



**BEYOND THE RHETORIC: THE REALITY OF CIVIL
SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS' IMPACT ON CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT AND PEACEBUILDING IN BURUNDI**

**Jean-Claude Ntizoyimana¹ⁱ,
Onesphore Baroreraho²,
Vérène Niyomana²,
Jacques Magabo²,
Lydia Kanyange³,
Patrick Mushitsi⁴**

¹Senior Lecturer, Dr.,
University of Burundi, Higher Institute of Business,
Burundi

²Senior Lecturer, Dr.,
University of Burundi, Faculty of Political Science and Law,
Burundi

³Senior Lecturer, Dr.,
University of Burundi, Applied Pedagogical Institute (IPA),
Burundi

⁴PhD Student,
University of International Business and Economics,
School of International Relations,
China

Abstract:

Burundi's history is marked by persistent political instability and violence. Despite significant peacebuilding efforts, including the Arusha Agreement, the country continues to grapple with conflicts that weaken its institutions and economy (Nkurunziza, 2018). This paper examines the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in navigating this complex landscape and fostering peace. It delves into their strategies, challenges, and successes and highlights CSOs' contributions in promoting peace and managing conflict. This study investigates how Burundian CSOs employ advocacy, capacity building, and community engagement to foster peace. A quantitative survey of 840 individuals nationwide revealed widespread skepticism about CSOs' effectiveness in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Key obstacles include financial limitations, inadequate legal recognition and protection, limited access to information, public distrust, partisan biases, and restricted influence on decision-making processes. The study found that Burundians perceive CSOs as ineffective. CSOs should be better equipped with resources

ⁱ Correspondence: email genticlose@gmail.com, jean-claude.ntizoyimana@ub.edu.bi

and skills to enhance their impact. Additionally, the government and other stakeholders must address the underlying challenges identified in the study. We used Python, R, and Excel to analyze and validate our data. Data collection and processing were carried out using CPro, Excel, and SPSS. To communicate our findings effectively, we visualized the data through interactive dashboards.

Keywords: civil society organizations, conflict management, peacebuilding, sustainable peace, perception, Burundi

1. Introduction



Figure 1: Burundi and its New Provincial Map (2023)

Do CSOs in Burundi play an effective role in conflict management and peacebuilding? In recent years, the recognition of the role of CSOs in partnering with governments and intergovernmental organizations in the conflict resolution and peacebuilding agenda has increased (Barnes, 2006). CSOs have been instrumental in ensuring

some level of stability in conflict-shattered areas and are a crucial component of any democratic system (European Commission, 2012). Burundi, a country located in East Africa, has faced significant political turmoil and violence throughout its history (Jetnor, K. and Mohsin, 2021; Lemarchand, 1994; Uvin, 2009; Popplewell, 2018; Nkurunziza, 2018), making the role of CSOs particularly vital in its conflict management and peacebuilding efforts.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a crucial role in democratic governance by actively engaging in various capacities. As outlined by Anderson, Paul Kwaku Larbi (2021), IOB Evaluation (2015), and the UNECA (2001), CSOs can assume roles such as directors, watchdogs, advisors, organizers, mobilizers, or mediators. Through their valuable contributions, they influence policy formulation, deliver essential social services, protect human rights, and facilitate constructive social and political interactions.

By actively participating in these areas, CSOs ensure that governments prioritize the needs of the people, address their concerns, and implement meaningful change. This process, known as social accountability (Malena, Foster, and Sigh, 2004), empowers citizens to hold their governments accountable and demand transparency. Collectively, these individuals and organizations that actively participate in governance and utilize their power to strengthen democracy and the rule of law are referred to as "Civil Society" (Peterson & Till, 2004)

However, despite their potential, these organizations have faced numerous obstacles, leading to failures in their attempts to bring about sustainable peace in Burundi. Lipchitz and Crawford (1995) postulate that using CSOs and local NGOs in mediation is normally the best solution to effective conflict resolution. To them, CSOs can set up early warning systems and get to the underlying issues of the conflict. As a reference, the Inter- Faith Dialogue, made up of Churches and the Muslim communities, provided early warning signals to the appropriate security agencies to set up conflict prevention mechanisms that prevented the Bawku chieftaincy conflict from escalating in the neighboring communities (Lipchitz & Crawford, 1995; Bukari & Guuroh, 2013).

CSOs in Burundi contribute to peacebuilding by addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting sustainable peace in the long run. They focus on rebuilding social cohesion, strengthening democratic institutions, and advocating for human rights and justice. (Van Leeuwen, *et al.*, 2019). CSOs work to promote inclusive and participatory governance, ensuring that marginalized voices are heard and represented in decision-making processes. They create an enabling environment for sustainable peace and development by empowering communities and promoting social cohesion (Community of Democracies, 2000). Their work encompasses a wide range of activities, including addressing structural violence, promoting human security, community mobilization, peace education, awareness raising, capacity building, and conflict resolution initiatives (GPPAC, 2006).

Despite the acknowledged importance of CSOs in democratic societies, there is a notable gap in the academic literature regarding their specific role, efficacy, and impact

in Burundi (Poskitt & Dufranc, 2011). Existing studies have primarily focused on the state's political institutions, party dynamics, and the international community, overlooking the contributions of non-state actors and their challenges (Popplewell, 2018; Nkurunziza, 2018). While some research has highlighted the activities of prominent CSOs, (Walton & Aslam, 2024; Mashriqi, 2018) (ADMM), there is a lack of comprehensive studies that systematically analyze their impact and efficacy on social and political change in peacebuilding and conflict management.

This study sought to answer the following questions: How do civil society organizations contribute to conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi? What are the key factors that enable or hinder the effectiveness of civil society organizations in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi? This study examines the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in peacebuilding and conflict management in Burundi. It investigates CSO strategies, challenges, and contributions, along with the Burundian population's perception of their effectiveness. The study hypothesizes that CSOs are currently ineffective due to various challenges. Ultimately, the research aims to understand how CSOs interact with the state and the population, identify obstacles hindering their work, and recommend strategies and actions to improve their impact on sustainable peace in Burundi.

By achieving these objectives, this study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Burundi, making valuable contributions to political science, social science, and development studies. Beyond academic significance, this research offers practical benefits. Policymakers can utilize the findings to develop supportive policies that enhance CSO effectiveness. Furthermore, the study provides valuable insights for CSO practitioners, enabling them to identify best practices and develop strategies for overcoming challenges.

Furthermore, this research underscores the critical role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in peacebuilding and conflict resolution for both the general public and the international community. The study adopts a structured approach to thoroughly investigate the effectiveness of CSOs in Burundi. Following the introduction, a comprehensive literature review situates the study within relevant research and theoretical frameworks. The methodology section details the research design, data collection techniques, and analytical methods employed. Finally, the conclusion summarizes key findings, explores their implications, and provides recommendations for future research and policy development.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

Since its independence in 1962, Burundi has experienced successive violent conflicts in 1959, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1988, 1993, 2010, and 2015 (Ngaruko & Nkurunziza, 2000; Jetnor & Mohsin, 2021; Daley, 2008). These political conflicts with ethnic undertones claimed an

estimated 800,000 lives and displaced millions of people, with an average of 300,000 killed during the 1993 civil war only (Lemarchand, 1994; Ntizoyimana, 2016). They disrupted the social cohesion and trust among Burundians, ruined the economy, and perpetuated a culture of violence, entrenched a climate of fear and impunity in the society.

After a period of relative political stability and economic growth, the 2015 political crisis undermined the progress achieved since the signing of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement in 2000 and the elections of 2005 and 2010 (Palmans, 2006; ICG, 2017).

The historical context of Burundi, marked by ethnic tensions that led to political instability and repeated cycles of violence, has also significantly contributed to the current human rights situation, particularly the right to life (Uvin, 2009; Nkurunziza, 2018; Popplewell, 2018). The historical antagonism between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups was exacerbated during Belgian colonial rule when preferential treatment was given to the Tutsi population (Ntibazonkiza, 1993). The country has experienced decades of political instability, ethnic conflicts, and civil wars, which have left a legacy of violence, fear, and impunity (Lemarchand, 1994). This long and intricate history of ethnic conflict has had devastating consequences for its citizens and economy. The consequences of this strife have been dire, resulting in rampant Human Rights violations, massive displacement of people, economic decline, and limited access to fundamental services.

