentage was significantly lower elsewhere: 46% in the South, 36% in the Center-East, 27% in the West, and 19% in the North regions.

7.3. Socio-economic outlook

One goal of the survey was to better understand the level of confidence of respondents regarding the future of their country. Respondents were optimistic about security, with a majority believing security would stay the same (27%) or improve (42%) in the next year. However, 20% thought security would worsen. Respondents were more negative about future economic performance: 46% believed their future income would be worse than their current conditions, and just 19% thought their income would be better. Similarly, respondents were negative about future prospects to find jobs: 54% said that the situation, already bad, would deteriorate over the next year. Overall, women tended to be more optimistic than men about future economic conditions. Younger respondents tended to be more pessimistic over the future economic and employment situations. Students in particular were the most pessimistic about future employment conditions.

Figure 17: Economic outlook
Current financial well being v. last year

- Better: 27%
- Same: 35%
- Worse: 37%
- Unsure: 2%

Future financial well being

- Better: 30%
- Same: 32%
- Worse: 30%
- Unsure: 8%

Future economic situation

- Good: 23%
- Bad: 42%
- Unsure: 35%

Future business conditions

- Better: 22%
- Same: 33%
- Worse: 34%
- Unsure: 11%

Current job availability

- Few: 78%
- Few, hard to get: 18%
- Plenty: 2%
- Unsure: 3%

Future job availability

- Better: 12%
- Same: 26%
- Worse: 54%
- Unsure: 8%
8. REVENUE AND SERVICES (PSG 5)

The fifth and final peacebuilding and statebuilding goal is to manage revenue and build capacity for accountable and fair service delivery. The key dimensions explored under this topic from a population-based perspective include (1) access to services and equality, and (2) satisfaction with government performance in delivering services. In addition, because of the focus of this study on education and peacebuilding, a third dimension was explored in more detail: (3) experience with the education system.

8.1. Access to services and equality

A series of questions was asked to assess satisfaction with social services and basic needs, a key indicator associated with this peacebuilding goal. In most cases, few respondents ranked their access to or quality of services as being good or very good. Respondents were most positive (i.e. good-very good) about their access to and the quality of education, followed by access to drinkable water (44%), and access to health care (38%). They were least positive about employment opportunities (7%) and access to information (10%).

Figure 18: Perception of services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to water</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to healthcare</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to food</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to information</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of education</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To facilitate comparison across groups, a total score was computed based on perception of services. On average, perception of services was best in the capital, Bujumbura Mairie, largely because of better perception of housing and transportation services compared to the other regions. Elsewhere, there were small differences between regions, suggesting that there are no significantly marginalized areas in terms of perceived access to services. There were no differences in self-reported access to services based on gender, education or wealth.

Figure 19: Perception of services (score)

Beyond general access, the survey also explored issues of equal access to services regardless of ethnic origins, religion, geography, or other factors.

When asked directly about equal access to services, respondents indicated in majority that they believed equal access to services exists, including equal access to education (94%), public administrative services (88%), and health care (87%). Despite established challenges for women to bring forth cases in justice, 92 percent saw no
discrimination based on gender, and 83 percent saw no discrimination in access to justice based on ethnic origins or political affiliation. Respondents least frequently felt that access to land ownership was equal based on ethnic origins or political affiliation (76%) or gender (66%). This was the only factor with important differences between men and women: just 58% of the women felt everyone has equal access to land regardless of gender, compared to 74 percent of the men.

Figure 20: Perceived equal access to services (% agree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Agreement Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to education services regardless of ethnic/political factors</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to justice regardless of gender</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to public admin. regardless of ethnic/political factors</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to health services regardless of ethnic/political factors</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to justice regardless of ethnic/political factors</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to land ownership regardless of ethnic/political factors</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal access to land ownership regardless of gender</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were significant geographic differences. For example, access to land ownership was least frequently seen as equal based on ethnic origins or political affiliations in the West (66%), compared to 88% in the South.
Box: Information

Access to information is critical in shaping views and opinions on issues of governance by contributing to transparency and accountability of all actors. It is also a primary means for outreach and public education. FreedomHouse ranks Burundi’s press freedom as ‘not free’ mainly because of the harsh criminalization of media offenses. Respondents indicated that regardless of press freedom, or perhaps because of the lack thereof, they most frequently considered themselves little to not informed at all about national events (90%) and even community events (71%). The main source of information is the radio, but a large percentage of respondents (20%) rely mainly on friends and family. This was most often the case among women (30%) compared to men (10%). Reliance on the radio was least frequent in the North region (63%), where respondents relied most frequently on friends and family. The importance of the informal channels to transmit narratives about past and present conflict likely affects the inter-generational transmission of trauma and violence. Importantly, 65% of the respondents noted that they sometimes question what they read, see or hear.

