

Sexual Violence in Burundi: Victims, perpetrators, and the role of conflict¹

Nathalie E. J. Dijkman², Catrien Bijleveld³ and Philip Verwimp⁴

HiCN Working Paper 172

March 2014

Abstract: In this paper we shed light on sexual violence in Burundi in the aftermath of its civil war. By presenting the results of a mixed-method research we discuss five topics: prevalence of sexual violence, a profile of victims, a profile of perpetrators, sexual violence's relation to civil war and its current legal reactions and challenges. By means of multivariate regression analyses we predict women's vulnerability to sexual- and gender based violence (GBV) in the context of war compared to everyday life. We find that age, schooling, living in an IDP camp and household wealth before the civil war have significantly different effects on GBV in both contexts. Many uniformed and armed men committed sexual violence during the war, and it appears that today ex-combatants and military continue to do so. From qualitative interviews we find several factors that connect Burundi's past conflict to today's violence, among which a weakened solidarity in communities and a problematic integration of ex-combatants in society. Impunity marks life in today's Burundi, in particular in relation to persisting sexual violence. A thorough reconciliation or adjudication process since the civil war, as well as today's difficulties to prosecute and pursue perpetrators, are among the main challenges for countering sexual violence in Burundi.

¹ The authors thank Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Université Libre de Bruxelles for financial support, as well as numerous anonymous Burundese citizens for having provided assistance.

² London School of Economics and Political Science

³ NSCR Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement, VU University Amsterdam

⁴ ECARES, Centre Emile Bernheim and Solvay Brussels School of Economics and Management, Université Libre de Bruxelles

Introduction

Sexual violence occurs regularly during conflict. Rape and other forms of sexual violence have been studied more specifically as a phenomenon characteristic of conflicts (a.o. Leatherman, 2011; Kalyvas, 2006; Isikozlu & Millard, 2010) and have been tried by several international tribunals under international humanitarian and criminal law.⁵

However, obtaining reliable quantitative and qualitative data about rape and other forms of sexual violence in armed conflict is fraught with difficulty. Victims are often hesitant to report because of cultural taboos and fear of reprisal. When a region is still in conflict, it is hard to access respondents. As a consequence of such factors, sexual violence during conflicts remains a relatively uncharted scientific research terrain (Agirre, 2010; Bijleveld, Morssinkhof & Smeulers, 2009).

Burundi, in the heart of Africa, suffered a 12-year civil war until a peace accord was signed and ratified in 2005. Although international and national human rights organisations frequently reported on sexual violence committed throughout the conflict (AI, 2004; ACAT, 2008), the nature, aetiology, and response to sexual violence committed during that war has remained virtually unstudied. A recent study on gender based violence (GBV) in Burundi concluded: ‘What is worst, and what should draw the attention of those fighting against [GBV], is that despite the signing of the peace agreements, despite the return of democratic process in Burundi, the situation of women as victims of this violence has not improved’ (Chaire Unesco, 2009:18).

In this paper we focus on the prevalence, nature and context of sexual violence in Burundi since the most recent civil war, as well as on current legal responses to sexual violence, including challenges to prosecute. Although we are aware of male victimisation of sexual violence, we have, due to *inter alia* a lack of sufficient data, decided to narrow our research to include only female victims.

We employ a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative analysis of survey-data with results from qualitative interviews. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first mixed-method study on GBV in Burundi. The results thereof will be presented along five sub-questions: (1) what is the prevalence of sexual violence in Burundi?; (2) what is the profile of

⁵ For an elaborate overview of sexual violence under international (criminal and humanitarian) law see a.o. Chinkin (1994) and Schomburg & Peterson (2007).

the victims of sexual violence?; (3) what is the profile of the perpetrators of sexual violence?; (4) how do these findings relate to the civil war?; and (5) what are the legal reactions to sexual violence and the challenges to (nationally) prosecute perpetrators?

In the quantitative arm of our analysis we find that age, schooling, living in an IDP camp and household wealth before the civil war, have significantly different effects on GBV in a context of war as compared to a context of everyday life. In war, being educated, residing in an IDP camp and belonging to a wealthier family, increased a women's probability to fall victim to GBV. We do not find these effects in contexts that are not related to war: education (at least secondary), camp residence and household wealth seem to shield women from GBV.

Sexual violence

The World Health Organisation defines sexual violence as any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting (WHO, 2011). According to the Rome Statute, sexual violence encompasses apart from rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and forced sterilisation (Rome Statute, art. 7(1)(g)). Sexual violence as such is not defined in the most recent Burundian Criminal Code, although prostitution, sexual exploitation, sexual harassment and rape, among others, each have their own articles (*Code Pénal Burundais*, art. 538-543 and 554-563).