Burundi's history of ethnic tension between the Hutu and Tutsi, exacerbated by Belgian colonial policies (Ntibazonkiza, 1993), has fueled decades of political instability and violence (Uvin, 2009; Nkurunziza, 2018; Popplewell, 2018). This legacy of conflict, fear, and impunity (Lemarchand, 1994) has had devastating consequences, including widespread human rights abuses, mass displacement, economic decline, and limited access to essential services. The assassination of Melchior Ndadaye (Rugigana, 2024), Burundi's first democratically elected Hutu president, by Tutsi extremists ignited the 1993 civil war and subsequent ethnic conflict. Burundi's hope for peace was tragically cut short. After a new constitution promised a more inclusive government, Burundi held its first multi-party elections in 1993. A Hutu, Melchior Ndadaye, emerged victorious, becoming the first Hutu president. But this chance for a new era was shattered. Ndadaye was assassinated just months into his term, sparking a devastating civil war. This wasn't the only blow. The death of Ndadaye's predecessor, Cyprien Ntaryamira, in a plane crash alongside Rwanda's leader, Juvenal Habyalimana, also destabilized the region. These events plunged Burundi and neighboring Rwanda into a period of violence and chaos.

The event ignited a catastrophic period of violence in Burundi, resulting in the deaths of approximately 300,000 people and the displacement of over one million. The conflict reached a horrific climax in 1972 when the Tutsi government ruthlessly crushed a Hutu uprising, leading to the massacre of an estimated 300,000 Hutu civilians. (Nkurunziza, 2018; Wilén, 2014) As Oketch and Polzer (2002: 94) highlight, the deep-seated animosity between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups, originating in 1965, persists to this day.

As already stated, in 2000, a peace agreement was finally signed, and Pierre Nkurunziza was elected president. But tensions have remained high. Nkurunziza was a Hutu, and his presidency brought a period of relative stability. However, he also cracked down on dissent, and his government was accused of human rights abuses. The human rights situation in Burundi remains dire.

The government has faced severe allegations of human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, unlawful imprisonment, torture, and enforced disappearances (U.S. Department of State, 2002). These violations have particularly endangered the right to life, as evidenced by numerous reported killings. The 2015 political crisis marked a sharp decline from the period of stability and economic prosperity established since the 2000 peace accord and subsequent elections (Palmans, 2006; Bouka, 2017; Amnesty International, 2019). A failed coup attempt in 2015 escalated unrest and instability, leading to widespread casualties and the displacement of over 400,000 people.

According to research conducted by Mpawenimana and Talibu in 2015, the violence in Burundi can be attributed to many factors, including political rivalry, economic hardship, and a long-standing historical imbalance between the Hutu and Tutsi. The roots of the power imbalance between the Tutsi and Hutu people can be traced back to the 19th century. Historically, the Tutsi held positions of authority, while the Hutu primarily worked as farmers. This existing disparity was intensified during the colonial period when Belgian rulers favored the Tutsi. The colonial power's 'divide et impera' methods (Braeckman, 1996; Chretien & Mukuri, 2002; Nibazonkiza, 1993; IPSS, 2018), which post-colonial elites have subsequently continued, are the primary contributors to the country's fragility. Asymmetric conflicts between the political elites of the two main ethnica groups in Burundi, the Hutus and Tutsis, have resulted in violence and mass atrocities (Lemarchand, 1996; D'hertefelt, Trouwborst, and Scherer, 1962; Ntibazonkiza, 1993). After the independence, thousands of people were killed (Uvin, 2009). Most of them were from the Hutu ethnic groups killed by the Tutsi. As an example, from April 29 to July 31, 1972, soldiers of the Tutsi-dominated military slaughtered around 200,000 Hutus and caused around 150,000 Hutu refugees to flee to nearby countries (Lemarchand, 1994; Weinstein, 1974).

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have historically been seen as entities that operate independently of the government (Jareg, 1998; DeWiel, 2008). Their primary function is often to check the excesses of the state or to fill in the gaps where government services are inadequate or nonexistent (Ghosal, 2014). This perspective is exemplified by René Otayek's definition of CSOs as organizations that "*limit the abuses of the State or to supplement it with its various interventions in sectors where, for different reasons, government involvement is limited or absent.*" (Otayek, 2000).

In recent decades, the role of CSOs has become increasingly important due to the weakening of state institutions and the growing challenges faced by societies worldwide (Natil, 2021). Otayek observed in 1997 that the decline of state effectiveness, particularly in the face of economic crises, has created a vacuum that CSOs must often fill. This has

increased expectations placed on CSOs to address a wide range of social and economic needs, from providing basic services to advocating for policy change.

Today, a more powerful civil society can sometimes clash with the state. Ultimately, civil society is also defined by the State. According to Zahir Fares (1992):

“While legislative bodies and governments hold significant power, it’s not the only source. Many non-governmental groups, formed around shared interests, regions, or beliefs, also wield influence. These groups aim not to seize power, but to contribute solutions to the problems that brought them together. In essence, the political sphere extends beyond political parties and doesn’t require control of assemblies, governments, or authorities. Focusing solely on parties for collective needs can fuel instability and partisan conflict.”

Civil society organizations are non-governmental entities formed by citizens to address societal issues. They operate independently of government and pursue goals that benefit the public interest. These organizations may focus on diverse areas, such as human rights, environmental sustainability, or social development (Lamoreaux, 2018).

Burundi's civil society emerged in the late 1980s as a result of international pressure on President Buyoya to democratize the country. But the notion remains full of confusion on its definition, despite the presence of nearly a thousand civil society associations, legally registered, within the framework of the decree-law of 1992. Before this date, we can say that the Burundian associative movement has always been integrated into the dominant political, social, and cultural system.

According to Eva Palmans (2006), Prince Rwagasore had also made these cooperatives a unifying factor in the nationalist fight. In 1958, the release of the first elite graduates from universities gave rise to the emergence of associative movements, more or less autonomous. The vitality of the student and union movement, which took advantage of the political pluralism from 1960 to 1966, resulted from a desire for emancipation concerning the political patronage of the time.

In Burundi, the government has been omnipresent in people's consciousness, at least until the last few years. The first civil society organizations were still in their infancy, but today the state recognizes their contribution, whether in terms of good governance or the country's economic development. As a result, the government has been obliged to take into account civil society's points of view, even though their visibility and influence remain low overall (Interview, 2024).

In such circumstances, civil society players may emerge and take steps that either further inflame tensions, maintain the status quo, or foster peace due to divergent views on the origins of and appropriate solutions to conflict (Barnes, 2006). Amid the crisis mentioned above, CSOs in Burundi have been known for promoting attitudinal change for a culture of peace and reconciliation, as stated in the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are key players in strengthening governance and democracy. They work to ensure fair elections, promote transparency and accountability in government, and educate citizens to participate in politics. For example, after the 1993 Burundian civil war (LDGL, 2020), CSOs were instrumental in peacebuilding and reconciliation by fostering dialogue and community initiatives to heal divisions and rebuild social cohesion (GIZ).

However, the impact of these organizations has been limited due to several factors, including a lack of resources, fear of retribution, limited access to decision-makers, and a lack of trust between the government and civil society (Nkurunziza, 2018; Lemarchand, 1994; Uvin, 2009). But to date, Burundi's civil society formation drive remains handicapped by opportunistic political activism and organizational and financial weaknesses.

Also, even though Burundi presents many CSOs, their proliferation is an inadequate and ineffective response to conflict management and peace-building challenges, because many of them tend to be partisan of the opposition political parties, while others tend to support the government (Poplewell, 2018).

The Burundian intelligentsia that should have been at the forefront of this civil society is still either hostage to the traumas of repressive regimes of the past or in the grip of ethnic or sectarian political divisions that have torn the social fabric apart. CSOs have been instrumentalized by political actors, leading to internal divisions (Manirakiza, 2018; UNECA, 2001). This has made the government and the population of Burundi lose their confidence in CSOs. As a result, the failure of CSOs to mobilize action to promote peacebuilding and conflict resolution in Burundi has had a devastating impact on the country. The high levels of violence and impunity (Nkurunziza, 2018) have created a climate of fear and insecurity, and have made it difficult for people to live their lives peacefully (Amnesty International, 2019).