Figure 21: main sources of information
8.2. Government Performances

Respondents were also asked to rank the performance of the government with regard to six common post-conflict goals. Performance was ranked best with regard to maintaining peace, a main priority of respondents: 57% ranked positively the performance of the government on that goal. About half the respondents also ranked positively efforts at uniting political, ethnic and religious groups (51%) and at reducing crimes (50%). However, government performance on socio-economic goals ranked poorly, with less than one in five respondents ranking positively performance on fighting corruption (20%), reducing poverty (11%), and developing jobs and the economy (8%).

Figure 22: Perception of government performances

- Maintain peace: 57%
- Unite groups: 51%
- Reduce crimes: 50%
- Fight corruption: 20%
- Reduce poverty: 11%
- Develop jobs, economy: 8%

Perception of government performance scored worst in Bujumbura Mairie compared to the other regions. Respondents in the capital ranked performance of the government negatively more frequently for all six indicators compared to those in other regions. There were no differences based on age, gender or education, but individuals in the richest wealth percentile ranked government performance significantly worse than individuals in the poorest quintile – this may reflect an urban bias and higher expectations among wealthier respondents.
8.3. Perception of and experience with educational services

8.3.1. School participation and perception

As noted in the section on characteristics of the sample, 33 percent of respondents had no formal education, 26 percent had incomplete primary education and 14 percent completed primary education but had no secondary education. About one in four respondents (27%) had at least some secondary education, including just 4 percent with completed secondary education or higher. Among youth between 14 and 24 years old, just 10 percent had no formal education, compared to 49 percent of the adults. However, 28 percent of youth had not completed primary school education. Women were less likely to have education compared to men: 40 percent of the women had no formal education compared to 26 percent of the men. Just 21 percent of the
women had education above primary school, compared to 32 percent of the men.

Beyond their own education level, the survey showed that more than half of the respondents in the random sample had a close connection to school: they were either still students (22%) or they had children attending school regularly (34%). Attendance was high for those children (self-reported at 97%); poverty and sickness were identified as the leading causes undermining school attendance (48% and 31% respectively). Other factors undermining school attendance included household and child care duties (16%) and other work obligations (13%).

Overall, just about half the respondents believed schools prepared students to get jobs (52%) or make decisions as adults (58%). Youth were slightly more positive than adults, while women were more positive than men about the schools preparing students for jobs.

8.3.2. Conflict and peacebuilding education

Respondents highly valued the contribution of education to peace and unity: 94% said education positively contributed to peace, and 93% said it contributed to unity. A large majority also believed it is important for children to learn peaceful conflict management in school (94%). Fewer, but still a majority, believed it is important for children to learn about the crises in Burundi (72%) and to do so in school (71%). As far as respondents knew, just 31% believed students already learned some to a lot of information about the crises. Slightly more (43%) believed students learned some to a lot of peaceful conflict management. Schools were identified most frequently as the best mechanism to learn about the conflicts (46%). These results mean that while Burundians overwhelmingly felt that school should prepare students to settle disputes non-violently and learn peaceful conflict management, few thought this was currently the case, or saw schools as preparing students to respect others who are different.
8.3.3. Violence, discrimination, and disputes in schools

Schools themselves were largely found to be safe places (94%), even though violence and lack of school safety were mentioned as major problems by 22% of respondents. Proposed measures to improve security in school focused on ‘ensuring vigilance’ (37%), and building a fence around the facilities (23%).