Studying sexual violence in armed conflict

In peacetime, sexual violence may be under-reported for many reasons that include fear of retaliation, distrust and dysfunction of the criminal justice system as well as shame due to possible stigmatisation (Planty et al., 2013). The challenge to obtain reliable data is even greater during conflict, when revolving surveys are generally not held, police and health services disrupted and families and social groups displaced and dispersed. Ethical concerns and security risks for both researchers and survivors of sexual violence in conflicts cause data gathering to be rarely undertaken or successfully completed, or only many years after a conflict has ended. Although these difficulties generally tend to lead to underestimations, war may also cause increased reporting. Human rights groups, medical service and women's organisations emerge as a consequence of war, which increases awareness and motivates women to speak out (Wood, 2006; Agirre, 2010).

Nevertheless, elaborate data on sexual violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda was published with the expertise of research teams within the UN ad hoc criminal tribunals. Studies were conducted on rape and sexual violence in Liberia and Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps in Sierra Leone (Amowitz et al., 2002; Swiss et al., 1998; Physicians for Human Rights, 2002). More recently, Bastick, Grimm & Kunz (2007) published a global overview of sexual violence during war, which is essentially a compilation of reported accounts of rape and other forms of sexual violence in conflicts around the world from 1987 to 2007. In addition, Farr (2009) is one of the few who made an attempt to compare sexual violence in both scope and nature across 27 countries, including Burundi. He presents Burundi, just as *inter alia* Sierra Leone and the DR Congo, as a country with ‘very high’ prevalence of sexual violence, based largely on NGO- and local rape assistance centres’ reports. But as Farr (2009:9) states, ‘data on war rape prevalence are enormously problematic’: levels of (baseline) sexual violence vary across countries in peacetime, and different data collection formats affect prevalence estimates.

Almost no data is available on the scope and nature of sexual violence before or during the war in Burundi (Dailey, 2007), with the exception of some year-reports composed by local NGOs (a.o. Ligue Iteka, 2001-2011), a small scale survey of IDPs (Nduna & Goodyear, 1997), and a retrospective study initiated by the Burundese Ministry of Human Rights and Gender (Chare Unesco, 2009).

Burundi’s civil war

Since independence in 1962, Burundi witnessed several periods of civil war. The latest episode of violence started in October 1993 after the first democratically elected Hutu president was assassinated by the Tutsi-dominated army. This led to large-scale massacres of Tutsis and moderate Hutu’s – also called ‘UPRONA Hutu’s’ – at the hands of Hutu peasants, followed by the army retaliating against the Hutu’s. Labelled as genocide by the United Nations (UN, 2002), within a couple of days about 100,000 civilians died as a consequence of the 1993 massacres. In the 12 years following this episode, a civil war continued with recurrent periods of intensified violence. In 2005 a peace accord was finally signed between the government and one of the main rebel-groups, the *Conceil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Forces de Défense de la Démocratie* (CNDD-FDD). After their rebel leader, Pierre Nkurunziza, was incorporated in the government and rebel combatants were integrated in army and police forces, the intensity of the civil war decreased. Nkurunziza was elected

president of Burundi in 2005 and was re-elected as president in 2010. Since 2005, the Hutu-dominated rebel group called *Forces Nationales pour la Libération* (FNL) has however remained active in opposing the government and peace process. Between 2005 and 2008 there were occasional outbursts of violence in several provinces in Burundi (Dailey, 2007; Lemarchand, 2006).

Violence during Burundi's civil war and its aftermath

Throughout the civil war, international and national human rights organisations regularly reported about war crimes and gross human rights violations, such as looting, torture and sexual violence (AI, 2004; HRW, 2003; Ligue Iteka, 2001-2005). Violence was predominantly directed against civilians, both by the army as by rebel groups. Women suffered disproportionately (AI, 2004). An estimated 4 million persons were displaced between 1993 and 2002, of which 1,3 million outside Burundi, and 2,2 million to IDP camps (UNFPA, 2009). The civil war had devastating effects on Burundi's economy: rural poverty headcount increased from 40% in 1993 to over 70% in 2003, which made Burundi the poorest country in the world in 2003 (Verwimp, 2012). Corruption is continues to be endemic (Transparency International, 2014).

Despite the announcement of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), transitional justice has not started in Burundi, nor have the alleged genocide and war crimes committed been adjudicated, or even formally investigated. In fact, violence continues in Burundi's post conflict society, with some stating that long delay in establishing of the TRC is due to continuing tensions (Vandeginste, 2012). Lemarchand (2006:1) states that, since the end of its civil war, Burundi has been beset by a 'major institutional and political crisis'. Judicial institutions in Burundi are frail and lack sufficient resources, rendering them unequipped to prosecute (past and today's) perpetrators. Human Rights Watch continues to report on political (including sexual) violence in Burundi (HRW, 2010, 2012). As pointed out by Daley (2007:126): "In Burundi, the military, armed opposition groups, criminal elements and individual men commit rape with impunity".