The study found that the population believes that CSOs can manage conflict and maintain peace by providing a platform for dialogue and mediation between conflicting parties and advocating for the rights of vulnerable populations. In this regard, 600 out of 840 persons expressed satisfaction with the methods used by CSOs in conflict management. However, due to the above challenges, they are limited in their ability to address the underlying economic, political, and social issues that lead to conflict. (Kapyepye, 2013). This literature review examines the population's perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

The literature on civil society organizations, conflict management, and peacebuilding in Burundi is largely informed by the concept of "civil society," which is broadly defined as "*the organized activities of individuals and groups that are not part of the state or market*" (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). This definition encompasses a wide range of actors, including non-

governmental organizations (NGOs), faith-based organizations (FBOs), and community-based organizations (CBOs).

Although studies stated that civil society organizations are seen as important actors in conflict management and peacebuilding, and also often better positioned to understand local dynamics and to engage with local communities in a more meaningful way than international organizations (Fisher, 2005) and that civil society organizations in Burundi were able to contribute to the peace process by providing a space for dialogue and negotiation between the government and its opponents, (Daley, 2008) recent studies revealed their limitations.

For example, De Reus Stijn's 2005 research on the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Burundi's peace process revealed significant marginalization. CSOs were largely excluded from the peace process and had limited access to decision-makers. This exclusion fostered a climate of distrust between the government and civil society, hindering the effectiveness of CSOs in contributing to a sense of sustainable peace. This study significantly impacts our understanding of how civil society organizations (CSOs) function in conflict and peacebuilding. It contradicts the common belief that CSOs are vital for social change and political transformation, showing that in Burundi, they were unable to fulfill this role due to various obstacles. The research also adds to existing knowledge on civil society, conflict, and peacebuilding by illustrating the complex factors affecting CSOs' success in unstable environments.

This paper aims to understand the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. It explores their strategies, challenges, and achievements, and offers theoretical contributions to the scholarly understanding and policy-making regarding CSOs' invaluable role in peacebuilding processes.

The theoretical framework for this study draws upon diverse perspectives from the fields of peace studies, international relations, and development studies. Central to this framework is the concept of civil society, which has been variously defined as a realm of organized citizen activity that is autonomous from the state and market. This conceptualization emphasizes the role of CSOs as intermediaries between the state and society, promoting social justice, human rights, and democratic governance.

The paper employs a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework, drawing on social capital theory, network theory, and the concept of transformative peacebuilding. These theories provide a comprehensive lens to investigate the various dimensions and processes involved in CSOs' engagement in conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Social capital theory posits that trust, networks, and norms inherent in social relationships foster cooperation and collective action. CSOs, as social entities, possess the ability to mobilize social capital to bridge divides and build bridges between conflicting parties. By leveraging their networks, CSOs facilitate communication, dialogue, and trust-building processes among different stakeholders, thereby contributing to conflict resolution and peacebuilding. CSOs contribute significantly to peacebuilding, conflict

management, and political change by leveraging their networks and social capital to advocate for reforms and raise awareness about pressing societal issues (Della Porta, 2020). Furthermore, a strong foundation of social capital empowers CSOs with enhanced capacity. This enables them to mobilize resources more effectively, engage with stakeholders more meaningfully, and exert greater influence on policy decisions (Sörbom & Jezierska, 2023).

Network theory highlights the importance of relationships in shaping behavior and society. In Burundi, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) can leverage networks to strengthen their peacebuilding influence. By connecting with local communities, government, and international groups, CSOs can advocate for inclusive peace processes, amplify marginalized voices, and ensure sustainable, locally-driven initiatives. For example, partnerships with the government facilitate dialogue and collaboration on conflict resolution, while global networks with international peacebuilding institutions provide access to best practices, support, and resources.

Building upon the transformative approach to peacebuilding, this paper argues that CSOs in Burundi can play a vital role in challenging structural inequalities, power imbalances, and root causes of conflict. CSOs' initiatives and interventions often focus on addressing the underlying socio-political, economic, and cultural factors that fuel conflict, such as promoting social justice, human rights, and gender equality. By engaging in transformative peacebuilding, CSOs contribute to long-term sustainable peace by addressing the root causes of violence and promoting societal changes that support peaceful coexistence.

To empower the public, CSOs should conduct awareness campaigns on peacebuilding and conflict management and their importance. Educating communities about peace and security issues and empowering them to peacefully resolve their disputes is vital. Partnering with media outlets to disseminate information on peacebuilding and CSO activities further fosters public understanding and encourages citizen participation in maintaining and keeping their communities safe.

A key theoretical lens through which to analyze the role of CSOs in Burundi is the concept of conflict transformation. This approach, inspired by Johan Galtung, posits that sustainable peace requires addressing both the direct violence and the underlying structural and cultural violence that perpetuate conflict (Galtung, 2010). CSOs can contribute to conflict transformation by engaging in a range of activities, including dialogue, mediation, reconciliation, and capacity building. By addressing the root causes of conflict, such as inequality, injustice, and exclusion, CSOs can help to create more peaceful and just societies.

This theoretical contribution underscores the pivotal role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Burundi's conflict management and peacebuilding efforts. Drawing upon social capital theory (Uphoff, 2000), network theory (John Patty & Maggie Penn, 2016), and transformative peacebuilding principles, the paper elucidates how CSOs

uniquely leverage their capacities to foster dialogue, cultivate trust, and address the root causes of conflict.

Understanding the theoretical basis of CSOs' contributions can help in developing effective peacebuilding strategies, policies (Tuhaise, 2010), and interventions in Burundi, leading to a more peaceful and stable society.

3.3 Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this study have important implications for policymakers and practitioners working in the field of peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

Firstly, it highlights the need for increased support for CSOs in Burundi. This support should include financial resources, technical assistance, and policy reforms that create a conducive environment for CSOs to operate.

Secondly, the study underscores the importance of strengthening partnerships between CSOs, the government, and international organizations. By working together, these actors can more effectively address the root causes of conflict and promote sustainable peace.

Thirdly, the study emphasizes the need for CSOs to adopt innovative approaches to conflict management and peacebuilding. This may involve using technology to reach marginalized communities, engaging in dialogue with non-traditional actors, and developing new forms of social mobilization.

Finally, the study highlights the importance of evaluating the impact of CSO interventions. By measuring the outcomes of their work, CSOs can identify best practices and adapt their strategies to achieve greater impact.

4. Research Questions

- 1) What are the specific roles and functions of civil society organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi?
- 2) What are the key factors that enable or hinder the effectiveness of civil society organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi?
- 3) How effective are civil society organizations (CSOs) in promoting peace and resolving conflicts in Burundi?

5. Conclusion

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in Burundi have faced significant challenges in their efforts to contribute to conflict management and peacebuilding. A review of relevant literature reveals that these organizations have been hindered by various factors, resulting in limited impact.

Firstly, financial constraints have severely limited the capacity of CSOs to implement effective programs and initiatives. Without adequate funding, it is difficult

for these organizations to mobilize resources, hire skilled personnel, and sustain their operations over the long term. Secondly, limited access to information has hampered CSOs' ability to conduct thorough analyses, develop informed strategies, and advocate for policy changes. This lack of information can lead to ineffective interventions and missed opportunities for constructive engagement.

Furthermore, public awareness of CSOs' role and activities has been insufficient, limiting their ability to mobilize public support and influence public opinion. The perception of CSOs as partisan actors, often aligned with specific political interests, has further eroded public trust and hindered their efforts to build bridges between conflicting parties.

Finally, CSOs have struggled to effectively influence decision-making processes, particularly at the government level. The government's reluctance to engage with CSOs, stemming from a lack of trust and perceived threats to its authority, has further marginalized these organizations and limited their impact on policy development and implementation.

The findings of this literature review suggest that while CSOs have made valuable contributions to conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi, their impact has been constrained by various factors. To enhance their effectiveness, it is imperative to address these challenges through increased financial support, improved access to information, enhanced public awareness campaigns, and strengthened partnerships with government and other stakeholders.