Schools are indeed far from being free of violence. Some respondents reported having experienced hurtful insults/name calling (11%), and or having been the subject of rumors (7%). Another 7% had experienced a direct physical attack by a teacher. Another 6% reported having experienced exclusion or discrimination. More generally, between 20% and 28% of respondents reported discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religion, wealth, or political affiliation. This contrasts with the perception discussed above that schools are generally free of discrimination. It is possible that respondents do not see their own experience as characteristics of the whole school system. Women and youth tended to highlight discrimination problems more than men and adults, respectively. This may reflect some level of under-reporting among adults and/or higher awareness and recent experience of school discrimination among youths.

Figure 24: Violence in school

![Graph showing percentages of respondents who have experienced different forms of violence or discrimination in school.](image-url)
Respondents were asked to judge the importance of a series of issues that can be associated with schools. Respondents, youths and adults alike, most frequently identified students’ lack of discipline as a major problem. Political appointments of teachers and school staff (33%) and political interference in the functioning of the school (29%) were also frequently identified as major problems. Specifically, politics and religion were both seen as factors in teacher appointments; 64% of respondents in Bujumbura Mairie felt that political affiliation was a factor compared to 51% nationally. Men were more likely to see this as an issue than women (77% of men in the capital v 49% of women).

Other frequently mentioned problems in school include the lack of parental engagement (28%), the facilities being unsafe or unhealthy (28%), the poor quality of teachers (27%) and their absenteeism (27%), the use of drugs and alcohol by both students (25%) and teachers (25%). Sexual violence was cited as a major problem by 19% nationally, with significant variations between genders and regions.

The survey also assessed what were common problems, and what problems were most likely to lead to violence using open-ended questions. The results show that the most common problems where reported as

- Low teacher salaries (29%)
- School requests for financial support from students (19%)
- Poor leadership style (18%)
- Teacher-on-pupil violence (18%)

Issues most likely to become violent were identified as

- Poor leadership style (15%)
- Teachers’ salaries (27%)
- Teacher-on-pupil violence (14%)
- Schools’ requests for parental financial contribution (15%)
9. SOCIAL COHESION & RESILIENCE

The final component of the analytical framework to examine key dimensions of peacebuilding in Burundi focused on social cohesion and resilience. Social cohesion can be defined as “the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper”\textsuperscript{21}; or that which binds together larger social units. This notion of social cohesion encompasses that of social capital - the strength of social relations, interactions and ties within a society.\textsuperscript{22} More broadly, measures of social cohesion build a better understanding of the societal relationships being reestablished in the aftermath of mass violence. Resilience, on the other hand, is defined as “the ability of individuals, communities and systems to anticipate, prevent, withstand, adapt to and recover from stresses and shocks.” Such capacity is strongly influenced by societal relationships. Additional dimensions explored here focus on individuals’ abilities to adapt and control their environment. A key underlying question explored in this chapter is to identify factors that affect social cohesion and resilience.

9.1. Community engagement and support

One indicator of social capital is the engagement and participation of respondents in groups and associations. Membership in groups and associations is relatively infrequent in Burundi: 32% of the respondents were members of a group or association which is significantly less than in neighboring eastern DRC (52\%),\textsuperscript{23} or in Uganda (42\%).\textsuperscript{24} In Burundi, adults above the age of 25 were more than twice as likely to be a member of associations as youths (41\% v.19\%). Membership is most frequent in agricultural associations or cooperatives (11\%), and savings' groups (9\% of respondents), and to a lesser extent in political associations (6\%).
While associative engagement is low, respondents indicated slightly higher levels of community engagement. More than half (54%) participated in community meetings in the year prior to the survey. Fewer indicated assisting with construction of public infrastructure, such as a school, when needed (49%) and even fewer participated regularly in town meetings (35%) or more traditional events and ceremonies (10%). Just one in four respondents indicated that joint projects in the community were frequent. Participation was generally lower among women compared to men. For example, just 47% of the women participated in a community meeting in the year prior to the survey, compared to 61% of the men. The difference was even greater considering age: just 26% of the youths had participated in such meetings, compared to 74% of the adults.

Figure 26: Selected community engagement and support indicators

Relatively low community engagement is also found when examining support networks. Although 61% said that people were ready to help each other in their community, few respondents indicated turning to neighbors for advice (15%) or help (11%), and few indicated frequently being a source of advice (16%). This may reflect a perception that no one is able to help in the community. Rather, respondents turned most
frequently to family members for support, including mothers (35%) and fathers (22%).