Methodology

To answer our research questions we employ a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative analysis of nationally representative survey data with qualitative in-depth

interviews. Our quantitative analysis of survey data will be used to investigate the prevalence and context of sexual violence victimization, as well as characteristics of perpetrators and victims. Qualitative interviews with victims, perpetrators and professionals will be used to investigate the context and aetiology of Burundi's persisting sexual violence, as well as the relation between post-conflict violence and the civil war. Integrating these qualitative and quantitative findings, we compensate for any bias or weakness that might have occurred had we used just one type of method (Lieberman, 2005). In presenting our results, we will therefore also integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Exploiting Survey Data

In 2002, the United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA) conducted a socio-demographic survey in urban areas, rural areas as well as IDP camps in Burundi.⁶ In total 9,398 women aged over 14 years were asked a set of detailed questions on victimisation of sexual- and other GBV ('violence module'). This survey was nationally representative, in spite of the ongoing conflict. We refer to UNFPA (2002) and Verwimp and Van Bavel (2013) for a detailed description of the survey. We use the module on violence that was included in the survey.

We use in addition a Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), conducted in 2005 by the *Institut de Statistiques et d'Études Économiques du Burundi (ISTEEBU)*, in cooperation with UNICEF.⁷ This survey, in which 9,305 women between 15 and 49 years old participated, also had a module on GBV. It was part of UNICEF's MICS3, the third round of MICSs carried out in over 50 countries in 2005-2006, and is considered representative of the population in Burundi at that time.

Both surveys asked questions on life-time prevalence of sexual violence, but the UNFPA questionnaire did not specifically define sexual violence while the MICS survey specified different types of such violence, including sexual harassment and forced marriage. Rape was mentioned as a separate type of (sexual) violence in both surveys. We will use the data from both surveys for two reasons. Firstly, they enable us to investigate whether the prevalence of sexual violence changed between 2002, when the civil war was still ongoing, and 2005, when peace accords had been signed. Secondly, since different questions about (sexual) violence are asked in each survey, the datasets complement each other. For instance, the 2002 survey

⁶ See for a detailed overview of the data collection and sampling method: UNFPA 2002, Appendix B, 328-345.

⁷ See for a detailed overview of the data collection and sampling method: ISTEEBU, 2008, Annex C.

includes questions about the perpetrator of sexual violence and when it occurred, while the 2005 survey asked for victims' reactions to the violence.

Qualitative interviews and respondents

A total of 30 topical interviews were conducted in Burundi from 15 August to 25 September 2012: 15 interviews with professionals and volunteers working on sexual violence for governmental and non-governmental organisations ('experts'), and 15 with female victims of sexual violence in four provinces: *Bujumbura Marie*, *Cibitoke*, *Bubanza* and *Gitega* ('victims'). Next, five focus groups were organised: three with victims of rape, one with victims of GBV and one with ex-combatants from rebel groups and the military, among which perpetrators. Focus groups varied in size from 18 to 5 individuals and were conducted in *Bujumbura* and *Gitega*. Experts were selected through purposive sampling on the basis of their knowledge on sexual violence and women's rights, while snowball sampling (via experts and first victims) was used for selecting victims and perpetrators. Victims and focus groups were selected such that spread was ensured over age, profession and marital status, residential area, and experience with sexual violence. All respondents gave informed consent. Interviews with experts and focus groups took on average one hour, while interviews with victims took on average half an hour. All expert interviews were conducted by the first author in French, while interviews with victims and discussions in focus groups were translated from Kirundi into French. Translators were either working for the organization that assisted the victim, or otherwise experienced with interviewing victims of (sexual) violence. In return for their time and effort, all respondents received a small present after the interview. For security reasons, respondents for the qualitative interviews could not be selected from all areas in Burundi.

The interviews were semi-structured, following predefined topic lists that were based on what was known, or unknown, from literature on sexual violence in Burundi. They also served to complement and contextualize the results from earlier analyses of the two datasets discussed above. Topic lists were checked and piloted by local female experts for wording and structure. Expert interviews were conducted first, tape-recorded and transcribed, and findings used to augment victims' topic lists. Transcripts and summaries of all interviews constituted the raw material for qualitative analysis.

Analytic methods

To investigate the relationship between background characteristics, context and sexual violence, we performed multivariate regression analyses of the UNFPA data only, as it – in contrast to the MICS data – contained detailed information on the context in which the GBV occurred and the type of perpetrator. We tested the associations between personal and household characteristics and violence in everyday life as well as during war in a multivariate framework. In particular we estimated four models in which we attempted to predict from the set of personal and household characteristics:

- (i) whether a woman experienced sexual violence;
- (ii) how often a woman experienced violence;
- (iii) the seriousness of different types of abuse;
- (iv) the context in which any abuse took place (i.e. war related abuse and abuse not related to the war)

The models will be estimated through, respectively, a binary logit specification, a tobit specification, an ordered logit, and a multinomial logit specification. All regressions include province fixed effects, are weighted with the sample weights provided in the data set and have standard errors corrected for clustering at the level of the survey sites.