6. Research Context and Methodology

6.1 Research Context

The paper is based on a quantitative research design with an exploratory approach to further the understanding of our theoretical interest in a real context. A total of 840 persons, from all parts of Burundi, have been given a questionnaire. We used CSPro software for data collection and entry, and Advanced Excel and SPSS for data analysis.

The current paper aims to assess the people's perception of the role of CSOs in conflict management and peacebuilding efforts. We sought local people who are or have been in a Civil Society Organization (CSO). The reasons for choosing these categories of people are that they are aware of the missions and vision of CSOs in Burundi and how much they are engaged in conflict management.

The role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding has been widely acknowledged in recent decades. However, there is evidence that the population's perception of CSOs' role in these areas is negative. This research context explored the reasons behind this negative perception and its implications for the effectiveness of CSOs in conflict management and peacebuilding.

This research investigates the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding, specifically in Burundi. It first reviewed existing

literature on the various functions CSOs can perform in these areas, such as humanitarian aid, peace advocacy, election monitoring, and facilitating dialogue. The research then examined public perceptions of these CSO roles, focusing on factors contributing to negative views, like perceived ineffectiveness.

This research explored how the public's negative views of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) impact their ability to effectively manage conflicts and build peace. It examined how these negative perceptions hinder CSOs' work and identified potential strategies for improvement. These strategies include reassessing community engagement, strengthening collaboration with government and other stakeholders, and developing a clear action plan.

Finally, the research discussed the implications of the findings for policymakers and practitioners. This included an analysis of the potential policy interventions that can be implemented to address CSOs' current challenges and increase their effectiveness in conflict management and peacebuilding. The research also considered the potential implications of the findings for the future of CSOs.

6.2 Research Methodology

The research methodology for this study was quantitative. The research involved a survey of the population's perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. The survey was conducted using a questionnaire that was distributed to a sample of the population in Burundi. The questionnaire included questions that measure the population's perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi, as well as questions that measure the population's opinion of the effectiveness of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. The sample was selected using a purposive sampling technique. The participants' size was determined based on the current²³ number of communes in Burundi and the desired level of accuracy of the results. The questionnaire was distributed to the sample using an online method or a hard copy.

The data collected from the survey were analyzed using Descriptive statistics, CSPRO software, Microsoft Excel, and SPSS. Descriptive statistics have been used to summarize the data and to identify patterns and trends in the population's perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. The results of the survey will be used to inform CSOs, policymakers, and other stakeholders about the population's perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. The results of the survey will also be used to inform future research on the topic.

All data collected will be kept confidential and will only be used for research purposes.

6.3 Presentation of the Respondents

We have a total sample of 840 respondents from all over the country, ranging in age from 30 to 58. The majority of our respondents were between the ages of 35 and 40, with the highest concentration of respondents coming from the 35 to 38 age range.

The respondents were evenly split between male and female respondents, with slightly more males than females (500 vs 340). In terms of ethnicity, our respondents were mostly Hutu (440) and Tutsi (400). We also asked our respondents about their level of education and found that the majority had some college experience (561), followed by those with a high school diploma or equivalent (210), primary school (58), and finally, others were still at the university (11).

A comprehensive analysis of our respondents' occupations revealed a diverse range of professional backgrounds. The largest group was comprised of individuals working within the public service, contributing to government agencies and institutions. A substantial number were employed in the private sector, encompassing a wide array of industries and businesses. Additionally, a considerable portion of our respondents were engaged in farming, highlighting the agricultural significance of the region. Lastly, a smaller subset indicated having no current or recent formal employment.

7. Results

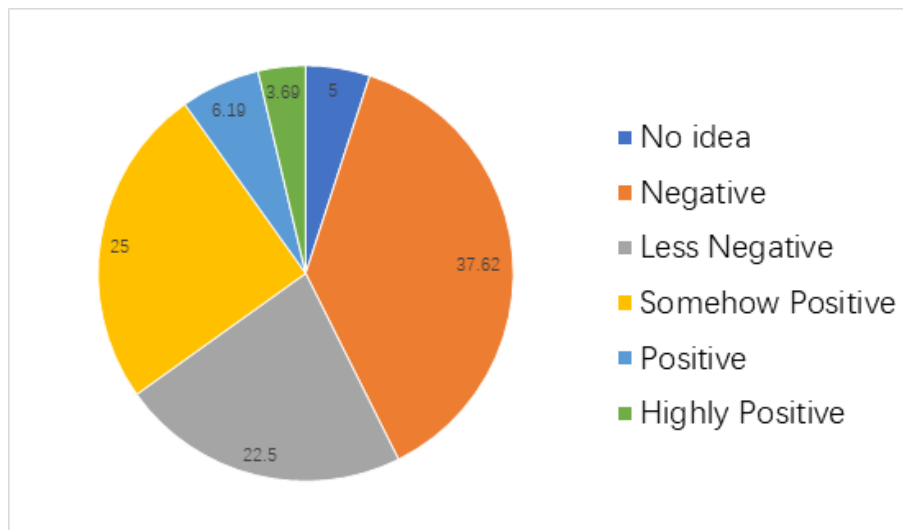


Figure 2: The role of CSOs in conflict management and peacebuilding

A comprehensive survey involving 840 Burundian citizens was undertaken to gauge public sentiment regarding the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding. The survey findings revealed a prevailing perception that CSOs have a limited impact on these critical areas. A significant majority of respondents, constituting 60.12% of the total sample, assessed the role of CSOs as weak in addressing conflict and fostering peace. A quarter of the participants (25%) acknowledged a moderate positive influence of CSOs on conflict management and

peacebuilding. Furthermore, a smaller segment of respondents (9.88%) recognized the crucial role played by CSOs in these endeavors. A minority of respondents (5%) indicated uncertainty or a lack of definitive opinion on the matter.

This was reflected in the responses to the survey questions, which revealed that respondents felt that CSOs were not adequately addressing the root causes of conflict and were not doing enough to promote peace and stability in the country. Furthermore, expressed concerns about the fact that CSOs were not providing enough support to victims of conflict and were not effectively engaging with local communities in terms of conflict and atrocity prevention. These findings suggest that the population of Burundi harbors a negative perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding efforts.

7.1 Coefficient of Variance

7.1.1 Independence between Ethnic Groups

Table 1: Overall Tests of Significance (Pearson Chi2(206) = 30.000, p-value = 0.224)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.000 ^a	25	.224
Likelihood Ratio	21.501	25	.664
N of Valid Cases	6		

The table above shows the following results:

- The Pearson chi-square statistic is 30.000,
- The Pearson chi-square p-value is 0.224,
- The likelihood ratio statistic is 21.501,
- The likelihood ratio statistic is 0.664,
- The number of valid cases is 6.

7.1.2 Independence between Locations

Table 2: Overall Tests of Significance (Pearson Chi2(206) = 24.000, p-value = 0.242)

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.000 ^a	20	.242
Likelihood Ratio	18.729	20	.540
N of Valid Cases	6		

The table above shows the following results:

- The Pearson chi-square statistic is 24.000,
- The Pearson chi-square p-value is 0.242,
- The likelihood ratio statistic is 18.729,
- The likelihood ratio statistic is 0.540,

- The number of valid cases is 6.

8. Discussion of the Results

Burundian survey participants expressed skepticism about the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding. A significant majority (60%) believed that CSOs do not play a substantial role in these areas, while only 35% disagreed (Figure). Several studies have examined people's negative perceptions of CSOs in Burundi, and this perception aligns with broader public opinion, as evidenced by research conducted by Rowan Popplewell in 2018.

Popplewell's study highlighted negative perceptions of CSOs, with the public viewing them as inefficient, corrupt, and lacking professionalism. This sentiment is echoed by organizations like UCODE (Union for Cooperation and Development), RPA (Radio Publique Africaine), and Ligue Iteka (Popplewell, 2018). The public's skepticism extends to the motives of CSOs, with many believing that they are primarily self-serving rather than altruistic.

