

Ready to Talk About the Past

A Survey of Knowledge and Attitudes toward
Transitional Justice in Burundi



BBC World Service Trust and Search for Common Ground

December 2008



This publication has been produced with the assistance of the European Union, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Humanity United.

This survey is part of the **Communicating Justice** project, which aims to raise levels of public awareness and debate around transitional justice issues in five post-conflict African countries. It is being implemented by the BBC World Service Trust in association with the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). The project is funded by the European Union, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Humanity United.

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Top photo: Hilltop market, Bujumbura-Rural, July 2008
Bottom photo: Hillside dwellings, Bujumbura-Rural, July 2008

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B B C WORLD SERVICE TRUST



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Executive Summary

As Burundi's last rebel group agrees to implement a peace accord, prospects for peace are as good as at any time in the country's troubled history. National consultations due in early 2009 on plans for a UN-backed Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Special Court could help move forward the long debate on how to deal with the past. Yet the consultations themselves remain controversial, and dealing with the many serious human rights violations of the past is one of the major challenges facing Burundi as it moves towards direct presidential and parliamentary elections in 2010.

This report presents the results of a survey which aims to understand Burundians'¹ perceptions of peace, justice and reconciliation as well as their awareness of and hopes for any prospective transitional justice process in Burundi. The survey also seeks to identify Burundians' main sources of information and their attitudes toward the mass media.

The survey was undertaken by the Research and Learning Group of the BBC World Service Trust and Search for Common Ground. Focusing on 10 of Burundi's 17 provinces, fieldwork was conducted in October 2008 among a sample population of 1,648 adults aged 18 years and over.

While the full report engages in a nuanced and detailed analysis of the survey results on a wide range of topics related to transitional justice and the media, the survey's **key findings** are as follows:

Support for a TRC and Prosecutions

- Most Burundians surveyed support the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Burundi. More than two-thirds of respondents (68%) have heard about plans for a TRC, and 81% of those aware said they thought a TRC would be mostly or entirely a good thing for Burundi.
- Burundians are willing to speak out about the conflict. Eight out of 10 respondents said they would be willing to make a statement to a TRC, and 7 out of 10 would be willing to testify at a public hearing. Those unwilling to speak out were afraid of reprisals from the person they testified against.
- Most Burundians want individuals who committed human rights violations brought to justice. 68% of all respondents said that those who had committed crimes during Burundi's conflict should be brought to court and tried. Of these respondents, 96% said that the crimes tried by the courts should include grave violations of human rights such as genocide, murder and rape.

Less than half aware of National Consultations

- The majority of respondents were unaware of upcoming national consultations on possible transitional justice mechanisms for Burundi. Only 44% of those questioned had heard about the consultations which are due to be held in early 2009.

¹ Due to a lack of accurate census data, the sample is not necessarily nationally representative. Thus, the term 'Burundian' is used in this report solely as a reference to the individuals surveyed

Mixed views of National Judiciary

- Burundians are divided on the national judiciary's ability to deliver justice and act independently from the government.
 - Burundians' trust in their national judiciary varies widely. Less than one quarter (24%) of respondents said that they completely trusted the national judiciary to deliver justice while more than one-quarter (28%) said they distrusted it completely.
 - Respondents were similarly divided on the independence of the courts. Approximately two-fifths (39%) of respondents thought that the national courts were independent from the government to a degree, while more than two-fifths (42%) of respondents felt that that the courts were *not* independent to a degree. Nearly one-fifth of all respondents said they did not know (16%) how independent the courts were.

Support for Traditional Justice

- Burundians are confident in the justice delivered by the traditional elders known as the Bashingantahe and think it should play a part in the transitional justice process.
 - Although only 39% of respondents said they had taken a case to the Bashingantahe, nearly two-thirds (65%) of all respondents said they were confident in the justice delivered by the traditional elders.
 - Asked whether the Bashingantahe should play a role in supporting a TRC or Special Court in Burundi, 75% of all respondents said that it should.

Confidence in Security Forces

- The majority of Burundians are confident in their security forces. More than three-quarters (77%) of all respondents said they had confidence in the national army, and 59% said they had confidence in the police. In both cases, levels of confidence tended to drop as respondents' level of education increased.

Displacement and Disputes

- The conflict has taken a heavy toll on Burundians' stability. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of all respondents reported that they had been displaced from their homes, and a quarter (25%) said they were involved in a conflict regarding property.

Hopeful for Peace

- While they believe their country is not yet completely at peace, most Burundians remain hopeful that peace can be achieved. Only one-fifth (21%) of respondents said they thought Burundi was at peace, but nearly three-quarters (74%) thought that it could be at peace in the future.

Introduction

This report presents the findings from a survey on public knowledge and perceptions of transitional justice in Burundi. The survey was carried out in Burundi in October 2008 by the Research and Learning Group of the BBC World Service Trust and Search for Common Ground. The survey aimed to explore a number of issues around transitional justice, as well as to explore patterns of media consumption and key information sources for what is happening in Burundi. Specifically, five questions were explored:

- i) What are the justice priorities for Burundi as the country moves towards stability?
- ii) What are the levels of knowledge about, and attitudes towards transitional justice mechanisms in Burundi?
- iii) What are the levels of knowledge about formal and traditional judicial processes in Burundi?
- iv) What are the levels of knowledge and attitudes towards security sector reforms in Burundi?
- v) What role do the media play in informing people about transitional justice mechanisms and judicial processes?

The survey is part of a two-year project called *Communicating Justice*, which aims to raise levels of public awareness and debate around transitional justice issues in five post-conflict African countries: Liberia, Sierra Leone, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi. Opinion surveys in each of the five project countries aim to inform and support the project's work with local media to improve reporting on transitional justice via specialist training and resources.

As well as public opinion surveys in the five countries, *Communicating Justice* has been delivering intensive training to local journalists via two rounds of face to face training, an online learning course and an interactive website. The training aims to raise the quality and quantity of coverage of transitional justice issues in each country. For more details about the project, please visit the website at www.communicatingjustice.org.

Communicating Justice is being implemented by the BBC World Service Trust in association with the ICTJ. The project is supported by the European Union, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Humanity United.

What is Transitional Justice?

Broadly defined, transitional justice covers all the ways that a country can choose to deal with the legacy of mass human rights abuse. It is often evoked in a post-conflict situation, where states may be unable or unwilling to try large numbers of cases in national courts. National judiciaries may be weak, while necessary skills and resources may be in short supply. In such contexts, there is a need for other mechanisms to temporarily replace or to work alongside national courts in dealing with the past and helping the country to move forward. Such mechanisms can include internationally-backed special courts, truth commissions, reparations,

programmes for victims and institutional reforms (e.g. reform of the judiciary, army and police).

The ICTJ defines the basic approaches to transitional justice as follows²:

- **Criminal prosecutions** - Judicial investigations of those responsible for human rights violations. Prosecutors frequently emphasize investigations of the “big fish”: suspects considered most responsible for massive or systematic crimes.
- **Truth commissions** - Commissions of inquiry have the primary purposes of investigating and reporting on key periods of recent past abuse. They are often official state bodies that make recommendations to remedy such abuse and to prevent its recurrence.
- **Reparations programs** - State-sponsored initiatives that help repair the material and moral damages of past abuse. They typically distribute a mix of material and symbolic benefits to victims, benefits which may include financial compensation and official apologies.
- **Security system reform** - These efforts seek to transform the military, police, judiciary and related state institutions from instruments of repression and corruption into instruments of public service and integrity.
- **Memorialisation efforts** - These include museums and memorials that preserve public memory of the victims and raise moral consciousness about past abuse, in order to build a bulwark against its recurrence.

Background to Burundi’s Conflict

Burundi is emerging slowly from many years of political and ethnic violence, including a long civil war in which at least 300,000 people were killed. Hundreds of thousands more were displaced by the fighting. Although democratic elections in 2005 marked a big step forward, reports of serious human rights abuses have continued, and addressing a culture of impunity remains a major challenge for the country.

Burundi’s history since independence from Belgium in 1962 has been marked by recurring outbreaks of political violence and massacres, against a backdrop of authoritarian regimes, coups and military dictatorships. Violence has often been ethnically targeted and fuelled by economic inequalities, as well as by tensions in the wider Great Lakes region of Africa.

Like neighbouring Rwanda, Burundi’s ethnic makeup is about 85% Hutu, 14% Tutsi and 1% Twa. Unlike in Rwanda, however, Burundi’s post-colonial rulers up to 1993 came from the minority Tutsi group, which also controlled the army. In 1993, the country elected its first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, in democratic polls. Ndadaye was assassinated by a group of Tutsi soldiers a few months later, unleashing a new bout of reprisal killings and sowing the seeds of civil war which was to last more than a decade.

The Arusha peace agreement of August 2000, signed by Hutu and Tutsi political parties including the UPRONA³ party of then-president Pierre Buyoya, marked a

² ICTJ website (<http://ictj.org/en/tj/#1>). For more information see the Communicating Justice reporters’ handbook, which is available at <http://www.communicatingjustice.org/en/handbook>.

³ Union pour le Progrès National (Union of National Progress)

major turning point. Mediated by South Africa's Nelson Mandela, it provided a roadmap for transition to democracy, including provisions on good governance, army reform, justice and dealing with the past. A major weakness of the accord was that rebel Hutu groups CNDD-FDD⁴ and FNL⁵ were not part of the process and continued to fight. This meant that implementation of the Arusha agreement was subject to delays and difficulties from the outset. It also meant that provisions on truth telling and justice tended to take a back seat to the search for a ceasefire with the rebels.

Buyoya handed over power peacefully in April 2003 to Hutu transitional president Domitien Ndayizeye, in accordance with the Arusha agreement. In November the same year, Ndayizeye's transitional government signed a ceasefire agreement with the biggest Hutu rebel group CNDD-FDD. In December 2004, the government and the UN started to disarm and demobilize thousands of soldiers and former rebel fighters. One month later, in January 2005, Ndayizeye signed a law establishing a new army incorporating government forces and all the Hutu rebel groups except the FNL, which was still fighting.

In June 2005, the first democratic parliamentary elections under the Arusha process were held, and were hailed as free and fair. The CNDD-FDD former rebel group emerged the victors, and in August parliament elected CNDD-FDD leader Pierre Nkurunziza as president. According to the provisions of the Arusha accords, only in 2010 can the president be elected directly by the people, rather than by parliament.