As independent variables we include age and age squared, religious denomination (base is catholic), level of education (base is no education), location of residence at the time of the survey (base is rural area) and household wealth before the start of the civil war (1993), as measured by the number of livestock units owned by the household. Our set of variables is limited as it is based on the (relatively) small number of variables available in the dataset and in the violence module. Age, educational level and family wealth are all indicators for vulnerability. As wartime (sexual) violence-rates were reported to be higher in densely populated areas as well as in refugee or IDP camps (AI, 2004; Bastick, Grimm & Kunz, 2007), we include area of residence. As religion is a salient feature of Burundese society it is included, although we have no hypotheses as to the direction of its effects.

Descriptive Analysis

Prevalence of sexual violence in Burundi

Table 1 presents an overview of the prevalence of sexual violence over the life course as found in the two surveys. In the UNFPA survey 1,831 women (20%) reported any GBV, in the MICS survey 2,362 women (almost 25%) did so. Some women suffered multiple instances of violence. In both surveys, just over 10% of GBV cases were sexual violence, meaning that 3.3% (in 2002) and 3.2% (in 2005) of all females reported sexual violence (including rape). Although the two surveys enumerated different forms of violence, they present fairly consistent life-time victimization rates of GBV and sexual violence.

[Table 1 about here]

These numbers likely only reveal a fraction of all sexual violence. Sexual violence is a taboo topic in Burundi, where everything sexual is regarded intimate or a secret.

“It is actually normal *not* to talk about it. You have to escape our old customs in order to open up and dare to share your story.”⁸

This is especially true for rural communities most out of reach for awareness campaigns by NGOs. This taboo, causing unawareness and stigmatisation, likely generates underreporting of sexual violence cases.⁹ In addition, experts and victims mentioned that forms of sexual violence other than rape were generally not regarded as violence.¹⁰

While the surveys show life-time victimisation prevalence in 2002 and 2005, the qualitative interviews held in the summer of 2012 in Burundi also include information about sexual violence in the post-conflict period. Experts¹¹ mentioned many local NGOs record sexual violence cases. According to *Centre Seruka*, the only specialized rape-assistance centre in Burundi, the number of victims of sexual violence reaching the centre has over the last five years remained at an average of 120 victims a month (Centre Seruka, 2006-2011).¹² *Ligue Iteka*, a national human rights NGO based in almost all provinces of Burundi, has over the last years even recorded a steady rise of sexual violence cases (Ligue Iteka, 2004-2012):¹³ The

⁸ Expert Interview (EI) 4.

⁹ EI 1, 6-7.

¹⁰ EI 12-14; Focus Group (FG) 3, with victims from Bujumbura.

¹¹ EI 1, 3-4, 6-8, 10-11, 12.

¹² EI 1.

¹³ EI 6.

organisation recorded 311 cases of sexual violence for the first half of 2012, while in 2005 approximately the same number was reported for the whole year (Ligue Iteka, 2005, p. 100).¹⁴ *Centre Humura*, a government-run GBV assistance centre in Gitega, has seen 162 victims in less than three months since its opening in June 2012, of which more than half were cases of sexual violence.¹⁵ Other human rights organisations in Burundi, such as *Association de Femmes Juristes du Burundi*, *Centre Nturengaho* or CARE, reported stable numbers of sexual violence cases over the last years. Victims mentioned that sexual violence cases are reported almost every day in their respective regions.¹⁶ Results from a recent survey on GBV indicate an increase of sexual violence since the civil war (Chaire Unesco, 2009:31).

In absence of any official data on sexual violence from before 2002, it is difficult to assess whether today's numbers are elevated in relation to the period before the war. According to both experts and victims, however, rape was more frequent during the civil war in Burundi.¹⁷ The conflict created, according to the respondents, conditions in which violence in general became more prevalent. On the other hand, it is likely that today more women dare to speak out due to awareness raising campaigns, which may have also increased the number of sexual violence victims seeking assistance.¹⁸ The International Rescue Committee in Burundi noticed in their work over the last years more and more cases of sexual and domestic violence, but they ascribe this not to a real increase in the number of cases, but rather to the effect of increasing awareness-campaigns by both NGOs and the government.¹⁹

Nevertheless, experts remark that taboo and fear of stigmatisation influence sexual violence prevalence estimates before the war as well:

“[...] cultural habits must have guided sexual violence cases also before the war – but people would talk even less about it and there would be even less help or assistance for victims. You were supposed to marry the woman you raped, if this was made known to the community; and that's how it was settled.”²⁰

In conclusion we note that experts and victims agree that sexual violence has always been prevalent in Burundi, but that it became more frequent during the war. Since then, despite the

¹⁴ EI 6.

¹⁵ EI 14.

¹⁶ Victim Interview (VI) 1, 3-5, 8-10, 11, 13.