These findings suggest that there is a significant gap between the potential of CSOs to contribute to peacebuilding and conflict resolution and the public's perception of their actual impact. To address this gap, CSOs in Burundi may need to adopt strategies to enhance their credibility, transparency, and effectiveness. This could involve building stronger relationships with the public, demonstrating tangible results, and adhering to high ethical standards.

Annan's (2013) research revealed that the public often views CSOs with suspicion, perceiving them as either excessively aligned with government interests or unduly influenced by foreign powers. Moreover, the public's perception of CSOs is marred by a lack of trust in their accountability mechanisms and oversight processes. Our findings corroborate these concerns, as we discovered that the public is skeptical about the transparency of CSO funding sources and worries that these organizations may be susceptible to manipulation by foreign actors to advance their respective agendas (Issifu, 2017). Furthermore, respondents expressed doubts about the capacity of CSOs, suggesting that they may lack the necessary experience or exhibit political bias to effectively address such critical issues.

The study findings reveal a generally positive public perception of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in peacebuilding and conflict management. A less significant portion, 25% of respondents, explicitly acknowledged the effectiveness of CSOs in promoting peace and conflict resolution.

However, the study also highlighted areas where public perception is less certain. While 10% of respondents recognized the importance of CSOs in high-level conflict prevention and management, this was overshadowed by the significantly larger group of 60% who viewed their role as ineffective. Additionally, 5% of respondents expressed uncertainty about the specific role of CSOs in addressing conflicts and building peace.

Despite these mixed perceptions, the study findings align with Abdul Karim Issifu's assertion. Respondents, even those uncertain about the specific role of CSOs, concurred with the idea that CSOs play a crucial role in safeguarding and advancing human rights, a fundamental aspect of peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

The findings of this study indicate that the population of Burundi has a negative perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding. They suggest that there is a need for increased support and resources for CSOs in Burundi to strengthen their capacity and effectiveness in conflict management and peacebuilding. This could include increased funding, training, and technical assistance for CSOs to enable them to better understand and respond to the needs of the local population. Additionally, CSOs should be provided with the opportunity to engage in dialogue with local stakeholders, such as government officials and community leaders, to ensure that their efforts are in line with the needs of the local population.

In summary, while Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) hold the potential to significantly contribute to conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Burundi, it is imperative to acknowledge the substantial challenges and limitations they face. A comprehensive exploration of the role of CSOs in this context is necessary to fully understand their impact and identify areas for improvement. Further research should delve into the effectiveness of CSOs in conflict management and peacebuilding, examining specific case studies and evaluating their strategies. Through gaining deeper insights into their operations, effective strategies can be developed to support and empower CSOs, thereby enhancing their capacity to promote peace and stability in Burundi.

On the one hand, the chi-square test results presented in Table 1 indicate that there is no statistically significant association between the two variables under investigation. The Pearson Chi-Square statistic yielded a value of 30.000 with 25 degrees of freedom, resulting in an asymptotic significance (p-value) of 0.224. This p-value suggests that there is a 22.4% probability of observing a chi-square value as extreme or more extreme than 30.000, purely by chance, if there were truly no relationship between the variables in the underlying population. The likelihood ratio test further corroborates this finding, producing a p-value of 0.664, which is also well above the conventional significance level of 0.05. Consequently, we can conclude that the observed association between the two variables is not statistically significant.

On the other hand, the chi-square test results presented in Table 2 indicate a lack of statistical significance in the association between the two variables; a more detailed examination reveals the following. The Pearson Chi-Square value of 24.000, with 20 degrees of freedom, yields an asymptotic significance (p-value) of 0.242. This p-value exceeds the conventional significance level of 0.05, so we fail to reject the null hypothesis. In simpler terms, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that a significant difference exists between the observed and expected frequencies within the contingency table. Consequently, the observed discrepancies between the expected and actual frequencies

are deemed statistically insignificant. This suggests that any apparent differences are likely attributable to random chance rather than a genuine underlying relationship between the two variables.

8.1 Limitations of the Study

While this study provides valuable insights into the perception of CSOs' role in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi, it is essential to acknowledge certain limitations.

Firstly, a significant portion of the Burundian population lacks a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted role of CSOs in conflict management and peacebuilding. This limited awareness hinders their ability to fully appreciate the impact of these organizations on society.

Secondly, logistical challenges, particularly in reaching individuals in remote areas, pose significant obstacles to conducting thorough research on this topic. Such constraints limit the scope and depth of data collection, potentially impacting the overall findings.

Lastly, the study's focus on a single population, excluding the Burundian diaspora, has restricted the diversity of perspectives and experiences captured. A more comprehensive understanding could be achieved by incorporating the views of Burundians living outside the country, as they have unique insights into the nation's challenges and the role of CSOs in addressing them.

More research is needed to better understand how people in Burundi view the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding. This future research should address the shortcomings of the current study and explore the diverse ways CSOs contribute to peace and reconciliation, including their specific strategies, impact on different communities, and the challenges they face. It should also examine the long-term impact and sustainability of CSO interventions.

9. CSOs' Challenges and Recommendations

9.1 Challenges

A study conducted by the World Bank in 2019 found that the Burundi population perceives CSOs as having a positive role in conflict management and peacebuilding, but the study also found that the population believes that CSOs are limited in their ability to address the underlying economic, political, and social issues that lead to conflict (Manirakiza, 2018; Ntamwana, 2000; Kapyepye, 2013). The authors examined the role of CSOs in post-conflict peacebuilding in Burundi. They found that CSOs have been largely ineffective in post-conflict peacebuilding due to a lack of resources, limited access to decision-makers, and a lack of trust between the government and civil society. Furthermore, the authors found that the government has been reluctant to engage with CSOs due to a lack of trust (Nkurunziza, 2018).

One of the main challenges facing CSOs in Burundi is the Lack of effective Legal Recognition and Protection: Many CSOs in Burundi operate without proper legal recognition, which hampers their ability to advocate for and protect Human Rights effectively (De Reu, 2004). Without legal recognition, CSOs may face restrictions on their activities and harassment from government authorities.

Another challenge facing CSOs is the political culture of conflict and revenge. (Uvin, 1999; Berckmoes, 2023). Divisions and warlike culture among Burundians make it difficult to address Human Rights abuses (Gurr, 1993; IPSS, 2018). The government has often been reluctant to investigate or prosecute cases of violence (Ndikumana, 1998); and has even been accused of complicity in some cases (Buyse, 2018; U.S. Department of State, 2023). This has made it difficult for CSOs to hold the government accountable and to ensure that victims receive justice.

According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017), there is also limited access to funding and resources (Resolution 2017/2756(RSP) World Bank, 2020). World Bank Group (2020) states that Burundi is among the poor countries, and CSOs struggle to secure adequate funding and might have to reduce their activities due to decreased funding (McDonough & Rodríguez, 2020). In Burundi, the government's control over financial resources and limited support for civil society initiatives make it difficult for CSOs to hire qualified staff, maintain offices, and implement Human Rights programming (FHI 360, 2024).

Finally, according to Popplewell (2018), the government views the actions or advocacy of CSOs as being in violation of domestic laws or regulations, leading to restrictions or crackdowns on their activities. Such conflicts may arise if the government perceives certain CSOs as challenging its authority or engaging in activities threatening national security or stability (Camay & Gordon, 2003; Mwenya & Mulubale, 2023). This could result in legal actions against CSOs, including arrests, detentions, or legal harassment, which can undermine the ability of CSOs to carry out their R2P responsibilities effectively.

Despite numerous peacebuilding efforts, including the Arusha Agreement, Burundi has been plagued by persistent political instability. This ongoing turmoil has triggered recurrent cycles of violence and conflict, severely undermining the country's institutions and economy (Nkurunziza, 2018). However, Critics argue that CSOs in Burundi face numerous challenges in their crucial role of conflict management and peacebuilding (UNHCHR, 2023). Limited resources, limitations on funding sources, political repression, and restrictions on freedom of expression can hamper their effectiveness and limit their impact. Moreover, the ongoing ethnic divisions and political polarization present significant obstacles to their efforts. As a result, the country still exhibits symptoms that indicate a likelihood of further conflict situations and wars if more attention and concrete actions are not taken.