In September 2006, Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD government signed a ceasefire agreement with the last active rebel group FNL. The relative peace was shattered in April 2008 when renewed fighting between the FNL and government forces around the capital Bujumbura left at least 100 people dead. Another ceasefire was signed by the two sides in May, and FNL leader Agathon Rwaswa subsequently returned from exile. However, negotiations over a wider political settlement were hampered notably by the FNL's initial refusal to drop "PALIPEHUTU" from its name in order to become a political party. Burundi's constitution does not allow parties with ethnic affiliations. In December, mediators convened a regional summit in Bujumbura to try to break the deadlock and on December 4, 2008, the government and FNL finally agreed to implement their 2006 peace agreement. The FNL agreed to start disarmament and demobilization of its forces "without delay" and to drop PALIPEHUTU from its name. In return, the government agreed to release FNL prisoners and to provide posts for the FNL within government.

In the meantime, democratic principles and the rule of law have yet to be firmly established within Burundi's governing institutions. In June, Burundi's Constitutional Court upheld a government request to have 22 dissident parliamentarians ousted, drawing strong criticism from human rights organisations. Donors and human rights organisations have also condemned arrests of government critics including political activist and former journalist Alexis Sinduhije, who was jailed in November after trying unsuccessfully to get his MSD opposition party registered. Sinduhije has been charged with "insulting the president" and is being held in preventive detention awaiting trial.

⁴ *Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie–Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie* (National Council for the Defense of Democracy–Forces for the Defense of Democracy). The CNDD-FDD is the largest faction of the former main Hutu rebel group, now in power as a political party under President Pierre Nkurunziza.

⁵ *Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu–Forces Nationales de Libération* (Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People–National Liberation Forces). Agreed in December 2008 to drop PALIPEHUTU from its name as part of a peace deal with the government under which it will become a political party.

Authorities have been slow to take action on reports of serious abuses by government security forces. However, on October 23, 2008, a military court convicted 15 soldiers for the 2006 murder in Muyinga province of 31 civilians. Human Rights Watch called the trial “an important blow against impunity in Burundi.”⁶

The long road to transitional justice

Plans for transitional justice mechanisms date back to the Arusha accords of 2000. The Arusha accords provided for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was supposed to be set up within six months by the transitional government. They also provided that the transitional government could ask for an international commission to investigate whether crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity had been committed. The government could ask the UN to set up an International Criminal Tribunal for Burundi.

It was not until July 2002 that then president Pierre Buyoya wrote to the UN requesting the establishment of a commission of inquiry. And only in 2004, after the government had signed a ceasefire agreement with the CNDD-FDD, did the UN announce it would send a high-level delegation to Burundi to examine the desirability and feasibility of such a commission. The result of this delegation’s visit was the so-called “Kalomoh report” of March 2005.

The Kalomoh report proposed a dual mechanism of a mixed truth commission (with a strong international component) and a UN-backed special chamber within the Burundian judicial system to prosecute those bearing the “greatest responsibility” for crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The UN Security Council endorsed this report in Resolution 1606 (2005) and called on the UN Secretary General to start negotiations with the Burundian government and “all parties concerned” on how to implement the Kalomoh proposals, and report back to the Security Council by September 30, 2005.

In the meantime, the CNDD-FDD won parliamentary elections and Nkurunziza was elected in August. The new government set up an ad hoc committee to negotiate with the UN and the first round of talks took place in March 2006. The parties failed to agree on several key points, but did agree that any judicial mechanism should be a Special Court, rather than a special chamber within the Burundian judicial system as proposed by Kalomoh. The talks have not yet concluded.

A tripartite commission consisting of representatives from the Government of Burundi, United Nations and civil society is organising “national consultations” to gather views from the population about possible transitional justice mechanisms, such as a Truth Commission and Special Court. The consultations are expected to take place in early 2009.

With the consultations close at hand, it is crucial to find out what Burundians understand about transitional justice and how they perceive their role in it. This survey seeks to provide insights on Burundians’ awareness of key transitional justice questions and highlight opportunities to improve public engagement around these issues.

⁶ Please see HRW press release at <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2008/10/24/burundi-muyinga-massacre-convictions-victory>; last checked on 02 December 08.

Research Methodology

Sample Overview

A multi-stage household-level sampling method following a combination of random and purposive selection was used to achieve a sample of 1,648 adults aged 18 years or older from across 10 of Burundi's 17 provinces. This multi-stage sampling method is explained in detail below.

Province Selection

Burundi's instability and the absence of recent and accurate census data meant that there was no reliable sampling frame for the survey. Due to this and the logistical and financial constraints of the research, 10 of Burundi's 17 provinces (see map) were selected. These provinces were chosen, in consultation with Search for Common Ground, on the basis of their geographic, and socio-economic and ethnic diversity.

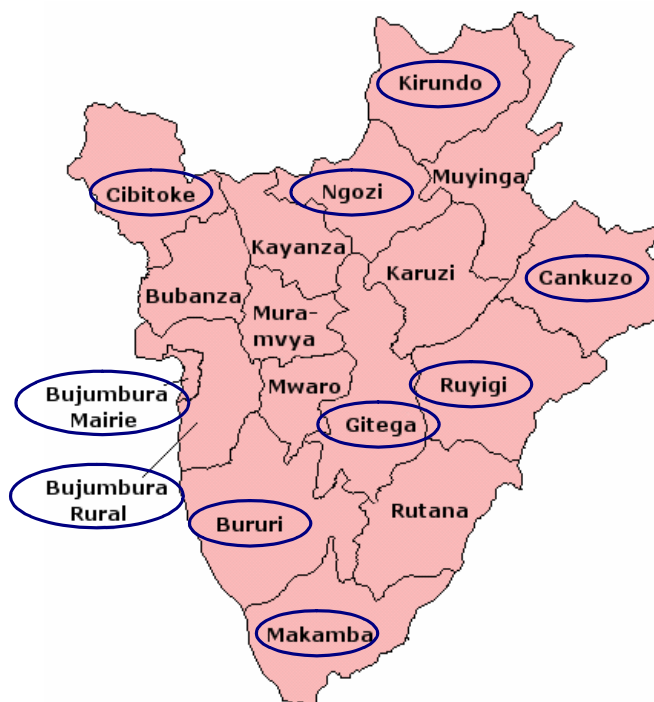


Figure 1: Provinces selected for survey

The overall sample was designed to reflect the urban/rural composition of Burundi. Provinces with urban centres such as Bujumbura-Mairie and Gitega were selected in addition to several rural provinces.

Sample Distribution

The sample was evenly divided between males and females and among the four following age groups: 18-25 year olds, 26-35 year olds, 36-45 year olds, and individuals aged 46 and over. This sampling approach ensures that the whole of the adult population is represented in terms of gender and age.

Province	Male				Female				Total
	18-25 years	26-35 years	36-45 years	46 years +	18-25 years	26-35 years	36-45 years	46 years +	
Ngozi	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	168
Kirundo	20	20	21	21	21	21	19	21	164
Bururi	20	21	20	21	21	21	21	21	166
Makamba	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	168
Buja-Mairie	20	25	19	16	21	18	19	21	159
Buja-Rural	21	20	20	21	20	20	20	20	162
Cibitoke	20	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	167
Cankuzo	20	21	20	21	20	21	20	21	164
Gitega	19	20	20	21	20	20	20	22	162
Ruyigi	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	168
Total	203	211	204	205	207	205	203	210	1648

Table 1: Distribution of sample by gender, age and province

Due to the sensitive nature of ethnicity in Burundi, an ethical decision was made not to ask respondents with which ethnic group they identified. Of the three communes

(or towns) selected in each province, five communes were identified prior to fieldwork as having a substantial Tutsi population and one a substantial Twa population. This reflects overall population estimates of 85% Hutu, 14% Tutsi, 1% Other/Twa/Pygmy.⁷

Sampling Stages

As described above, a multi-stage household-level sampling method was used to select respondents. The following stages of selection were observed:

- Within each of the ten provinces, three communes were selected to represent the social and economic diversity of the population within each province. An approximately equal number of respondents were interviewed within each of the 30 communes selected.
- Within each commune, respondents were selected from three *collines* (or *quartiers* in urban centres) including the capital *colline* of each commune. *Collines*, or hills, are administrative units in Burundi.
- Once in each *colline* or *quartier*, individual households were selected at random. In each *colline*, a random starting point was selected. From each start point, enumerators randomly selected a direction to work, and, thereafter, approached every 2nd residence. When all the households in one direction were exhausted, the enumerator changed direction and continued the work or returned to the starting point and chose a new direction.
- One respondent fitting the sample criteria was selected from each place of residence. If there was more than one person present who met the sample criteria, the enumerator interviewed the first individual they spoke to. If nobody fitting the sample criteria was resident in the house, the enumerator moved on to the next house in the sample plan.

Fieldwork Summary

Fieldwork was organised and implemented so as to ensure the highest quality data. Prior to the commencement of interviewer training, the questionnaire was pre-tested in French and Kirundi adjusted for content and language.

Search for Common Ground supervisors led the fieldwork preparation. During a 2-day training session the survey team was briefed on the topic of transitional justice and the goals of the survey. This was followed by a detailed explanation of the questionnaire and a practical training session where interviewers conducted surveys to identify any further issues that might arise while in the field and to identify strategies for dealing with them effectively.

The data from the surveys was checked and interviewers and supervisors discussed lessons learned. Team members were advised on technical issues including question routing, recording responses accurately, quotas and fieldwork logistics.

Interviewers worked individually and in teams according the sampling stages described above. All surveys were checked by a supervisor. Those that were not complete were discarded and if possible, another interview was conducted. Surveys

⁷ See <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/by.html#People>. Last checked 02 Dec 2008.

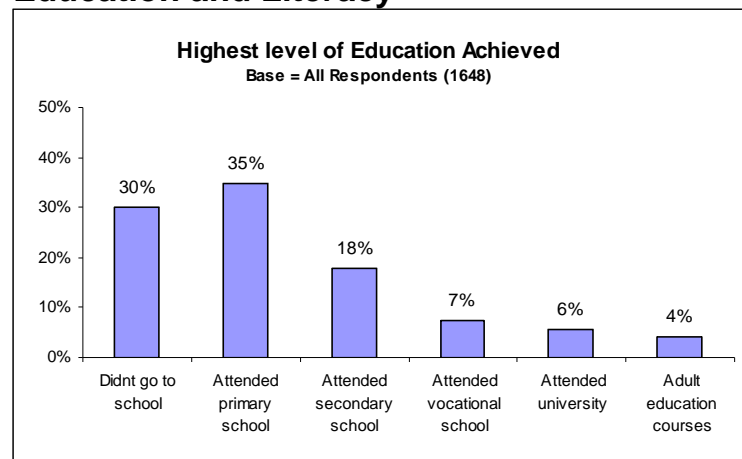
that were incomplete or incorrectly marked were discarded. Approximately 10% of the surveys were also spot-checked by the country-wide coordinator.

At the data entry stage, approximately 25% of entered questionnaire data was checked back against the original questionnaire.