¹⁷ EI 4, 6-8, FG 3.

¹⁸ EI 7.

¹⁹ EI 9.

²⁰ EI 13.

end of Burundi's civil war, sexual violence cases have remained elevated. This is so regardless of the effects of awareness raising campaigns in recent years. Our quantitative results support this claim: both the 2002 and the 2005 survey show consistently about 10% sexual violence victimisation among GBV cases in Burundi.

Victims of sexual violence

A comparison was made between the age of female respondents at the time of the surveys (UNFPA resp. MICS) and their violence victimisation (Figure 1). Women appear to become victims of sexual violence at relatively young ages: 15 resp. 22% of sexual violence victims were aged 15-19, compared to 5 resp. 8% for victims of non-sexual GBV of the same age. For the age range 20-35, non-sexual violence is reported more, and sexual violence less so. When looking only at rape it appears that younger women consistently more often report rape than older women. Women between 15-19 years old at the time of the survey in 2005 comprise more than 25% of all rape victims (against 20% in 2002).

[Figure 1 about here]

Since the surveys asked prevalence of sexual (and domestic) violence over the life course, the above only shows the age at which the woman filled out the survey, but not the age at which she was actually victimised. However, women in the UNFPA survey were asked about the phase in their lives when the violence took place. As can be seen in Table 2, women clearly suffered more often sexual violence (35-40%) than other GBV (6%) during adolescence. Of unmarried young women, more than 17% suffered sexual violence while 4% suffered other GBV. Experts elucidated on this difference in domestic and sexual violence: married, adult women who suffer domestic violence by their husbands may also suffer sexual violence at home,²¹ and in fact at least a quarter of sexual violence victims in the UNFPA survey suffered the violence while they were married. Women raped during their adolescence are possibly more often victimized outside the household.

[Table 2 about here]

The quantitative surveys addressed only women of 14 years and older. Experts however indicated that the average age of victims of sexual violence in Burundi is young. As an example, in 2011, almost 50% of all victims arriving at *Centre Seruka* were below 13 years of age. This underscores once more how these surveys reveal only a fraction of all sexual

²¹ EI 3.

violence. In the qualitative interviews it was regularly mentioned that girls employed as so called *domestiques*²², nannies and those coming from poorer families and the rural *collines* are vulnerable to (sexual as well as other gender-based) violence.²³ Experts regularly indicated that victims of sexual violence have become younger throughout the post-conflict period. Explanations for this change are hard to give, although several experts explained that during the war the women who were raped were those going into the field or forest in search for wood and water. Because of the dangers of the war, adult women would generally get this task and consequently were victimised most often.²⁴

Overall, we can see from the surveys and the respondents' views that younger women suffer more sexual violence than older women, who may suffer this violence rather in the context of domestic violence. Between 2002 and 2005 the group of young women suffering sexual violence had grown, whereas respondents have in the post conflict period seen a steady rise in the amount of girls even below the age of 14 as victims of rape and other sexual violence.

Perpetrators of sexual violence

The 2002 survey conducted by UNFPA asked victims about the identity of the perpetrators. These identities could be classified into different groups: (1) (ex)husband or partner, (2) family member, (3) family-in-law member, (4) neighbours and acquaintances, (5) uniformed or armed men and (6) other strangers. Perpetrator's profiles appear different in rape and sexual violence cases compared to other GBV cases. Table 3 gives an overview. Of sexual violence cases, 39% (43% for rape) was perpetrated by strangers (both uniformed and unknown men), while this applies to 2% for other GBV. In GBV cases, 74% was perpetrated by the husband.

[Table 3 about here]

The difference between sexual violence committed within and outside the household in Burundi seems to be important when understanding prevalence and profiles of sexual violence. Table 4 presents a cross-table of perpetrator and life phase. Of those women who suffered sexual violence from their husband, 75% was victimised during marriage. Of those women who suffered sexual violence by a stranger (including uniformed men), at least 60% was victimised during adolescence or adulthood before marriage, and between 5 and 6%

²² Someone taking care of the household and children, in exchange for housing and food and a (very) small loan.

²³ EI 3, 5-6, 10-11. 'colline', a hillside – in Burundi villages and communities are further divided into *collines*, each having their own *colline*-leader and social arrangements.

²⁴ EI 1, 5.

during marriage. Violence perpetrated by neighbours or acquaintances was committed in more than 75% of cases before the victim married.