Summative scales were used to compute a community participation score and a community support score. The results show that women are significantly less likely than men to engage in community activities, but do not differ from men in their levels of community support. Other factors associated with community engagement and/or supports include age, education and regions.

Figure 27: Factors statistically associated with engagement and support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AND SUPPORT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are significantly less likely than men to engage in community activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community engagement and support significantly lower among youth compared to adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in the family and community is highest among those with no formal education. Trust in the State is lowest among those with no formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wealth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No significant differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regions</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levels of trust are lowest in Bujumbura Mairie and Center-East regions; highest in the North</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2. Trust

Trust behaviors are associated with higher levels of social connection, and are a good proxy measure of social cohesion. The
survey assessed generalized trust by examining the level of trust among respondents toward a large range of actors.

Levels of trust (in which respondents have a lot to extreme trust) toward relatives was high, including parents (90%), children (86%), and grandparents (71%).

Outside of the immediate familial connections, levels of trust decreased, with just 59% trusting their neighbors and 69% trusting their friends; 47%, trusting youth in general, and 65% trusting elders. About half the respondents trusted members of their ethnic group (56%) and members of any other ethnic group (52%), and 60% trusted members of their church compared to 54% who trusted members of other religions. Despite relatively low levels of trust, respondents ranked positively (good-very good) their relationships with their family (89%), neighbors (88%), the community in general (84%), members of another faith (83%), or member of other ethnic group (82%).

Levels of trust in the State, as measured by trust in key institutions such as justice (36%), the police (41%), and administration at all levels (district 36%; national 39%), was found to be low.
To facilitate comparison across groups, we computed a total score, with a maximum of 84 points, and subscales on trust in State (maximum score of 24), and trust in family (maximum score of 12). The following table summarizes statistical associations. Women and youth tended to have a lower generalized trust score than men and adults, respectively. Generalized trust was lowest in Bujumbura Mairie, followed by the Center-East region.
Gender

Levels of trust in family members and outside of the family are higher among men compared to women, but there is no difference in trust toward the State.

Age groups

Levels of trust in actors outside of the immediate family are lower among youth compared to adults; no difference in levels of trust in the State.

Education

Levels of trust in the family and community outside of the family are highest among those with little to no formal education. However, trust in the State is lowest among those with no formal education.

Wealth

Levels of trust in the state are not associated with wealth, but poorest individuals tend to trust actors outside of the immediate family more than wealthier individuals.

Regions

Levels of trust in all actors is lowest in Bujumbura Mairie and center-East regions; it is highest in the North.

9.3. Social Distance

The third and final dimension of social cohesion examined in this report is the concept of social distance. The survey examined people's willingness to interact and cooperate with members of other ethnic groups in various situations and degrees of closeness. Specifically, respondents were asked to rank their level of comfort or discomfort with members of other ethnic groups in a range of social situations.
Overall, the level of comfort was high among respondents, especially in community-based interactions such as going to the same market (97%), place of worship (96%), or school (95%); living in the same neighborhood / village (94%), working together (94%), living as close neighbors (93%), sharing a meal (93%) or drink (90%), and living in the same household (90%). Respondents felt least frequently comfortable at the idea of inter-ethnic marriage with a household member (85%). This was especially uncomfortable for respondents in Bujumbura Mairie, with just 72% comfortable in this hypothetical situation. Elsewhere, measures of social distance did not vary much by regions, gender, or age. However, the frequency of interaction between ethnic groups was significantly higher in the South (97%) compared to 71% in the West.

Figure 30: Factors statistically associated with social distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL DISTANCE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Women are significantly more comfortable than men in the presence of a member of another ethnic group in the social situations explored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Individuals in the poorest quintile are on average most comfortable with members of another ethnic group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td>The level of comfort with individuals from another ethnic group was highest in the South, which is where frequency of contact is highest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The high level of comfort confirms the comparatively high level of trust respondents showed in members of their ethnic group (56%) and members of any other ethnic group (52%). Ethnicity is rarely (<1%) mentioned as a key factor of identity, unlike nationality (91%), and just 5 percent mention having experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity. The social distance results also confirm the perception that tensions over ethnic identity are less salient than in the past: 73% of respondents identified ethnic identity as a root cause of past conflicts, but just 29% mentioned ethnicity as a root cause of more recent violence and conflicts. Nevertheless, 15% of the respondents believed that some ethnic groups are favored over others, and 18% find that, as a whole, their ethnic group does not have enough voice in public affairs, something men reported more frequently than women (21% v. 15% - there were no differences between age groups).