Sample Description

As described above, the sample was evenly divided between males and females and among four age groups.

Education and Literacy



The majority of respondents in the sample (67%) said they could read or write, yet respondents generally had minimal or no formal education: 30% had not attended any school, and 35% had only primary education. Only 6% stated that they had completed all or some university education.

Figure 2: Highest level of education achieved

Literacy and levels of education were higher among men and younger respondents: 73% of men said they were literate compared with 61% of women; nearly half (48%) of respondents aged 46 and over said they could read or write compared with 79% of respondents aged 18 to 25. Nearly half (48%) of respondents aged 46 and over also had not received any schooling compared with only 19% of 18 to 25 year olds.

There was also some variation in education levels by province. Levels of education were higher in the province around the capital, Bujumbura-Mairie, and Bururi, and lowest in the north western province of Cibitoke. Bujumbura-Mairie has a relatively high concentration of schools compared with the rest of the country, whereas Cibitoke has among the lowest.

Land Ownership

Land ownership was high among respondents, with 78% stating that they owned land. Men and older respondents reported owning land more than women and younger respondents. 82% of men said they owned land compared with 75% of women. 89% of respondents aged 46 and older owned land, compared with 65% of those aged 18 to 25.

Land ownership was highest in Kirundo (90%) and Cankuzo (89%), and lowest in Gitega (71%) and Bujumbura-Mairie (60%), which are home to the two biggest urban centres.

Key Findings

Conflict and Displacement

Residual effects from the conflict, such as displacement and resulting property disputes, are common among respondents. This reflects the waves of population movements that have followed massacres and attacks on civilian populations, notably by army and rebel elements, at various times from the 1960s up to the present day.

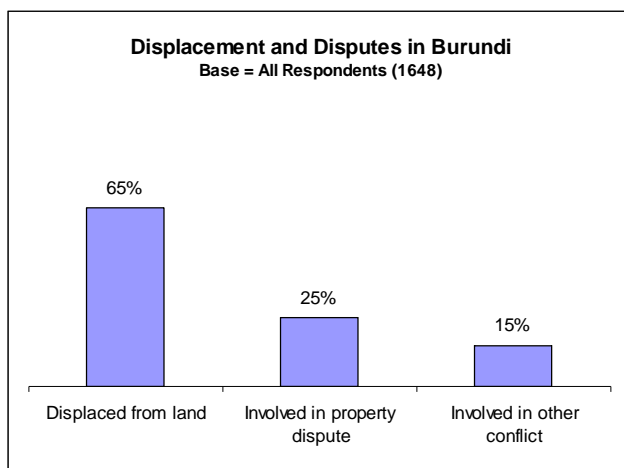


Figure 3: Levels of displacement and conflict

Land displacement is high throughout most of Burundi: nearly 2 in 3 respondents (65%) reported being displaced from their home at some point in time. Of these individuals, the majority (86%) said that this displacement occurred 11 to 20 years ago. While reported displacement may have occurred more than a decade ago, this does not necessarily mean that Burundi has been stable for the past ten years. There are still armed groups operating in rural areas and many of the displaced have only recently returned to their homes.

With the exception of Bururi, the majority of respondents in all states had been displaced from their home. Respondents from Makamba (88%) and Cibitoke (81%) reported the highest levels of displacement.

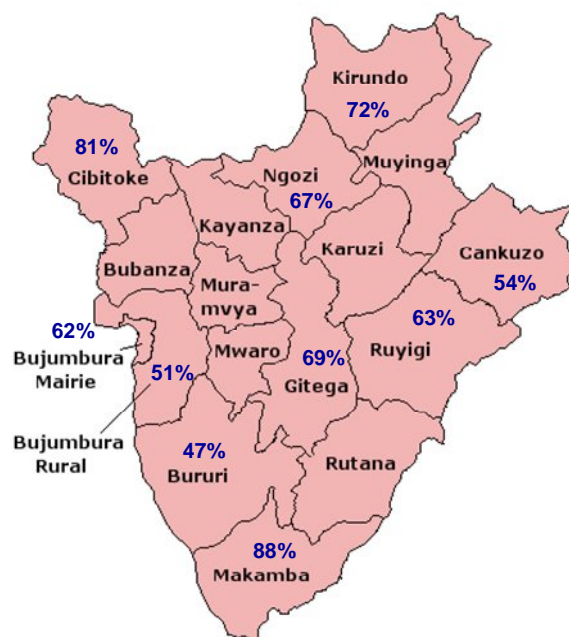


Figure 4: Displacement levels by province

Respondents from Bururi and Bujumbura-Rural reported the lowest levels of displacement, but still roughly half of the respondents from these provinces had been displaced.

Some provinces have particularly marked levels of displacement caused by rebel incursions from the mid-1990s, especially those bordering DRC and Tanzania. Refugees who fled to neighbouring Rwanda in 1993 and 1994, notably from neighbouring Kirundo province, returned following the 1994 genocide in that country to become IDPs.⁸

⁸ For more detail on regional patterns of displacement in Burundi, see [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/7C3A94A3E67FEA90C125728B002DDBA4/\\$file/Burundi%20-February%202007.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/7C3A94A3E67FEA90C125728B002DDBA4/$file/Burundi%20-February%202007.pdf)

With such a proportion of the population displaced, it is perhaps not surprising that property disputes are common in Burundi. One quarter (25%) of all respondents stated that they were involved in a dispute over a house or property.

Other Conflicts

In addition to property disputes, 15% of all respondents said that they were also involved in other types of conflict. As was the case with property disputes, men comprised a higher proportion of this group than did women. Respondents in Makamba reported a significantly higher proportion (32%) of 'other' conflicts than almost every other province.

Nearly half (48%) of respondents reporting other conflicts stated that they were involved in a family conflict. Women were more likely than men to report being involved in a family conflict, while men were more likely to report involvement in a conflict concerning robbery or theft.

Government and Justice Priorities

Perceptions of Government's Priorities

Respondents were asked what they thought their government should do to help Burundi achieve justice. Burundians said that their government should focus on improving socio-economic development and the rule of law.

The following were the most frequently given responses:

- Provide for people's livelihoods (30%)
- Apply the principle of equality (26%)
- Regulate the problems in the legal system (23%)
- Reconcile groups that have been in conflict (21%)
- Put rebels and others who committed atrocities or were involved in wrongdoing on trial (19%)
- Prevent future conflict (19%)
- Allow people to get their land back through the court system (15%)
- Talk about the past and establish the truth (11%)

Respondents in Cibitoke were the most likely to say the government should concentrate on preventing future conflict. Respondents in Kirundo and Cankuzo prioritized putting individuals that committed atrocities on trial, while those in Bururi put a priority on regulating the legal system and getting land back.

Bringing Human Rights Abusers to Justice

Most Burundians think that people who committed grave human rights violations during the conflict should be tried for their actions.

More than two-thirds (68%) of respondents thought that people who committed crimes during the conflict should be brought to court and tried, with almost all such respondents (96%) saying that the alleged offences brought to court should include grave violations of human rights (e.g. genocide, rape, murder).

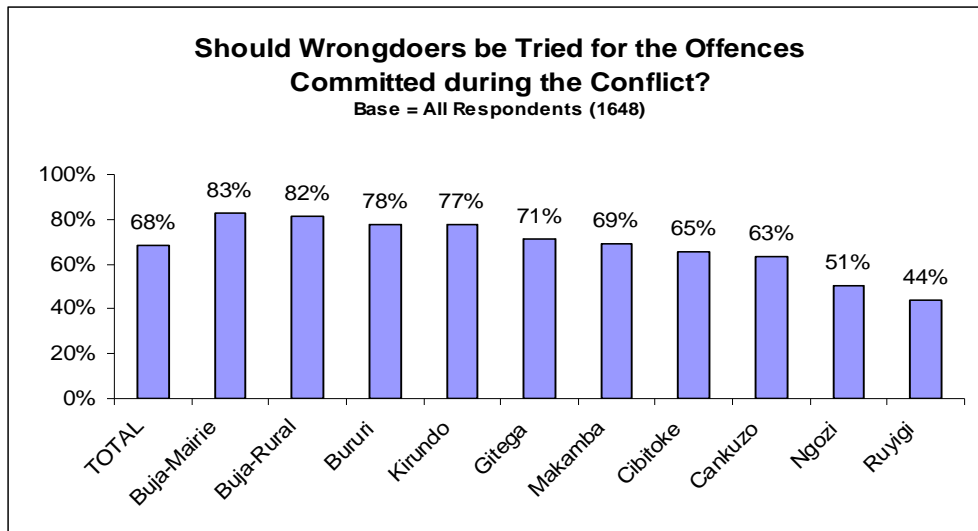


Figure 5: Should wrongdoers be tried for offences committed during the conflict?

There was considerable variation among provinces. Respondents from Bujumbura-Mairie and Bujumbura-Rural were the most likely to be in favour of prosecutions, while respondents in Ngozi and Ruyigi were the least likely.

Perceptions of Peace, Reconciliation and Justice

Perceptions of Peace

Respondents were asked about their views and definitions of peace, reconciliation and justice, concepts central to the transitional justice process.

Respondents defined peace as:

- The absence of war (59%)
- Living quietly without concern (46%)
- The end of violence (26%)
- Living in freedom (25%)
- Oneness (24%)
- Harmony (16%)
- Love (16%)

Burundians think that peace has not yet come to Burundi, though they are hopeful that lasting peace is possible. When asked whether they thought Burundi was at peace, only 21% of respondents said yes. The majority of respondents said that Burundi was either not at peace or somewhat/sometimes at peace (35% and 43% respectively). There was, however, a general consensus that peace was achievable: 74% of all respondents thought that Burundi could be at peace in the future.