9.2 Recommendations

Based on the above-mentioned challenges, to maximize the impact of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) on sustainable peace in Burundi, a comprehensive strategy is needed. This involves boosting collaboration among CSOs, local communities, and international groups to better utilize resources and achieve common goals. It also means investing in CSOs' capabilities and empowering local communities to actively participate in peacebuilding, address local issues, and advocate for their rights.

To effectively build peace, governments and civil society organizations (CSOs) must engage in open communication and collaboration. This fosters trust and allows them to address shared concerns. Additionally, international support is crucial for CSOs, providing them with resources and a stronger platform to advocate for their rights and contribute to peacebuilding efforts.

To be more effective, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) should network and collaborate with both local peers and international groups (Van Wessel, Naz and Sahoo, 2020); (Van Wessel *et al.*, 2019; Van Wessel *et al.*, 2018). This includes creating national platforms or coalitions and building CSO capacity in areas like atrocity prevention, conflict management, human rights documentation, and digital security. Finally, CSOs should diversify their funding sources beyond government support by seeking grants from international organizations, foundations, and local philanthropy.

10. General Conclusion

This study delves into the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in conflict management and peacebuilding in Burundi. It examines the population's perception of CSOs' effectiveness and identifies key challenges hindering their impact. Despite their potential to contribute significantly to societal transformation, CSOs in Burundi face numerous challenges that impede their effectiveness. The research findings reveal a mixed perception of CSOs' role, with a significant portion of the population viewing them as ineffective in addressing conflict and promoting peace.

This perception is likely rooted in a complex interplay of historical and contemporary factors. A legacy of political instability, ethnic tensions, and institutional distrust has created a challenging environment for civil society organizations (CSOs). This is compounded by practical obstacles, including financial constraints, legal limitations, and limited access to information. Furthermore, public skepticism, partisan divisions, and a lack of influence in decision-making processes further hinder CSOs' ability to address the root causes of conflict and promote sustainable peace.

Despite these challenges, CSOs have made notable contributions to peacebuilding in Burundi. They have actively promoted dialogue, empowered local communities, and advocated for peace. However, to maximize their impact, CSOs in Burundi need to adopt strategies that address these challenges. For CSOs to be more effective in their peacebuilding and conflict management efforts, they must build trust with the public,

strengthen their organizational capacity, increase their resources, and engage with decision-makers. They must also continue to strive for impartiality and remain independent of political parties. They must also strengthen their capacity, improve their credibility, collaborate with the government and other stakeholders, and advocate for a conducive legal and policy environment.

Additionally, the government of Burundi should recognize the valuable role of CSOs in peacebuilding and create an enabling environment for their operations. This includes providing adequate funding, ensuring legal protection, and facilitating open dialogue between government and civil society.

Through the addressing of these challenges and the implementation of effective strategies, CSOs in Burundi can play a more significant role in promoting sustainable peace and fostering a more just and equitable society.

Creative Commons License Statement

This research work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>. To view the complete legal code, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode.en>. Under the terms of this license, members of the community may copy, distribute, and transmit the article, provided that proper, prominent, and unambiguous attribution is given to the authors, and the material is not used for commercial purposes or modified in any way. Reuse is only allowed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

About the Authors

Jean-Claude Ntizoyimana (PhD) is a Lecturer at the Higher Institute of Business (ISCO), University of Burundi. His scholarship focuses on the intersection of international law and governance, with specialized expertise in Transitional Justice and Post-Conflict Accountability. Dr. Ntizoyimana's research critically examines the Legal Architecture of Civil Society, Institutional Fragility, and the Rule of Law, alongside broader themes in Human Rights, International Humanitarian Law (IHL), and Peacekeeping. He is actively engaged in global research discourse and maintains a presence across several academic networks to facilitate international collaboration.

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-7925-8967>

ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jean-Claude-Ntizoyimana?ev=prf_overview

Academia.edu: <https://hzic.academia.edu/JeanClaudeNtizoyimanaAAU.edu>

Onesphore Baroreraho (PhD) is a prominent legal scholar and lecturer at the University of Burundi within the Faculty of Political Science and Law, as well as at Hope Africa University. His research and scholarship are primarily situated within the domain of Public Law, with a specialized focus on Constitutional Law. Dr. Baroreraho's work critically examines the legitimacy of the State and its authority, the functional dynamics of public institutions, and the evolving nature of national sovereignty. Throughout his distinguished career, Dr. Baroreraho has balanced academic rigor with high-level judicial and administrative leadership. He has served in several pivotal capacities, including Head of the Department of Law at Hope Africa University, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the University of Burundi, and Head of the Studies and Documentation Service at the Center for Legal Studies and Documentation (CEDJ). In the public and judicial sectors, his expertise has been leveraged at the highest levels of governance. His previous roles include Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Good Governance, Head of the Diplomatic Department within the Presidency of the Republic, and Chief of Staff at the Ministry of Justice. A seasoned jurist, he has served as a non-permanent judge at the Constitutional Court of Burundi and as a permanent official at the Secretariat of the Superior Council of the Magistracy. Dr. Baroreraho currently serves as a Judge at the COMESA Court of Justice within the Appellate Division.

Vérène Niyomana (PhD), Lecturer at the University of Burundi, Faculty of Law and political Science /Department of Political science and International Relations. My research interests are basically oriented in gender issues, Regional Integration, Diplomacy, Geopolitics and Peace and Conflicts Resolution.

ResearchGate: <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Verene-Niyomana>

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-5622-9111>

Jacques Magabo, Lecturer at the University of Burundi, Faculty of Law and Political Science/Department of Political Science and International Relations.

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-8633-1450>

ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jacques-Magabo?ev=hdr_xprf

Academia.edu: <https://independent.academia.edu/MAGABOJacques>

Google Scholar: <https://scholar.google.fr/citations?user=2xeK9sAAAAJ&hl=fr>

Patrick Mushitsi is a PhD candidate in the School of International Relations at the University of International Business and Economics in China. He holds a Master's degree in International Relations from Shanghai International Studies University. He is also a Lecturer at the University of Burundi, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Political Science and International Relations. His research focuses on international politics, diplomacy, peace studies, and regional integration. Patrick Mushitsi is also an activist in climate change and youth leadership.

Research Gate: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Patrick-Mushitsi?ev=hdr_xprf +

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0004-1474-1835>

Google Scholar: <https://scholar.google.de/citations?user=ZzjcX5QAAAAJ&hl=de>

References

- Amnesty International (2019). Burundi crisis: The legacy of 2015 brings fear for 2020. (Country Report. 2 May 2019). Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/05/burundi-crisis-the-legacy-of-2015-brings-fear-for-2020/>. Accessed 1 September, 2024.
- Annan, N. (2013). Providing peace, security and justice in Ghana: The role of non-state actors. Rule of law, Police Brief. Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center. Retrieved from <https://coilink.org/20.500.12592/6qn095>. Accessed 17 July, 2024.
- Barnes, C. (2006). Agents for change: Civil society roles in preventing war & building peace issue. European Centre for Conflict Resolution, Paper 2. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 21(2) pp. 201-217. Retrieved from <https://www.gppac.net/files/2018-11/Agents%20for%20Change.pdf>. Accessed 7 August 2025
- Berckmoes, L. H., and Anonymous (2023). Young protesters' ambivalence about violence in the 2015 crisis in Burundi: local legacies of conflict and generational change. *Peacebuilding*, 11(3), pp. 302–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2023.2234735>
- Bouka, Y. (2017). Burundi: Between War and Negative Peace In Khadiagala, G. (eds) War and Peace in Africa's Great Lakes Region. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58124-8_2
- Braeckman, C (1966). *Terreur Africaine. Burundi, Rwanda, Zaïre : Les racines de la violence*, Paris, Fayard. Retrieved from https://www.persee.fr/doc/polit_0032-342x_1997_num_62_1_4626_t1_0215_0000_4
- Bukari, N. K. & Guuroh, T. (2013). Civil society organizations (CSOs) and peacebuilding in the Bawku traditional area of Ghana: Failure or Success? *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(6), pp. 31-41. Retrieved from <https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/RHSS/article/view/5559>
- Camay, P. & Gordon, A. (2003). Some basic principles for meeting the challenges of civil society - government relations, IDS Civil Society and Governance Policy Briefs, Institute of Development Studies. Retrieved from <https://gsdrc.org/document-library/some-basic-principles-for-meeting-the-challenges-of-civil-society-government-relations/>. Accessed 12 August, 2024.
- Chretien, J. P. & Mukuri, M. (2002). Burundi, la fracture identitaire. Logiques de violence et certitudes « ethniques » 1993-1996, Paris : Karthala 13 - 56. Retrieved from <https://searchlibrary.ohchr.org/record/11891>
- Community of Democracies (2017). The importance of ensuring an enabling environment for civil society as it relates to the Sustainable Development Goals' Report to the Working Group on Enabling and Protecting Civil Society. Retrieved from <https://community-democracies.org/app/uploads/2016/09/Study-Enabling-Environment-and-SDGs.pdf>. Accessed 12 October, 2025.