[Table 4 about here]

According to victim-assistance centres and experts, today's sexual violence perpetrators are predominantly family members or in-laws, male *domestiques*, and - very often - neighbours. Several respondents explained that *domestiques*, who frequently rape children at the house they are employed, are often also ex-combatants.²⁵ According to *Ligue Iteka* a significant number of perpetrators are members of the government or the military or police, demobilised combatants still in possession of their arms, or in other positions of power.²⁶ Growing numbers of incidents in which teachers sexually assault their pupils have been noted.²⁷ In addition, a so-called 'group of bandits' is also often mentioned: armed young men who pillage a house and rape the women who happen to be present.²⁸ These groups resemble the armed rebel-groups that would often rape in a similar fashion during the civil war.²⁹

The fact that people are not moving around anymore as was usual during the war (either as combatant or refugee) reportedly has reduced the number of rapes by a stranger.³⁰ Not surprisingly, according to *Centre Seruka* and others, during the war perpetrators were reportedly uniformed men, or armed men from one of the combating groups.³¹ However, despite the fact that the UNFPA survey was conducted in 2002 when the conflict in Burundi was ongoing, only few respondents mentioned armed or uniformed men as their perpetrator.³² One of the possible reasons for why the quantitative and qualitative data seem not to concur on this point may be that women were afraid to point out their perpetrator as someone wearing a uniform and thus in power at the time. Another reason could be that their (combatant) perpetrator was not wearing a uniform, and thus only identified as a stranger.³³

²⁵ EI 1, 4, 7-9.

²⁶ EI 6, 11.

²⁷ EI 3, 7, 11.

²⁸ EI 1, 4.

²⁹ EI 1, 8.

³⁰ EI 12.

³¹ EI 8.

³² Only 32 out of 2,930 cases as mentioned by victims who suffered any form of GBV and who identified a perpetrator, identified him as someone in a uniform or with arms.

³³ 133 out of 301 sexual violence cases were identified as being perpetrated by 'a stranger'.

Finally, the violence module in the UNFPA survey may have shifted the respondents' attention to domestic violence, underrepresenting war-related violence.³⁴

We conclude that the context of the violence impacts the type and profile of both perpetrator and victim. We recognize two distinct profiles as to violence victimisation in Burundi. Firstly, the husband as perpetrator of sexual violence is closely related to domestic and intra-marital violence. In addition, and increasingly frequent over the last years according to experts, are neighbours and acquaintances, who perpetrate sexual violence with young (unmarried) girls. Although during the war more uniformed and armed men committed sexual violence, our qualitative data points towards the involvement of ex-combatants and military likewise in today's sexual violence cases.

Sexual violence and the civil war

In the 2002 UNFPA survey women were asked in which context the violence they suffered had occurred. As can be seen in Table 5, victims answered predominantly that the violence had happened in the context of everyday life. However, if we only look at sexual violence cases, 37% happened in the context of conflict, whereas this is only 5% of non-sexual violence cases. Of rape cases, 45% was reported to have occurred in the context of conflict.

[Table 5 about here]

It is important to note that at the time of the UNFPA survey the civil war in Burundi was still on going. We cannot exclude that violence committed in a context of everyday life (according to respondents) was nevertheless influenced by the larger context of on going conflict since 1993. Many war-related factors, such as population-displacement, ethnic tensions and greater economical hardship may very well have influenced inter-personal relationships in everyday life in Burundi. As an illustration, almost one third of all sexual victimization occurring in a context of conflict was committed by neighbours (Table 6). However, our qualitative findings neighbours show that neighbours continue to be perpetrators of sexual violence today, despite the end of the conflict.

[Table 6 about here]

Much current violence is according to respondents still related to the war. In an attempt to explain why sexual violence remains so frequent even in post-conflict Burundi, several

³⁴ Only 301 out of 2,930 cases were sexual violence cases; compared to 1,944 cases of physical violence. The sequence of the questions in the survey point towards a focus on domestic violence and intra-marital violence.

respondents pointed to a decline or destruction of moral values due to the war,³⁵ and social cohesion having been damaged severely.

“We are getting used to seeing death around us. Even if someone screams at night – before, we used to react to this, but nowadays, we close our windows and stay in. The solidarity that used to exist before has left us.”³⁶

Some experts also note that communities have been disrupted due to the war, as many people who became internally displaced or lived in refugee camps had to relocate and reintegrate. The return of ex-combatants back home has sometimes fostered vengeance within communities.³⁷

“There is still a lot of tension between neighbours, or even between family members and friends. Someone from the family had been killed by some neighbour, and as a revenge, a boy from this family can rape a girl from that neighbour’s family.”³⁸

The degradation of morals and normalization of violence during the war had as a consequence that sexual violence committed today might even be seen as ordinary.³⁹ One 60-year old victim explains:

“I was raped by a young man, and I was shocked by the fact that he picked a lady as old as I am. Because of my age I was not so scared to talk about it. It happens very often, it could have happened to anyone. Everyone took the incident as normal.”⁴⁰

Moreover, poverty that resulted from the war has led to new problems today: bandits in search for money loot property and by opportunity rape the women present.⁴¹ Economic hardship facilitates sexual exploitation, corruption and prostitution.⁴² Many had to leave school during at least some periods of the war.⁴³ In Burundi, lack of schooling affects sexual education, awareness about sexual violence and overall norms and values, labour market chances and outcomes, and affects the possibility to reintegrate back into society (ISTEEBU, 2008).