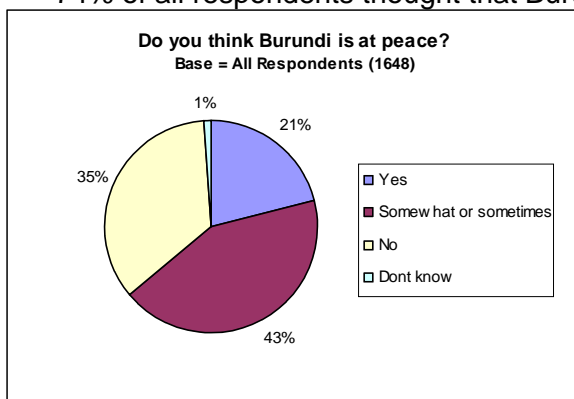


Figure 6: Whether Burundi is at peace

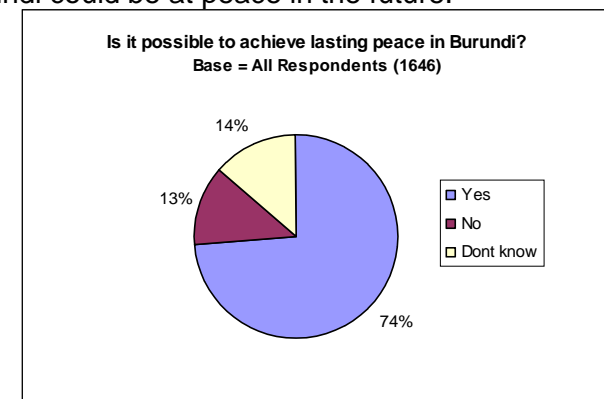


Figure 7: Whether lasting peace is achievable in Burundi

Perceptions of whether Burundi is at peace varied by province:

Is Burundi at Peace?										
	Gitega	Ngozi	Makamba	Ruyigi	Buja-Rural	Buja-Mairie	Cibitoke	Kirundo	Cankuzo	Bururi
Yes	46%	32%	30%	29%	17%	16%	14%	12%	8%	8%
Somewhat	32%	45%	37%	20%	32%	43%	44%	49%	71%	55%
No	22%	21%	33%	50%	51%	38%	39%	37%	20%	36%
Dont know	1%	2%	0%	1%	1%	2%	4%	0%	2%	0%

Table 2: Whether Burundi is at peace, by province

Respondents in the central province of Gitega were most likely to think Burundi is at peace (46%) compared with a low of only 8% of respondents in both Bururi and Cankuzo. The feeling that Burundi was not at peace was strongest in Bujumbura-Rural (51%) and Ruyigi (50%).

Bururi was formerly the fief of Tutsi rulers and the army. However, both the Tutsi ethnic group and the province of Bururi have lost influence during the transition, especially since 2005, when democratic elections brought the former Hutu rebel group CNDD-FDD to power.

Ruyigi and Cankuzo, which border Tanzania in the east, were severely affected by the inter-ethnic massacres that followed Ndadaye's assassination in 1993. They are currently experiencing the return of many Hutus who fled across the border at that time and who may be perceived to be linked to the FNL rebels.

Perceptions in Bujumbura-Rural are likely influenced by the fact that this province has been among the most affected (along with Cibitoke and Bubanza) by FNL rebel activity and recent fighting.

There were also provincial differences with regard to whether respondents thought lasting peace was possible.

Is it Possible to achieve lasting peace in Burundi?										
	Bururi	Buja-Rural	Buja-Mairie	Cibitoke	Ngozi	Kirundo	Makamba	Gitega	Ruyigi	Cankuzo
Yes	85%	83%	80%	79%	78%	78%	71%	68%	59%	55%
No	13%	2%	12%	19%	11%	19%	11%	15%	16%	10%
Dont know	2%	15%	8%	2%	11%	3%	18%	17%	25%	35%

Table 3: Whether lasting peace is achievable in Burundi, by province

Respondents in Ruyigi and Cankuzo were the least likely to think that lasting peace was achievable, with only 59% and 55%, respectively, saying it was, compared with a survey average of 73%.

Perceptions of Reconciliation

Asked to define reconciliation, there were a significantly higher number of respondents who mentioned unity, forgiveness and forgetting about the past than those who equated it with justice or compensation for victims. Reconciliation was most frequently defined as follows:

- Togetherness, unity, harmony (69%)
- Forgiveness (43%)
- Forgetting about the past (21%)
- Justice (11%)
- Compensation for victims (5%)

Burundians' perceptions of reconciliation may thus coincide with the objectives of a proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

Perceptions of Justice

There was less consensus in how Burundians perceived justice. No one definition was mentioned by a majority of respondents, though responses tended to focus on the provision of basic human rights and equal application of the law.

Justice was most frequently defined as follows:

- Fair Treatment (36%)
- Apply the laws (26%)
- Giving someone their rights (26%)
- Doing things the right way (19%)
- Peace (17%)
- Trust (14%)
- Trials (13%)
- Apologies (11%)
- Compensation for victims and families (6%)

In Ngozi, 'trials' was the most frequently given definition of justice (34%), while respondents in Cibitoke were the most likely to say justice meant providing compensation for victims and families (20%). Provincial differences in how Burundians think about justice could potentially impact future plans for transitional justice.

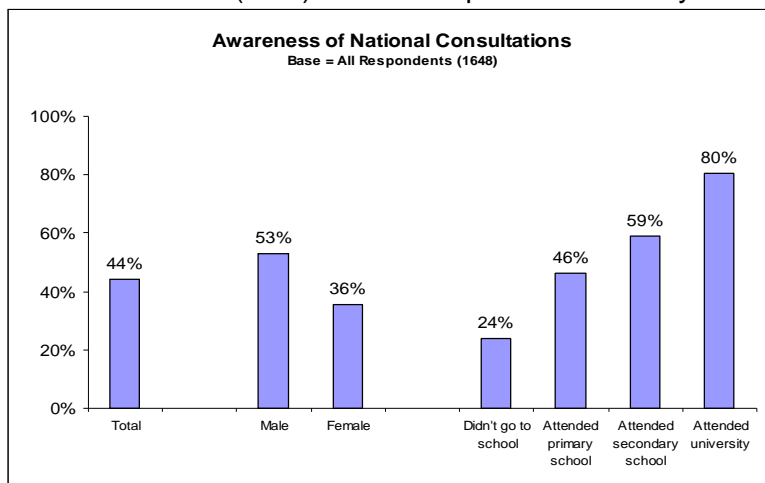
Transitional Justice Mechanisms – Awareness and Attitudes

Having gathered insights into Burundians' perceptions of peace, justice and reconciliation, interviewers then asked about the various transitional justice mechanisms that might help Burundi achieve those goals. As previously noted, proposals for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Special Court date back to the 2000 Arusha peace accords, but there is not yet any political consensus on when and how they should be set up.

As part of ongoing negotiations with the UN, the government agreed that national consultations should be held to gather the views of the population on possible transitional justice mechanisms. These consultations are being financed by the UN and are due to take place in early 2009. They are being piloted by a tripartite committee representing the government, UN and civil society.

National Consultations

Less than half (44%) of all respondents surveyed had heard of the national consultations.

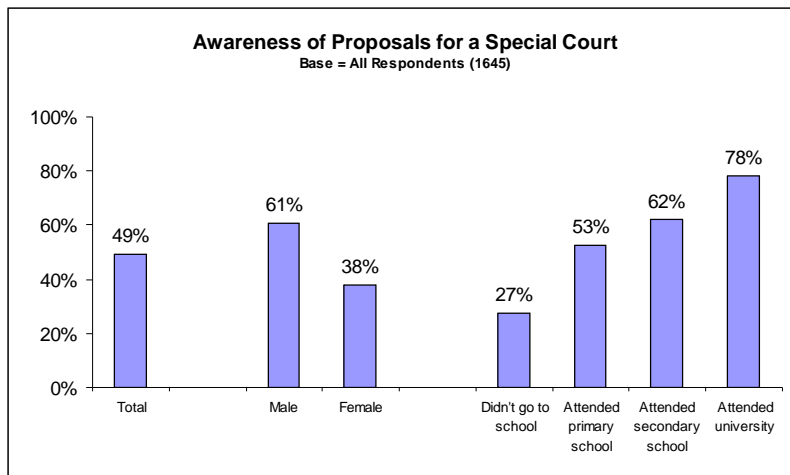


Men and more educated respondents reported higher levels of awareness. There was also variation by province. Awareness was highest in Ngozi and Makamba, both at 57%, and lowest in Cibitoke, where only 25% of respondents had heard of the consultations.

Figure 8: Awareness of national consultations

Special Court

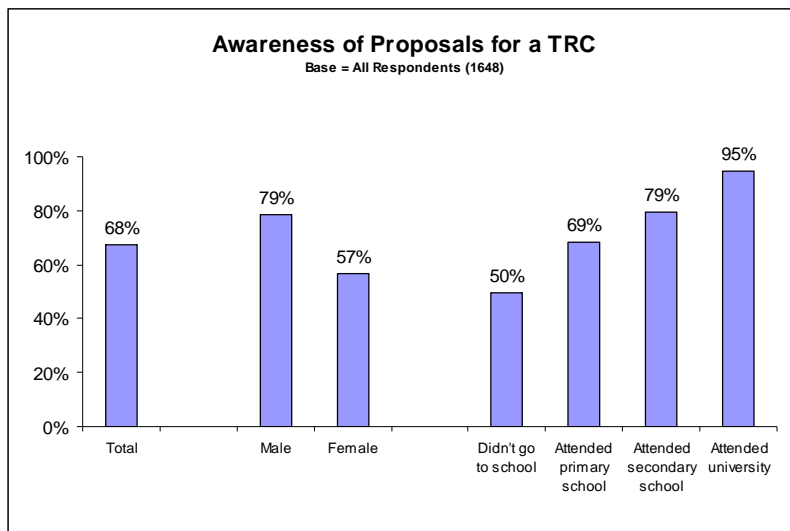
Nearly half (49%) of all respondents said that they had heard of proposals for a



Special Court. As before, men and the more educated reported higher levels of awareness. The lowest reported awareness was in Cibitoke, where only 35% of respondents had heard about proposals for a Special Court.

Figure 9: Awareness of proposals for a Special Court

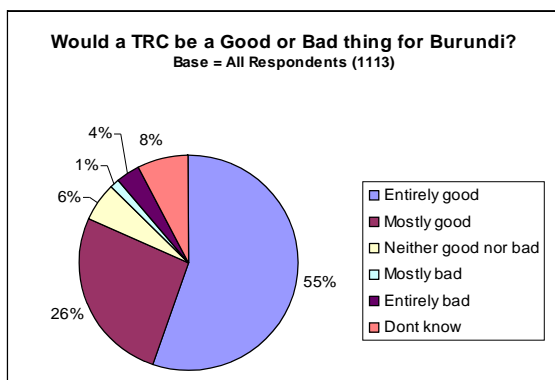
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)



Most Burundians are aware of and support the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Burundi. Levels of awareness about a possible TRC were higher than for other possible transitional justice initiatives. More than two-thirds (68%) of respondents reported hearing of proposals to establish a TRC.

Figure 10: Awareness of proposals for a TRC

Trends of awareness of the TRC followed those of the national consultations and Special Court. Men and those who were more educated reported higher levels of awareness than women and those who were less educated. Finally, Cibitoke had the lowest reported awareness among all provinces, with only 46% of respondents saying that they had heard of proposals for a TRC.



Attitudes to a Proposed TRC

Of those respondents who had heard of proposals for a TRC, 8 out of 10 thought a TRC would be an entirely or mostly good thing for Burundi. Only 5% had a mostly or entirely negative attitude to a future TRC, while a further 8% did not know.