- Community of Democracies (2000). Warsaw Declaration: Toward A Community of Democracies, June 27, 2000, Retrieved from <https://community-democracies.org/app/uploads/2016/10/2000-Warsaw-Declaration-ENG.pdf>. Accessed 8 January, 2026.
- Daley, P. O. (2008). *Gender & Genocide in Burundi: The Search for Spaces of Peace in the Great Lakes Region*. James Curry, Oxford. <https://doi.org/10.2979/aft.2009.55.4.139>
- De Reu, S. (2004). INGOs en de Burundese civiele maatschappij': in welke mate spelen ze een rol op het vredesproces van Burundi? Universiteit Gent.
- De Reus, S. (2005). The Impact of International NGOs and Civil Society Organisations on The Peace Process in Burundi. Conflict Research Group University of Ghent, Belgium, *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. Retrieved from <http://sites.tufts.edu/jha/files/2011/04/a173.pdf>. Accessed 15 August, 2025
- Della Porta, D. (2020). Building bridges: Social movements and civil society in times of crisis. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 31(5), p.938–948. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00199-5>. Accessed 4 February, 2026
- DeWiel, B (1997). A Conceptual History of Civil Society: From Greek Beginnings to the End of Marx. *Past Imperfect*, 6, pp. 3–42. <https://doi.org/10.21971/P7MK5N>
- D'hertefelt M., Trouwborst A., & Scherer J. (1962). *Les Anciens Royaumes de la Zone Interlacustre Meriodionale (Rwanda, Burundi, Buha)*. East Central Africa Part XIV (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315309736>
- European Commission (2012). Communication from The Commission to The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of The Regions: The roots of democracy and sustainable development: Europe's engagement with Civil Society in external relations, Brussels, 12.9.2012 COM (2012) 492 final. Retrieved from https://www.eeas.europa.eu/node/5969_en. Accessed 2 December, 2025
- European Parliament Res 2756 (July 2017) EU Doc/2017/2756RSP. Retrieved from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/B-8-2017-0468_EN.html. Accessed 19 September 2025.
- Fares, Z. (1992). Afrique, démocratie, espoirs et illusions, Paris : le Harmattan, pp. 175-176. Retrieved from <https://univ-senegal.scholarvox.com/reader/docid/88882827/page/6>. Accessed 11 December 2025.
- FHI 360, (2024). CSO Sustainability Index (CSOSI): Analysis Reports. Analysis of CSO Sustainability Trends: 2010-2022. Retrieved from <https://www.fhi360.org2/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/csosi-analysis-cso-sustainability-trends.pdf>. Accessed 21 December 2024
- Fisher D. R., et al. (2005). How do organizations matter? Mobilization and support for participants at five globalization protests. *Social Problems*, 52(1), pp. 102–121. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2005.52.1.102>.

- Fiszbein, M. (2018). *Organizations, Civil Society, and the Roots of Development*. Edited by Naomi R. Lamoreaux and John Joseph Wallis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. ix + 380 pp. ISBN: 978-0-226-42636-5. *Business History Review*, 92(3), 597–600. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000768051800096X>
- Galtung J. (2010). *A theory of conflict: overcoming direct violence*. Oslo: Transcend University Press, Kolofon Press, p 320
- Ghosal, S. G. (2014). Civil Society: Concept And Contestations, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 75(1), pp. 105–118. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24701087>.
- GIZ. (2022). *The Social Cohesion Fund in Burundi*. Retrieved from <https://www.socialcohesion.info/projects/project/the-social-cohesion-fund-in-burundi>. Accessed 9 June 2025.
- Graham, L. (2018). *How should civil society stakeholders report their contribution to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development?* Technical Paper for the Division for Sustainable Development, UN DESA. Senior Lecturer, Politics, Newcastle University, UK; Retrieved from https://sdgs.un.org/sites/default/files/2020-11/18445CSOreporting_paper_revisions_4May_0.pdf. Accessed 23 June 2025
- Gurr, T. R. (1993). *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of 'Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, D.C.. United States Institute of Peace Press. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/Minorities-Risk-Global-Ethnopolitical-Conflicts/dp/1878379240>. Accessed 3 July 2025.
- Gebremichael M. (2018). *Conflict analysis and insights: Burundi Conflict Insight*, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University. Retrieved from https://africaportal.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/burundi_formatted_final_21.02.2018.pdf. Accessed 10 December 2025.
- Isabel, B. (2017). How Violence Breeds Violence: Micro-dynamics and Reciprocity of Violent Interaction in the Arab Uprisings, *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-3094>,
- Issifu, A. (2017). Role of Civil Society Organizations in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding in Ghana. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Conflict Science*, 3(1). Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/jics/vol3/iss1/1>
- Jareg, P. & Kaseje, D. (1998). Growth of civil society in developing countries: implications for health. *The Lancet*, 351(9105), pp. 819-22. Available at [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(97\)11454-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(97)11454-4)
- Jetnor, K. & Mohsin, K. (2021). Institutional failure in Burundi: Causes of conflict and insurgency beyond ethnicity, *African Security Review*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2021.1900885>
- Kapyepye, M. (2013). *Resource mobilisation for NGOs in the developing world: current and emerging practices*. London. Adonis and Abbet Publishers Limited. Retrieved

- from <https://search.worldcat.org/fr/title/Resource-mobilisation-for-NGOs-in-the-developing-world--current-and-emerging-practices/oclc/855363485>. Accessed 4 Mai 2025.
- Keck, M. E. & Sikkink K. (1999). Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. *Contemporary Sociology*, 28(1), pp. 96-112. Cornell University Press (Ithaca and London). Retrieved from https://systways.academy/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/GGHR_paper_Keck-Sikkink_Activists-Beyond-Borders.pdf
- LDGL (2020). *Le Cessez-le-feu et l'État d'Insécurité au Burundi*. Retrieved from <https://archives.graduateinstitute.ch/le-cessez-le-feu-et-letat-dinsecurite-au-burundi>. Accessed 14 July 2025.
- Lemarchand, R. (1966). Social Change and Political Modernisation in Burundi. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 4(4), p. 401. <https://doi:10.1017/s0022278x00013719>.
- Lemarchand, R. (1994). *Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice*. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from <https://search.worldcat.org/title/Burundi--ethnocide-as-discourse-and-practice/oclc/29222690>
- Lipchitz, R. & Crawford, B. (1995). *Ethnic conflict institution. IGCC policy brief No 2*. California: University of California, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC)
- Loi organique N° 1/05 du 16 mars 2023 portant détermination et délimitation des provinces, des communes, des zones, des collines ou quartiers de la République du Burundi. Retrieved from <https://www.ceniburundi.bi/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/LOI-n%C2%B05-du-16-mars-2023DETERMINATION-ET-DELIMITATION-DES-PROVINCES-COMMUNES-ZONES-ET-QUARTIERS.pdf>. Accessed 12 May 2025.
- Manirakiza, D. (2018). Civil Society and Democratic Socialization in Burundi. Return to an Ambiguous Complicity. *Swiss Journal of Sociology* 44(1), p.113-138. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1515/sjs-2018-0006>.
- Margaret, E. K. & Kathryn, S. (1998). Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt5hh13f>. Cornell University Press.
- McDonough, A. & Rodríguez, D. C. (2020). How donors support civil society as government accountability advocates: a review of strategies and implications for transition of donor funding in global health. *Globalization and health*, 16(1), 110. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-020-00628-6>
- Mpawenimana, S. & Oladimeji, T. (2015). Hutu-Tutsi Conflict in Burundi: A Critical Exploration of Factors. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies*, 3(6). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2689413>
- Mwenya E. & Mulubale S. (2023). Examining Civil Society Organisations and Zambia's Governance System: Challenges, Successes and Opportunities. APR 2023, *IRE*