³⁵ EI 1,3, 6-8, 11.

³⁶ EI 1.

³⁷ EI 8, 10.

³⁸ EI 10.

³⁹ EI 8.

⁴⁰ VI 4.

⁴¹ See ft. 25, EI 1, 4.

⁴² EI 14.

⁴³ EI 4. See also Verwimp and Van Bavel (forthcoming).

Experts further mentioned that many Burundese may have psychological problems due to the war.

“This degradation of morals fosters violence. (...) People have seen their family members being murdered, which enlarges psychosocial problems, such as desperation. They’ve been through that, and their morals and values have not been restored. (...) Even if the war is over, it is not over in you. You always see the horrors. You see what you’ve lost and what you have now. You have no hope, and [it feels] as if nothing has changed.”⁴⁴

The fact that today’s perpetrators may belong to a group of ‘traumatised’ citizens is not really recognised as such by the criminal justice system: interviewed experts said that for those few cases that are prosecuted, prosecutors and judges hardly ever request a medical expert to investigate the mental state of perpetrators.⁴⁵ According to a Burundian human rights lawyer, many of today’s ex-combatants, or *démobilisées*, did not integrate back into society and make up a distinct category of sexual violence perpetrators.⁴⁶ This affirms our results about today’s perpetrators of sexual violence (pp. 12-13). An ex-combatant for the FNL rebel group in Burundi adds to this:

“Ex-combatants are not over the war, they are not at peace. It’s a psychological change, a certain mindset that many of them still are in. There is a continuing violent mindset [*l’esprit de violence est encore là*].”⁴⁷

Indeed, several respondents and victims believe that the men who fought during the war are the ones that still commit sexual violence today.

“The men who were combating during the war are still there. They have to integrate back into society, but they are traumatized and disturbed for life – they may have no values anymore.”⁴⁸

All in all, many interviewed indicated that the war has generated the preconditions in Burundese society for violence to continue to take place.

⁴⁴ EI 5.

⁴⁵ EI 11.

⁴⁶ EI 6.

⁴⁷ Focus Group (FG) (5) with ex-combatants, Bujumbura.

⁴⁸ EI 4.

Multivariate analysis

Table 7 presents the results from four multiple regression analyses, as detailed above.⁴⁹

[Table 7 about here]

In the binary logit we find that middle-aged women are most likely to be victimized (but remember that only women aged over 14 years were interviewed). We do not find an effect of religious denomination that is statistically significant from the baseline religion (catholicism). Education on the other hand matters: women with primary education are more likely to suffer violence compared to women without education (baseline), women with secondary education are least likely to be victimised. Place of residence matters too: women residing in urban and camp environments report more victimization compared to women in rural areas. Women from richer households have again lower probabilities. This pattern returns in the tobit and the ordered logit specifications with only minor changes in the size of the coefficients. This shows that the same factors predict the prevalence of GBV victimisation, the frequency of sexual victimisation, and the seriousness of sexual victimisation.

Next, we investigate factors explaining the ‘context of war’ in which the violence occurs through a multinomial regression model. Age loses its statistical significance as an explanatory variable in the context of war. The size of the coefficient of primary schooling changes somewhat for non-war related abuse and is high for war-related abuse. Moreover, having a secondary level of education does not shield a woman from war-related abuse, in contrast to non-war related abuse. The effect of the location variables is also much more pronounced for war-related abuses compared to non-war related abuse, with women residing in urban or camp environments running a much higher risk. The sign of the pre-conflict wealth variable is opposite for war-related violence compared to non-war related violence and statistically significant from zero in both cases, meaning that women in wealthier households had more risk to fall victim to war-related abuses compared to poorer women and less so for everyday violence. In conclusion we notice that the effects of age, secondary schooling, living in a camp and wealth before the war on violence victimization of women, are reversed or significantly different in a context of war than in a context of everyday life.

⁴⁹ The mlogit includes *all* forms of GBV because the N would be too small to look only at sexual violence in particular.

Discussion

Some factors may have affected the validity of our qualitative findings. As all the interviews were held by (or in the presence of) a foreigner, we cannot exclude the possibility that respondents may have given different answers accordingly. In spite of a clear introduction, they may nevertheless have expected to receive a special reward, financial compensation or job offer if they gave a ‘satisfactory’ answer. Also, as is prone to all qualitative research, the information derived from interviews will always be coloured by the respondents’ and researcher's subjectivity. To counter this, also because of the high sensitivity of discussing sexual violence and its prosecution in a country where transitional justice is still politicised, we paid specific attention to *meta-data* (Fujii, 2010): these are rumours, inventions, denials, evasions and silences that form an integral part of qualitative data. For instance, some victims could not remember when an event took place, or would confuse dates. As a consequence, we would either ask about the event another time or to another person who was also involved, or disregard that information altogether. Strategies of dissimulation may continue to constitute the mode of survival for many victims and perpetrators of sexual violence in Burundi’s post-conflict setting.