Figure 11: Attitudes to a proposed TRC

In every province the majority of respondents aware of the proposals felt that a TRC would be a positive step for Burundi. Respondents in Cibitoke were the least enthusiastic although still positive overall, with only 9% of respondents saying that a TRC would be entirely good, and 59% saying it would be mostly good.

Most respondents who felt positively about a TRC thought that it could help promote reconciliation in Burundi and would be a step toward understanding the past and preventing future conflict.

The most frequently given answers as to why a TRC would be good were:

- To promote reconciliation (59%)
- Help understand the causes of the conflict in Burundi (27%)
- Help prevent future conflicts (23%)
- Sustainable development (18%)
- Justice for victims (17%)
- Punishment for those who did wrong (16%)

Less than 1 in 5 respondents thought that a TRC would be good because it would punish wrongdoers. In Kirundo, however, punishment for those who did wrong was the most frequently mentioned answer, mentioned by around 2 out of 5 respondents (43%).

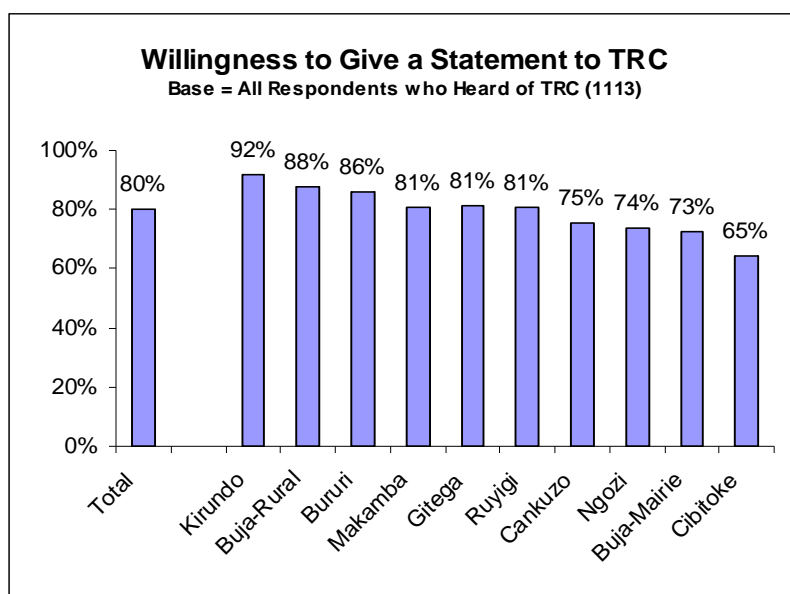
Of the 5% of respondents who thought a TRC would be a bad thing for Burundi, the majority were afraid that it might create new conflict. The most frequently given answers as to why a TRC would be bad were:

- The risk of creating new conflict (57%)
- Might not bring the real guilty parties to justice (44%)
- Risk of not bringing justice for the people (37%)
- Could be an obstacle to peace (17%)

Willingness to Speak Out

People in Burundi are ready to talk about the conflict. A majority of respondents said they were willing to give a statement to a TRC and testify in public.

Eight out of 10 people who had heard about proposals for a TRC said they would be



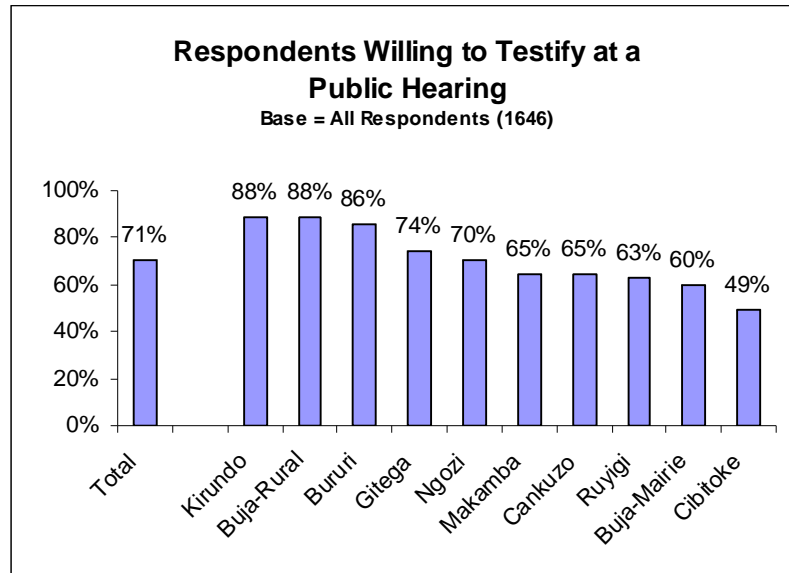
willing to give a statement to a proposed TRC. Slightly more men who had heard of the TRC were willing (83%) than women (76%). Burundians' willingness also varied slightly by province. Respondents in Kirundo, Bujumbura-Rural and Bururi were among the most willing to give a statement, while those in Bujumbura-Mairie and Cibitoke were the least willing.

Figure 12: Willingness to give a statement to a TRC

Those respondents who were unwilling to give a statement to a TRC were mostly afraid of the revenge or reprisals of those they testified against.

Willingness to Testify at a Public Hearing

71% of all respondents said they would be willing to testify at a public hearing (as opposed to having their identity protected in a closed hearing). Men were slightly



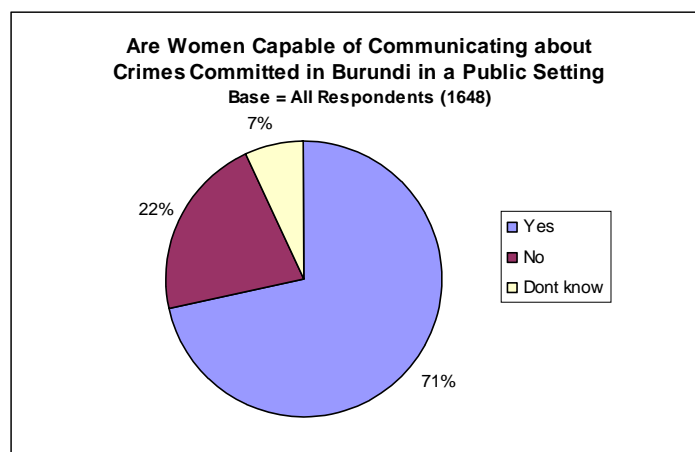
more likely than women to be willing to do so. Respondents in Kirundo, Bujumbura-Rural and Bururi were again the most willing to speak out. Those in Cibitoke were the least.

Half of the people *unwilling* to testify were afraid of reprisals from the person they testified against. This fear was greatest in Cibitoke.

Figure 13: Willingness to testify at a public hearing

Women Speaking Out

The majority of Burundians think that women are capable of speaking out about the crimes committed during the conflict. Women were more likely than men to think that they are capable of doing so (74% of women v. 68% of men). Belief in women’s capability was particularly high in Bujumbura-Rural, where nearly all (94%) of respondents thought that women could speak out. It was lowest in Ngozi, where only



52% of respondents said that women were capable of speaking out.

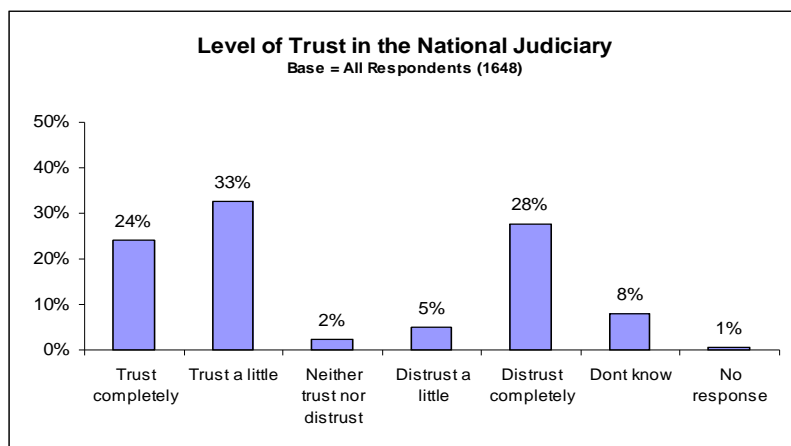
The majority (67%) of respondents who thought women weren’t capable said that women would be too afraid of the consequences. Half (48%) of these respondents also said that Burundian women generally don’t express themselves in public settings.

Figure 14: Capability of women to communicate about crimes

Formal and Traditional Judicial Processes

Transitional justice mechanisms generally aim to complement and help strengthen established national judicial processes. Respondents were therefore asked about their attitudes toward and confidence in the justice delivered by the national courts of Burundi and by the traditional elders, known as the Bashingantahe.

Trust in and Perceived Independence of the Judiciary

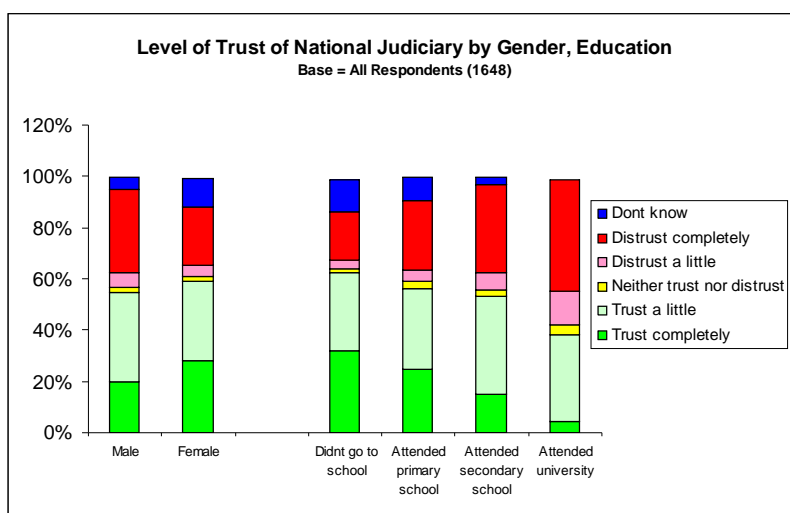


The majority of respondents (57%) reported having either complete or a little trust in the national judiciary. However, more than one quarter (28%) of Burundians completely distrust their national judiciary.

Figure 15: Trust in the judiciary

Burundians' education levels also affect how much they trust their judicial institutions. Levels of trust in the judiciary decreased as respondents' level of education rose.

Nearly one-third (32%) of respondents without a formal education said that they trusted the judiciary completely. This percentage dropped to 4% among respondents who had been to university.



There was a diversity of opinion regarding the courts' independence from the government. Only 1 in 5 respondents thought that the courts were completely independent. Nearly one quarter (24%) said that they believed the judiciary was not at all independent from the national government.