Significant progress in social cohesion is important for peace and remains critical in Burundi. Respondents identified most frequently uniting the people of Burundi as a key component of building a lasting peace (63%), while about half emphasized community dialogue (50%), with no differences across age groups and gender.

An additional series of questions regarding social distance focused on negative stereotyping of women. Few respondents believed that boys should have more education than girls (8%), and even fewer thought that sending girls to school should be conditional on having no more house duties. Few (10%) agreed that if cash is insufficient to pay for school, boys should be favored. Together, these results point to general equality in the perception of the place of girls in school. There were, nevertheless, some gender stereotypes in place: 23% believed a woman has to have a partner/husband to protect her. Just three in four respondents agree that women should have the same rights as men (70%-72% among men, 73% among women). Often, however, women and youth were slightly more accepting of gender inequality than men, agreeing with negative gender stereotypes regarding women. This may be the result of women internalizing discriminatory attitudes.
9.4. Resilience

Resilience refers to the processes and outcomes of doing well despite adversity. Resilience is situated at the intersection of individual capacities and the responsiveness of environments to provide the resources needed to thrive. This survey measured individual capacities for resilience using self-reported indicators of resiliency: A 10-item Resilience Scale, the Rosenberg (R) self-esteem scale, and Antonovsky's sense of coherence scale. The Resilience scale (RS) scale includes 10 questions utilizing a 4-point Likert scale to measure an individual's capacity to overcome adversity. The score range for the RS scale is 0-40, with higher scores reflecting greater resiliency. The Rosenberg (R) self-esteem scale is also a 10 item, 4 point Likert scale to measure global self-worth, with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem. Finally, the sense of coherence is a measure of how much an individual perceives the environment to be comprehensible (i.e., rational, understandable, consistent, and predictable), manageable, and meaningful (i.e., challenging and worthwhile). A higher score indicates higher perception of the world as being comprehensible, manageable and meaningful, which are seen as a set of protective factors related to agency and resiliency. Together, these scales offer a narrow but nevertheless useful perspective on resilience based on mental health and individuals' self-reported capacity to overcome adversity.

Overall, few respondents reported being able to adapt to change (17%) or deal with whatever comes (17%). The largest proportion thought of themselves as strong persons (42%), and felt they could achieve their goals (42%). Respondents most frequently agreed with propositions about their having good qualities (90%), being able to do things as well as others (89%), and being of worth (87%), while nevertheless wishing to have more respect for themselves (88%). Some respondents thought of themselves as failures (20%) or useless at times (23%). In terms of control, few respondents indicated thinking that they
have control over their financial situation (46% with quite a bit control or more) and life in general (38%).

The average resilience score measuring an individual’s capacity to overcome adversity (RS) was 17.0, which is significantly less than in neighboring Uganda (national score of 33.3). The average self-esteem score was 27.2, significantly higher than in neighboring Uganda (21.9). Finally, the sense of coherence score averaged 44.4 in Burundi, slightly more than in neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo (43.0 in the East). The highest average score was found in the Southern region.

**Figure 31: Resiliency Scores by Regions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of Coherence Score</th>
<th>44.3</th>
<th>43.6</th>
<th>44.0</th>
<th>42.9</th>
<th>46.7</th>
<th>44.4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bujumbura Mairie</td>
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<td>West</td>
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<td>North</td>
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<tr>
<td>Center-East</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<tr>
<th>Self-esteem Score</th>
<th>27.3</th>
<th>26.8</th>
<th>27.6</th>
<th>26.8</th>
<th>27.2</th>
<th>27.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bujumbura Mairie</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
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<td>North</td>
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<td>Center-East</td>
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<td>South</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resilience Score</th>
<th>18.3</th>
<th>16.3</th>
<th>15.4</th>
<th>16.6</th>
<th>19.7</th>
<th>17.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bujumbura Mairie</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
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<td>North</td>
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<tr>
<td>Center-East</td>
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<td>South</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</table>