- Journals*, Volume 6, Issue 10. Retrieved from <https://www.irejournals.com/formatedpaper/1704241.pdf>
- Mworoha, M. (2018). Civil Society Organizations and Peacebuilding in Burundi: Exploring the Perception of the Population. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 12(2), 1-15.
- Natil, I. (2021). History of Civil Society Organisations: Activism, Intervention and Shifts' in Ibrahim Natil (eds), *Conflict, Civil Society, and Women's Empowerment: Insights from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip*, Emerald Publishing Limited, pp. 15-30. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-80071-060-320210002>.
- Ndikumana, L. (1998). Institutional Failure and Ethnic Conflicts in Burundi. *African Studies Review*, 41(1), 29. African Studies Association. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/african-studies-review/article/abs/institutional-failure-and-ethnic-conflicts-in-burundi/400814744E77113911554707C2EBE0AE>
- Nkurunziza, J. D. (2018). *The origin and persistence of state fragility in Burundi*. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Retrieved from <https://www.theigc.org/sites/default/files/2018/04/Burundi-report-v2.pdf>
- Nkurunziza, J. D. & Ngaruko, F. (2000). An economic interpretation of conflict in Burundi, *Journal of African economies*, 9(3). University of Nice- Sophia Antipolis and the University of Oxford. Retrieved from <https://gsdrc.org/document-library/an-economic-interpretation-of-conflict-in-burundi/>
- Ntamwana, S. (2000). La société civile a besoin de se restructurer. *Brève nouvelle*, 605
- Ntibazonkiza, R. (1993). Au Royaume des Seigneurs de la Lance : Une Approche Historique de la Question Ethnique au Burundi, Tome 2. Bruxelles : Bruxelles-Droits de L'Homme. Retrieved from https://opac.kbr.be/Library/doc/SYRACUSE/17427819/au-royaume-des-seigneurs-de-la-lance?_lg=fr-BE
- Ntizoyimana, J. C. (2016). *Processus démocratique et violence politique au Burundi de 2005 à 2015*. Unpublished Thesis submitted for a Master's Degree in Peace Studies/Human Rights and Peaceful Conflict Resolution.
- Oketch, J. S & Polzer, T. (2002). Conflict and Coffee in Burundi. Retrieved from <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/SCARCITYCHAPTER3.PDF>
- Otayek, R. (2000). *Identité et démocratie dans un monde global' Revue internationale de politique comparée* 8, Paris : Presses de Science Politique. <https://doi.org/10.3917/ripc.082.0339>.
- Palmans, E. (2006). L'évolution de la société civile au Burundi. In *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs Annuaire 2005–2006*, edited by Filip Reyntjens and Marysse Stefaan, 209–231. Paris: L'Harmattan. Retrieved from <https://medialibrary.uantwerpen.be/oldcontent/container2143/files/Publications/Annuaire/2005-2006/09-Palmans.pdf>

- Patty, J. W. & Elizabeth M. P. (2016). *Network Theory and Political Science*, in Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery, and Mark Lubell (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, Oxford Handbooks pp. 147–172. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190228217.013.12>
- Popplewell, R. (2018). Popplewell, R. (2019). Civil society, hybridity and peacebuilding in Burundi: questioning authenticity. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(1), 129–146. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1432347>
- Popplewell, R. (2018). Civil Society, Legitimacy and Political Space: Why Some Organisations are More Vulnerable to Restrictions than Others in Violent and Divided Contexts. *Voluntas* 29, 388–403. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-9949-2>
- Poskitt, A. & Dufranc, M. (2011). Civil Society Organisations in Situations of Conflict, Open forum for CSO development Effectiveness, CIVICUS. Retrieved from https://www.civicus.org/view/media/cso_conflict_complete_report.pdf
- Rugigana, J. (2024). *Ma vérité sur l'assassinat de Ndadaye*, Editions Iwacu Publisher. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/v%C3%A9rit%C3%A9-sur-l'assassinat-Ndadaye-French/dp/B0DKL2YHPP>
- Sommerville, D. & Westwell, I. (2008). *The Complete Illustrated History of World War II: An Authoritative Account of One of the Deadliest Conflicts in Human History*, with Analysis of Decisive Encounters and Landmark Engagements. (London: Lorenz Books), 5. Retrieved from https://books.google.ro/books/about/The Complete Illustrated History of Worl.html?id=scfDxQEACAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Sörbom, A. & Jezierska K. (2023). Social capital and polarization: The case of Polish think tanks, *Journal of Civil Society*, 19(4), pp. 347–365. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2023.2242517>
- Tuhaise F. (2010). *The Functions of and Opportunities for Civil Society in Peacebuilding in Developing Countries*, Master's thesis submitted for fulfillment of Master of Arts degree in Peace Studies at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Retrieved from <https://www.beyondintractability.org/library/functions-civil-society-peacebuilding-and-available-opportunities-civil-society-perform-these>
- U.S. Country Reports (2023). *Human Rights Practices: Burundi*. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/burundi/>, Accessed 21 March, 2025
- Uphoff, N. (2000). *Understanding social capital: Learning from the analysis and experience of participation* in P. Dasgupta and I. Serageldin (eds.) *Social Capital: A multifaceted perspective*, Washington, DC: World Bank, pp. 215-53. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259258097_Understanding_Social_Capital_Learning_from_The_Analysis_and_Experience_of_Participation

- Uvin, P. (1999). Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence, *Comparative Politics*, 31(3), pp. 253-271. Ph.D. Program in Political Science of the City University of New York, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/422339>
- Uvin, P. (2009). *Life after Violence: A People's Story of Burundi*. London: Zed Books(3), p.224. Retrieved from <https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/jacaps/vol1/iss1/3>
- Van Leeuwen M. et al. (2019). The 'local turn' and notions of conflict and peacebuilding – Reflections on local peace committees in Burundi and eastern DR Congo'. *Peacebuilding*, 8(3), pp.279–299. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2019.1633760>
- Van Wessel M., Naz F. & Sahoo S. (2020). Complementarities in CSO Collaborations: How Working with Diversity Produces Advantages. *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 32(4), pp. 717-730. <https://doi:10.1007/s11266-020-00227-4>
- Van Wessel M et al. (2018). *Navigating possibilities of collaboration. How representative roles of diverse CSOs take shape: A literature review*. Wageningen University & Research, Retrieved from <https://edepot.wur.nl/504984>. Accessed 11 April 2025
- Van Wessel M. et al. (2019). *Civil society dynamics: Shaping roles, navigating contexts*. Wageningen University & Research. Retrieved from <https://edepot.wur.nl/511476>. Accessed 11 April 2025
- Van Wessel M. et al. (2021). Complementarities in CSO Collaborations: How Working with Diversity Produces Advantages. *Voluntas* 32, 717–730. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00227-4>
- Walton O. & Aslam W. (2024). Challenging and reinforcing the status quo: Services, civil society and conflict in the MENA region. *World Development*, 181. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2024.106685>
- Weber, P., et al. (2024). How to Leverage Action Research to Develop Context-Specific Capacity Building for Civil Society Organizations. *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 15(1), 49-69. <https://doi.org/10.1515/npf-2022-0041>
- Weinstein, W. (1974). Ethnicity and Conflict Regulation: The 1972 Burundi Revolt. *Africa Spectrum*, 9(1), 42–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40173604>
- World Bank Group. (2019). Burundi-Country-Partnership-Framework-for-the-Period-FY19-FY23. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/282471563156135424/> Accessed 27 August 2025
- World Bank Report. (2024). *Poverty & Equity Brief Burundi, Sub-Saharan Africa*. Retrieved from <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099929001032539532/pdf/IDU11c2477d3137b61412f196471bc21b66a31b2.pdf>. Accessed 30 March 2025.