Figure 16: Trust in the judiciary by gender and education

Similar trends were evident with regard to respondents' levels of

education and beliefs in the independence of the judiciary. One quarter (26%) of respondents who did not go to school said that the judiciary was completely independent, while only 4% of respondents with a university education thought so. There was also some variation by province.

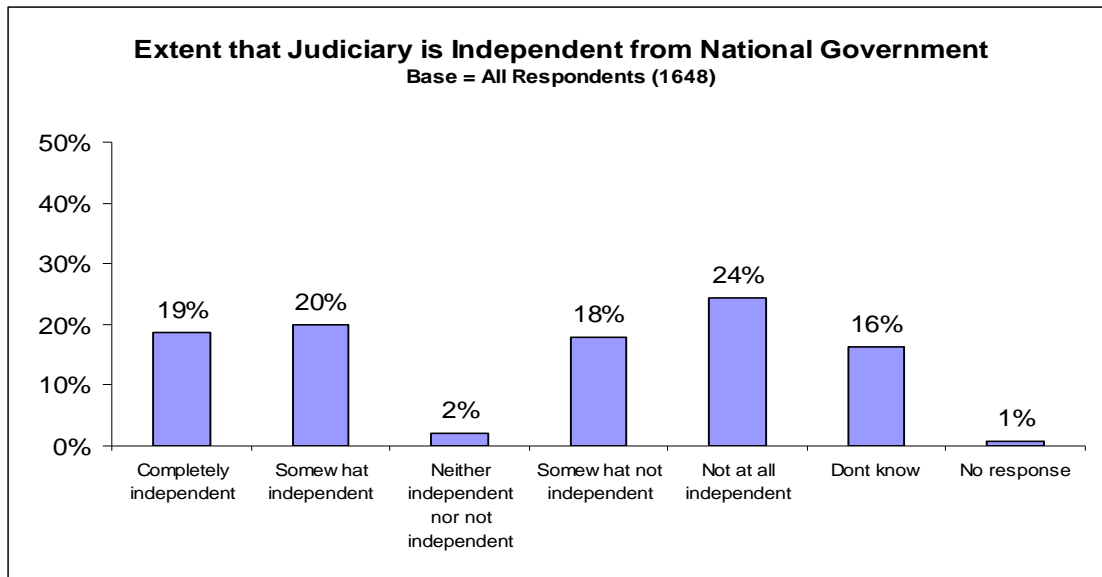


Figure 17: Independence of the judiciary

Respondents in Gitega had the most faith in the independence of the judiciary, with 51% saying that the judiciary was somewhat or completely independent. Respondents in Makamba and Bujumbura-Mairie had the least, with only 24% and 21% of respondents respectively saying that courts were independent.

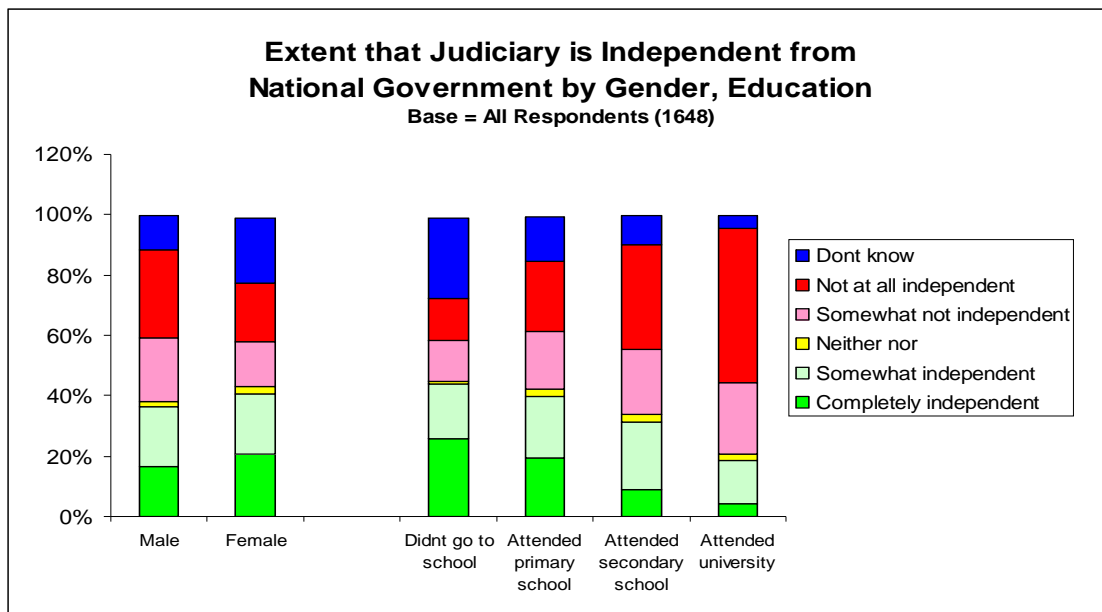


Figure 18: Independence of the judiciary by gender and education

Experience with Formal Judicial Process

Respondents were also asked about the extent of their prior experience in the formal judicial apparatus. Only 30% of all respondents said that they had ever been a party in a court case, and only 14% of those individuals had been represented by counsel.

Traditional Justice – the Bashingantahe

The Burundians surveyed thought that traditional elders or Bashingantahe should play a role in supporting any future TRC or Special Court. The Bashingantahe institution is believed to have begun under the reign of King Ntare Rushatsi, the

founder of the monarchy, towards the end of the seventeenth century.⁹ The Bashingantahe were traditionally guardians of Burundian society’s cultural and moral values as well as arbiters and judges of disputes and witnesses to contracts. In addition, they were called to give advice and informal counselling to the country’s kings and rulers. Both Hutus and Tutsis could become Bashingantahe, although not the Twa and not women until recently. Traditionally, individuals considered to have the requisite qualities, such as a sense of truth, justice and social responsibility, could become Bashingantahe through a public investiture after a period of mentoring by other Bashingantahe. The institution was relatively democratic in that objections from the public could stop the investiture of a new elder.

In recent years, the institution of Bashingantahe has been progressively weakened, starting under Belgian colonial rule. Burundian human rights activist Louis-Marie Nindorera wrote: “Having no respect for the institution, the colonial administration reduced the Bashingantahe to executors of their orders; they thus lost their popular image of grandeur, neutrality and independence”.¹⁰ Post-colonial rulers did not do much to change this state of affairs. “Regrettably, under the one-party state the government tended to confer the complex functions of Mushingantahe [singular form of Bashingantahe] on individuals already holding positions within the state’s territorial administration structures,” continued Nindorera.

Nevertheless, the results of this survey suggest that the institution of the Bashingantahe still enjoys a considerable degree of public support, and that it could play an important role in post-conflict justice and reconciliation in Burundi.

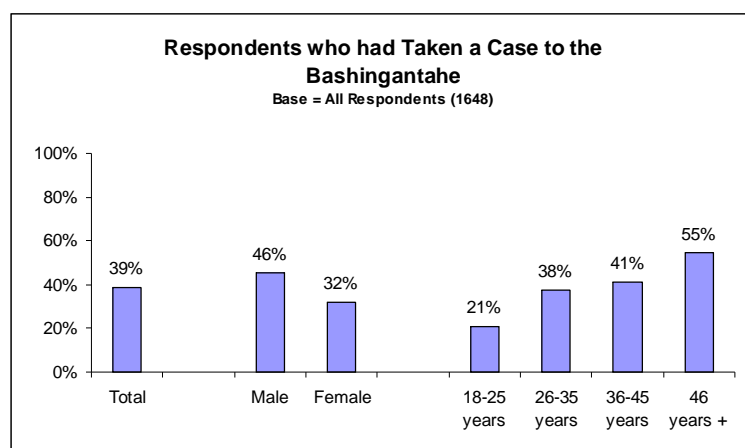


Figure 19: Taken a case to the Bashingantahe

Nearly 39% of all respondents had taken a case to the Bashingantahe. Men and older respondents were more likely to have done so than women or younger respondents.

There was also some variation by province. Respondents in Ngozi reported higher usage of the Bashingantahe, with more than half (58%) of respondents saying that they had taken a case to

the elders. Usage of the Bashingantahe was lowest in Cibitoke (27%) and Bujumbura-Mairie (25%).

Confidence in Traditional Justice

Burundians expressed confidence in the justice delivered by the Bashingantahe and felt that it should be involved in the transitional justice process.

⁹ Tracy Dexter JD, Philippe Ntahombaye, *The Role of Informal Justice Systems in Fostering the Rule of Law...* See <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0C54E3B3-1E9C-BE1E-2C24-A6A8C7060233&lng=en&id=26971>

¹⁰ See <http://www.un-ngls.org/documents/publications.en/voices.africa/number8/8nindo.htm>.

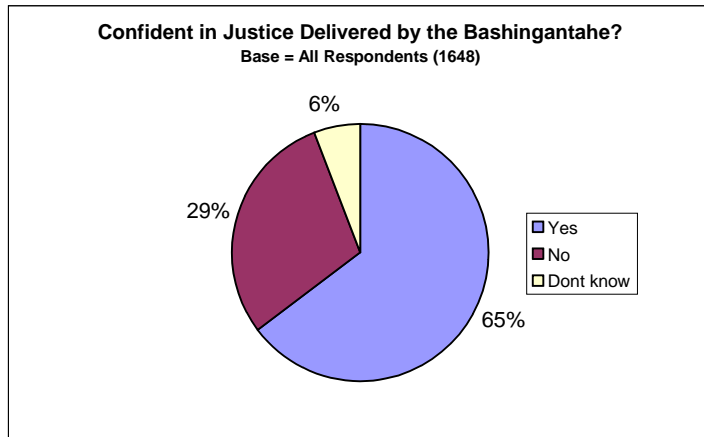


Figure 20: Confidence in the Bashingantahe

Nearly two-thirds (65%) of respondents were confident in the justice delivered by the Bashingantahe and three-quarters (75%) said that they thought the Bashingantahe should play a role in supporting a TRC or Special Court. Respondents who thought the Bashingantahe should not support any future transitional justice mechanisms were likely to think that the councils could too easily be influenced.

Security Sector Reforms

The 2000 Arusha peace accords laid the basis for security sector reforms, providing for equal representation of the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in the army and police. This was to take place within a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) process that would bring in former rebels but reduce the overall size of the security forces. The accords also provided for the creation of a more professional army and a new national police force.

In December 2004, the government and the UN started to disarm and demobilize thousands of soldiers and former rebel fighters. A law passed the same month created a new national police force incorporating former gendarmes and specialized police as well as numerous members of former rebel forces.