Overall, resiliency as measured by the RS scale was highest in the South and in Bujumbura (respectively 19.7 and 18.3) and lowest in the North (15.4). Women had on average a lower score than men (16.5 v 17.5), and the score was significantly associated with education level. Respondents with no education had the lowest average score (15.8) compared to respondents with primary education (16.8) and those with secondary education or more (18.8). Similarly, the RS score was associated with wealth. Individuals in the poorest quintile had an average score of 15.0, compared to 19.6 among respondents in the richest quintile.
The R self-esteem score measuring global self-worth, did not vary significantly across regions and age groups, but women had a significantly lower average score than men. There were significant differences in average score on the self-esteem scale by education level and wealth groups. Individuals with no education had a significantly lower score (26.6) compared to individuals with primary education (27.3) and secondary education or more (27.6). The average score was lowest among individuals in the poorest wealth quintile (26.2), and highest among individuals in the richest quintile (28.1).

The SOC score (measuring how much an individual perceives the environment to be comprehensible) also did not vary significantly across regions, except the South, where it was higher than other regions. Women had a significantly lower SOC score compared to men, and the SOC score was significantly associated with education. Individuals with no education had a significantly lower score (42.7), compared to those with at least some primary education (44.5) and those with secondary education or higher (45.4). The SOC score is also associated with wealth, with individuals in the richest quintile having the highest SOC score (45.9). Finally, younger respondents had, on average, higher SOC scores than adults.

In brief, the disparities in scores, particularly those related to level of education, wealth and gender, suggest the importance of social and economic and symbolic capital or resources for resilience. The differences found between regions, merit further investigation, but likely reflect differences in access to the capital or resources described above, as well as differences in experience of conflicts and disputes.
Table 32: Factors statistically associated with resiliency measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resilience (Connor Davidson)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Lower score among women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Higher education associated with higher score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Wealth associated with higher score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td>Highest in the South and Bujumbura Mairie</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-esteem</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Lower score among women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Higher education associated with higher score</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Wealth associated with higher score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of Coherence</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Lower score among women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>Higher average score among youth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Higher education associated with higher score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth</td>
<td>Wealth associated with higher score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td>No significant differences</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
10. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The survey findings outlined in this report yield complex insights into the various dimensions of fragility, social cohesion and resilience in Burundi. The findings suggest that citizens, especially youths, are not sufficiently able to participate in political activity and electoral processes. The meaningful engagement of youth is necessary in public and community life, as well as for building effective security and judicial institutions. Judicial institutions were perceived especially poorly in terms of their accessibility, performance, and independence; the informal traditional judicial system was generally seen more positively than the formal judicial system. Men, especially youth, were more likely to see the judicial system as unfair. In addition, few respondents saw their current access to services, basic needs and information positively, with perception of services on average better in the capital, Bujumbura. This likely undermines the perception of the state. However, access was generally seen as equal across socio-cultural groups.

Root causes of past conflicts were identified as identity / ethnicity, inequalities, poverty, and land tenure / distribution. Root causes of current conflicts, however, were primarily identified as inequalities (64%), poverty, and land issues. Issues of identity / ethnicity nevertheless remain an important issue, despite significant progress in addressing societal divisions along ethnic lines. The survey finds that identity conflicts remain a significant challenge, especially in Bujumbura. This further highlights the need for inclusive inter-ethnic engagement in cooperation and collaborations. Yet, membership in groups and associations is relatively infrequent in Burundi, compared to neighboring countries and is even less frequent among youth compared to adults. Similarly, levels of trust beyond small familial circles are low, and are even lower when considering trust in state institutions.
Despite the societal divisions and disputes, respondents generally felt safe and were mostly optimistic about security. The police was identified as the main actor providing security, but it is not a trusted actor. To improve security, respondents proposed expected security sector measures such as improving the capacity of the police, but they also identified socio-economic responses to insecurity, including uniting the people of Burundi, reducing poverty, uniting political leaders, and establishing the truth about past violence and conflicts. The reference to the past is significant as Burundians have been exposed to high levels of violence, including the youths: one in five youths witnessed killings. They have also experienced violence at home where violence against children is widely seen as acceptable. Exposures to conflict and domestic violence arguably create opportunities for the inter-generational transmission of violence.

Similar propositions emerged when asking how to build a lasting peace. Furthermore, respondents priorities as peace (defined by respondents as the absence of violence and in positive terms of as peace, freedom and development), education, food, and money. Additionally, respondents overwhelmingly felt that school should prepare students to settle disputes non-violently and learn peaceful conflict management. However, few thought this was currently the case, or saw schools as preparing students to respect others who are different. Schools themselves were largely found to be safe places, even though violence and lack of school safety were mentioned as major problems, along with students’ indiscipline, political appointments of teachers and school staff, and political interference in the functioning of the school.

Overall, education was found to be significantly associated with resilience outcomes and the ability of individuals to overcome adversity. Despite this (and other) important roles, many challenges remain to educating the population of Burundi. There has been progress: educational achievements among youth are higher compared to adults above the age of 25. However, gender inequalities persist. The data show that youth outside of Bujumbura
were significantly less likely to be students at the time of the survey compared to youth in Bujumbura.

Despite improved educational achievements, youths are confronted with numerous challenges. According to the survey, they are frequently less engaged and able to engage in community decisions and actions than their older counterparts. They are often more negative about their current conditions, and perhaps more significantly, future conditions concerning the economy or employment opportunities than adults, possibly resulting in the lower level of trust toward institutions measured in this survey compared to adults.

Together, these results and the more comprehensive assessment detailed in the report suggest a number of recommendations at the institutional, social, and individual levels:

**Institutional level**

1. Strengthen legitimate politics, develop and strengthen outreach mechanisms to raise awareness of opportunities to (1) participate in decision-making processes and (2) hold elected officials accountable for their actions, with a specific focus on raising positive, full engagement of youth.

2. Support an independent judicial sector and strengthen performance and accountability mechanisms with meaningful engagement of youth organizations.

3. Establish and maintain rigorous processes to hold perpetrators of serious crimes accountable for their actions.

4. Develop initiatives aimed at citizens’ participation and cooperation with state institutions to restore or generate trust in government and other public institutions.
5. Increase the quantity, quality and effectiveness of the national police through rigorous and independent recruitment and training processes, including those that address human rights and diversity; review postings based on the type and frequency of security threats.

6. Strengthen capacity more generally for the effective delivery of quality public services, addressing disparities between urban and rural areas.

7. Develop and implement school violence monitoring and reporting services.

8. Create space for independent media.

Societal level

9. Maintain significant progress in addressing societal divisions along ethnic lines through continued support for and promotion of public policies that foster inter-ethnic cooperation. This should include mechanisms to address the sensitive past and current divisions on a broad community level and in schools.

10. Develop and implement activities that address societal division along political lines focused on dialogue and cooperation, with a specific focus on (male) youth.

11. Continue awareness campaigns to raise girls’ participation in and completion of primary school and invest in inclusive secondary and tertiary education.

Individual level

12. Develop educational and economic opportunities for male and female youth. Including the development of volunteering
opportunities and support for their active involvement in community initiatives

13. Develop and implement curriculum to foster a culture of peace in schools, and prepare students to settle disputes non-violently by learning peaceful conflict management skills.

14. Support schools further in actively developing individual resilience and enhancing the capacity of individuals to overcome adversity.
11. NOTES


12. The New Deal proposes five peace- and statebuilding goals (PSGs) to provide clarity on priorities: (1) legitimate politics, (2) security, (3) justice, (4) economic foundations, and (5) revenues and services.


18. Enquête Démographique et de Santé – Burundi 2010, Rapport Final. Institut de Statistiques et d’Études Économiques du Burundi (ISTEEBU), Ministère des Finances et de la Planification du Développement Économique, Institut National de Santé Publique (INSP), Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la lutte contre le Sida, ICF International Calverton, Maryland, USA


24. Uganda – Peacebuilding and education, data from the authors, forthcoming

This report examines dimensions of fragility, social cohesion and resilience in relation with peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts in Burundi.

The study is based on a survey conducted in December 2014 among 2,991 randomly selected individuals above the age of 14. The survey includes 1,484 interviews with youth aged 14 to 24 (50%), and 1,507 interviews with adults 25 years of age or older. The study provides nationally and regionally representative results.