An ICTJ report¹¹ notes that reforms have occurred on a piecemeal basis, with no overall policy or reliable monitoring system. Also, says the report, there has been little donor coordination in support for capacity building projects. The reform process has been on hold since April when the FNL broke a ceasefire. However, it is hoped that with the December 2008 conclusion of an agreement with the FNL and the passing of a law to establish a National Security Council (*Conseil National de la Sécurité*), security sector reform will be able to make significant progress.

National Army

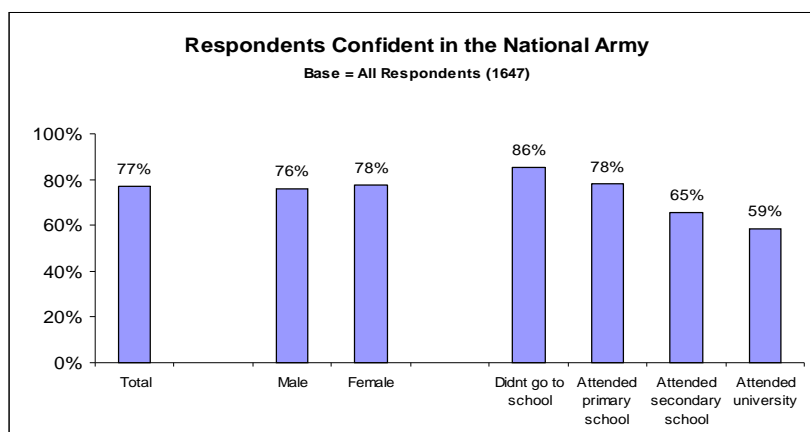


Figure 21: Confident in the national army

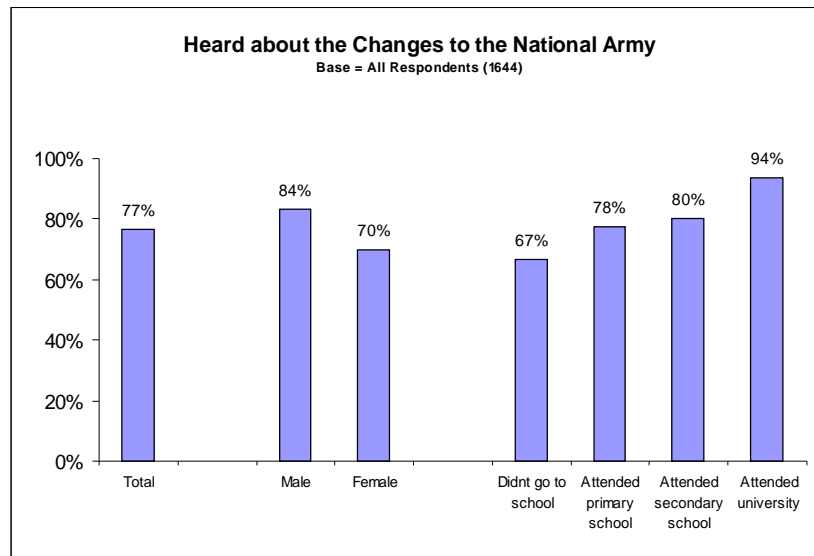
Most Burundians are aware of the reforms to their national army and have confidence in it.

The majority of respondents (77%) have heard about the reforms to the national army. Awareness was higher among men than women, and

¹¹ See the recent ICTJ report for the EU-funded Initiative for Peacebuilding at www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu.

tended to increase with respondents' level of education.

More than three-quarters (77%) of Burundians said they had confidence in their national army.



Mirroring trends in trust of the legal institutions, confidence in the army dropped as respondents' levels of education increased. Confidence was particularly high among respondents in Gitega, where 88% said they were confident in the national army.

Figure 22: Heard of changes to the national army

Respondents who lacked confidence in the national army believed further reform was needed and had concerns regarding ethnicity.

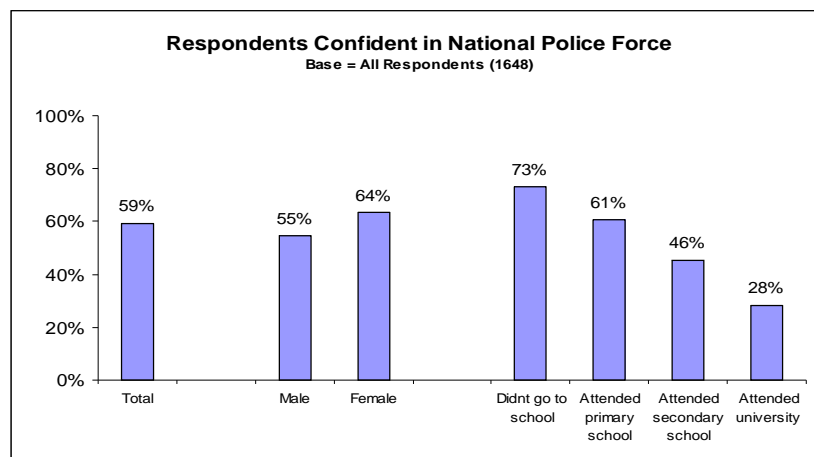
Reasons for lack of confidence included:

- Lack of professionalism (45%)
- Ethnic bias in behaviour (34%)
- Corruption (30%)
- Ethnic imbalance in its composition (26%)

Respondents in Ruyigi and Cibitoke were more likely than other respondents to mention ethnic bias in behaviour as their reason for lacking confidence in the army. Those in Makamba were the most worried about ethnic imbalance in the composition of the national army.

National Police Force

A majority of Burundians (59%) are also confident in the national police force, although the police have a lower level of public confidence than the army.



Confidence levels tended to drop among men and those respondents with higher levels of education. Confidence in the police was highest in Gitega, where 80% of respondents were confident in the national police force. Levels of

Figure 23: Confident in national police force

confidence fell below 50% in three provinces: Bururi (49%), Kirundo (43%) and Bujumbura-Mairie (42%).

Respondents' lack of confidence in the police seemed to be based on a belief that police were corrupt and unprofessional. The following reasons were the most frequently given:

- Lack of professionalism (54%)
- Corruption (54%)
- Ethnic bias in behaviour (33%)
- Ethnic imbalance in its composition (11%)

Information and Expression

Background on the media in Burundi

Radio is by far the widest reaching medium of information in Burundi, where the written press remains relatively weak. International media NGOs moved into Burundi as early as the mid-1990s, at least partly as a response to the destructive role that the media had played in fuelling the 1994 genocide in neighbouring Rwanda. Search for Common Ground and Radio Bonesha (originally Radio Umwizero), which was supported by the European Union, were among the first.

However, the growth of private radio only really took off during the transition and after the pioneering startup of *Radio Publique Africaine* (RPA) in early 2001. RPA was founded by Burundian journalist Alexis Sinduhije, who was jailed in November 2008 after trying to start a political party. There is now a relatively large number of private radio stations operating in Burundi. Television remains mainly the domain of the state broadcaster RTNB, although there is one private station, *Télévision Renaissance*.

Independent media, especially radio, is now relatively well established in Burundi. However, this has not stopped recurring attacks on the media by authorities, including the current government. One journalist was in jail at the time this report went to press. Jean-Claude Kavumbagu, director of the online agency Net Press, was arrested on September 11, 2008, and charged with defamation after an article that criticized the money spent on a presidential trip to Beijing for the Olympics.

Sources of Information

Most respondents (88%) listen to the radio to find out about what is happening in Burundi. Nearly half (49%) of the respondents said that they also receive information by word of mouth. Only 1 in 5 respondents reported receiving information from watching television.

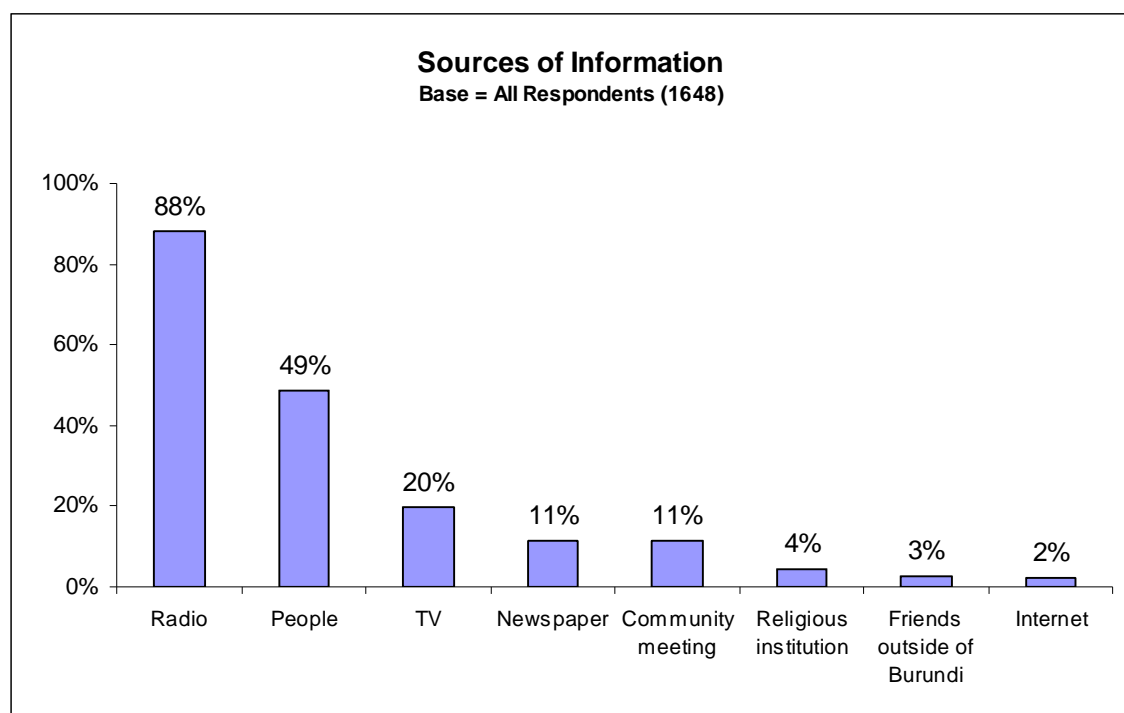


Figure 24: Sources of information

Trust in Information Sources

Burundians trust the mass media to provide them with information. Almost all respondents (96%) who listen to the radio to find out what is happening in Burundi said that they completely or somewhat trusted what they heard on the radio. Nearly

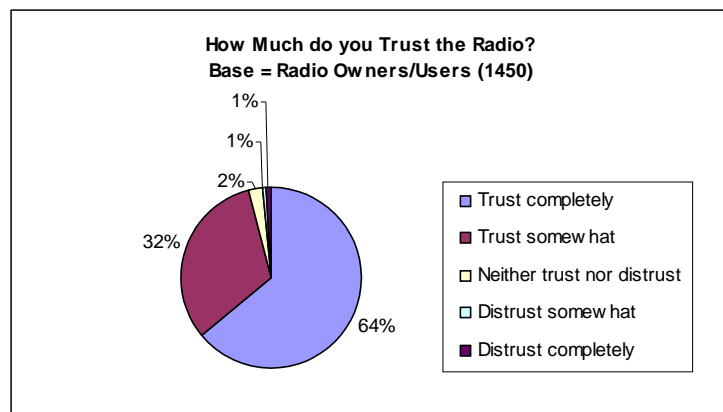


Figure 25: Trust in radio

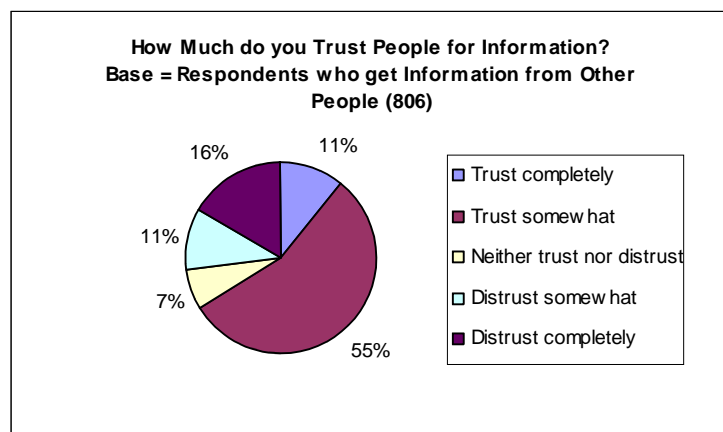


Figure 26: Trust in word-of-mouth information

two-thirds (64%) of those respondents said that they *completely* trusted the radio. Levels of trust were similarly high among those Burundians who watch television.

Levels of trust fell slightly when information was received by word of mouth. While a majority of

Burundians still trust what they hear from other people, just over 1 in 10 respondents said that they trusted that information completely.

Perceptions of Media Independence

Despite their trust in the radio and mass media to provide them with information, most Burundians are sceptical of whether the media is independent. Respondents were asked for their impressions of how free journalists were to report what they

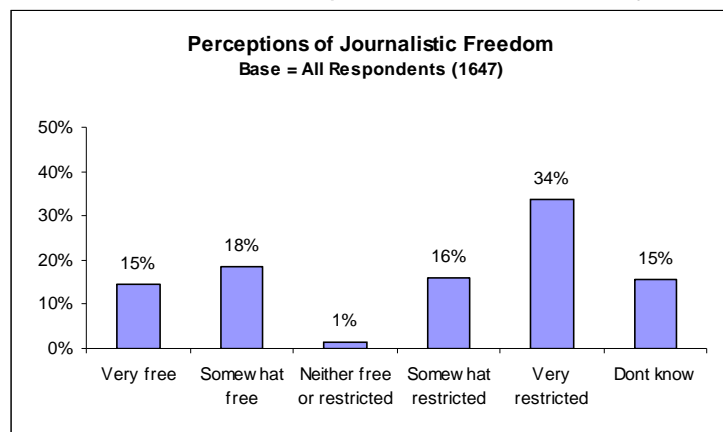


Figure 27: Perceptions of journalistic freedom

wanted without getting into trouble. More than one third (34%) of respondents felt that journalists were very restricted in what they were able to report. Another third said they thought journalists were either very free (15%) or somewhat free (18%). Nearly 15% of respondents said they did not know how independent journalists were, with 22% of women saying this.

Media's Reporting on Transitional Justice

Burundians feel under-served by the media on transitional justice issues and want to know more.

Only one-third (33%) of Burundians are satisfied with the information they get from the media on transitional justice. Nearly half (44%) of respondents said that they were not satisfied with the media's reporting on transitional justice, with 17% saying they didn't know. Levels of satisfaction were particularly low in Makamba and Cibitoke, where only 14% and 13% of the population were satisfied with the media's reporting on transitional justice.

When those who were not satisfied were asked why, the majority of respondents (61%) said that there was not enough information in the media on transitional justice issues. Nearly a quarter of unsatisfied respondents also said that they didn't understand the subject matter of transitional justice reports.

In Kirundo, nearly half (44%) of unsatisfied respondents said they were not satisfied with the media's reporting on transitional justice because they didn't understand the information/subject matter.

Individual Freedom of Expression

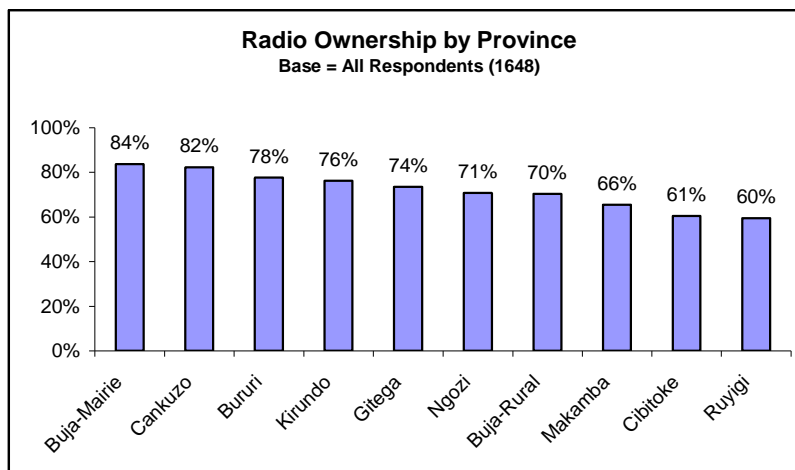
Burundians are generally comfortable expressing their opinions in public, though not necessarily to the authorities.

Most respondents (90%) said they felt comfortable expressing themselves to their family members. A similarly high number of respondents (83%) said they felt comfortable doing so to their friends. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of respondents felt free to speak publicly about their opinions to neighbours, colleagues, and even journalists. Only half, however, said they would feel free to voice their opinions if speaking to the authorities.

Media Access

Radio Ownership and Access

Most (89%) of the respondents either owned or had access to a radio. Radio



ownership and access was higher among men than women.

Nearly three quarters (72%) of all respondents stated that they owned a working radio. Those that didn't were asked if they had access to a radio; and 60% of this group said they did.

Figure 28: Radio ownership by province

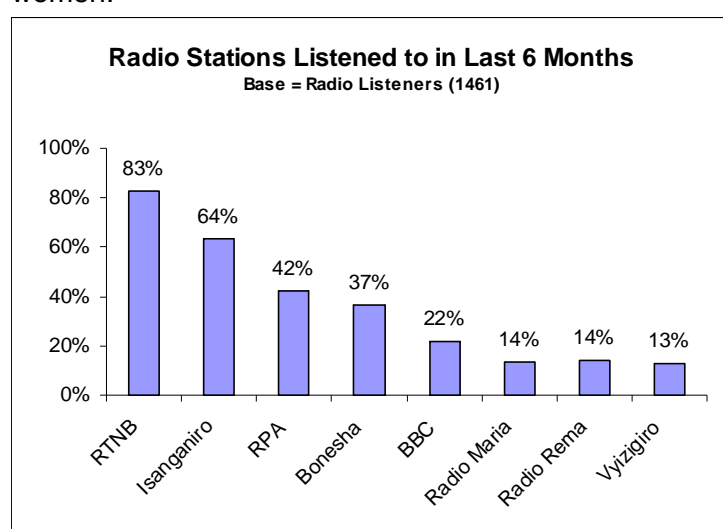
Levels of radio ownership differed according to respondents' level of education. All respondents who had been to or completed university stated that they owned a radio, while only half (50%) of respondents who had not been to school said that they owned one.

Radio ownership was highest in Bujumbura-Mairie and lowest in Cibitoke and Ruyigi, where less than two-thirds of the population reported owning a radio.

Radio Listening Habits

Respondents who owned or had access to a working radio were asked a series of questions about their listening habits.

Nearly three-quarters (71%) of respondents said that they listened to the radio everyday or almost everyday. A further 20% of respondents said that they listened two to six times per week. Men tended to listen to the radio more frequently than women.



Respondents then reported which radio stations they had listened to in the past six months. Eight out of 10 Burundians said that they had listened to RTNB, the national broadcaster. Next most popular were Radio Isanganiro, Radio Publique Africaine (RPA) and Bonesha, all of which are private stations initially founded and supported with funds from international donors or NGOs.

Figure 29: Radio Stations listened to in last 6 months

TV Ownership and Access

Access to television was significantly lower. Only 15% of all respondents said that they owned a TV. Those that didn't were asked if they had access to a TV, and 26% of this group said they did.

TV ownership also tended to increase along with respondents' education levels. Ownership was highest in Bujumbura-Mairie (49%) and Gitega (25%) provinces, which include the biggest urban centres. It was lowest in Bujumbura-Rural (6%), Kirundo (6%) and Cankuzo (2%).

TV Viewing Habits

The more than one-third of Burundians who had access to television were also asked about their viewing habits. Most Burundians who watch television do so at their home (39%), a neighbour's house (32%) or a friend's house (15%). Men were more likely than women to watch television in a community centre, bar or café.

Nine out of 10 television viewers said that they had watched RTNB in the past six months. After that, the channel Renaissance was the most frequently mentioned, with approximately 1 in 5 TV viewers (19%) watching it.

Mobile Phone Access and Usage

Nearly half (43%) of the respondents surveyed said they owned or had access to a mobile phone. 24% of respondents said that they owned a mobile phone, while a further 26% said they only had access to one.

Mobile phone ownership was higher among men than women. Phone ownership was highest in Bujumbura-Mairie (47%) and Bururi (37%). It was lowest in Ruyigi (15%), Kirundo (13%) and Cibitoke (13%). The majority of these mobile phone users (54%) said that they used a mobile everyday or almost everyday.

Conclusion

Despite generally low levels of education in Burundi, the results of this survey suggest that ordinary Burundians are not only interested in transitional justice but want to know more. Burundian media is already playing an important role in informing and involving the public in transitional justice debates. Yet with only one in three respondents saying they were satisfied with the information they get from the media on transitional justice, there is clearly room for improvement.

As the country prepares for “national consultations” on a possible Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Special Court, the media will need to step up both the quality and quantity of coverage. Journalists will need to break down the complex issues so that ordinary people can understand them. Clarity and simplicity have been the central themes of the training and mentoring delivered in Burundi by the Communicating Justice project.

It is hoped that the results of this survey will not only provide food for thought for the Burundian media, but also make a contribution to the national debate on how best to deal with the past. With the last rebel group promising peace, the vast majority of the population feeling that lasting peace is possible, and the national consultations expected in early 2009, Burundi may be ready to take a significant step forward on its long and winding road to transitional justice.