Due to budgetary limitations, we relied on unpaid translators who voluntarily assisted during the interviews with victims and focus groups. Those who translated on behalf of an assistance centre or NGO were possibly biased towards the incentives of their organisation. For instance, they may have exaggerated the situation and story of victims. At the same time, they were probably also most suited to make the victim feel at ease during an interview with a stranger. Several times a male translated the interview, which could have affected our data as well. We can doubt whether a female victim would dare to speak out about her experience as much as she would without any males present, particularly regarding a topic so intimate and gendered.

The fact that victims were accessed through experts via the snowball method implies that we almost exclusively reached women who sought help after victimisation. It is extremely difficult to reach victims who have not spoken out about what happened, even though this group is most probably large in Burundi. We therefore omit an important group of victims who may have different answers to questions about causes and legal reactions to sexual violence. To counter this, we attempted to find victims through other ways: in the province of *Bubanza* a local journalist would introduce us to victims who had never sought help with NGOs or even medical centres.

Our quantitative research results present life-time prevalence of sexual violence. We concluded, mainly on the basis of our qualitative findings, that sexual violence in Burundi appears to have remained elevated in the post-conflict period. This conclusion is problematic in the absence of any pre-war data. Given the surveys' designs we would technically be able to investigate trends over time, however, the N in our datasets for pre-war data was too small to allow for such a comparison. Lack of comparable quantitative data on sexual violence, specifically for countries emerging from conflicts, prevents us from comparing Burundi's sexual violence rates across countries and contexts (war vs. peace).

Our primarily goal was to investigate relations between women's characteristics, and the context in which they were victimized. This study is the first to do so for Burundi. In spite of the strength of the quantitative data, the information gathered from qualitative interviews was indispensable in explaining our quantitative results, as well as the aetiology of sexual violence in relation to Burundi's past war and its culture. It is both imperative and a challenge for future research to use mixed methods to further study the complex and hidden phenomenon of sexual violence in conflict, and its aftermath. It appears that apart from victims' needs, a particularly urgent matter to study is the manner in which perpetrators can be held accountable in post-conflict societies.

Legal challenges and reactions

Throughout the qualitative interviews all victims mentioned that they wished perpetrators of sexual violence would be more often, or more severely, punished.⁵⁰ At the same time, only few of them reported their victimisation to the authorities. This also emerges from the MICS survey: 18% of victims reported the offence to the police, while 48% did nothing (Table 7).

[Table 8 about here]

Today's impunity, as well as the mindset of impunity that was present during the civil war, are according to experts the main cause of sexual violence committed so frequent even today in Burundi.⁵¹ Ex-combatants themselves agreed that punishment is necessary in order to

⁵⁰ VI 1-15.

⁵¹ EI 1-3, 6-7, 9.

counter the high number of sexual violence cases in Burundi.⁵² However, several obstacles prevent prosecution.

Firstly, the taboo around sexuality and fear of stigmatization prevents women from speaking out. In addition, almost all victims explained that they have been, or were afraid to be, threatened by their perpetrator or the perpetrator's family or friends.⁵³

“Since I had recognised the policeman who had raped me, I accused him at the police station. He was arrested and imprisoned for only two months. While he was in prison, other policemen continuously came to my house and threatened to kill me if I would continue pursuing the case. I was too afraid to continue.”⁵⁴

In post-conflict Burundi, as the perpetrator is often someone from the victim's community, fear of threats and stigma are real. If the victim and perpetrator's family are on friendly terms, victims accusing their perpetrators disrupt community cohesion.

If legal procedures start at all, many victims lack the energy, time, or money to pursue the case.⁵⁵ Only women who are accompanied and supported, and who have enough judicial and psychological help will be able to continue throughout the whole trial.⁵⁶ As is inherent to sexual violence cases in general, lack of witnesses or other evidence may lead to perpetrators being acquitted. A further important impediment for legally pursuing (sexual violence) cases is the tendency for those living in (mostly) rural areas of Burundi, to wanting to settle cases within their own community. Many local people prefer to settle violence-cases ‘à amiable’ (among themselves).⁵⁷ In other terms: a rape taking place in a small village should according to members of that community also be settled in that village, without official interference. Most victims of sexual violence first see their community-leader before moving on to report the case to the police. Community leaders frequently try to avoid the start of an investigation.⁵⁸

Experts and victims accentuated that legal procedures are often obstructed or even stopped altogether due to corrupted administrators and community-leaders. During the focus groups several women said that corruption is one of the biggest obstacles in trying to get the

⁵² FG 5, with ex-combatants from Bujumbura.

⁵³ VI 1-3, 6, 9-10, 12-15; FG 2-3, with rape victims from Bujumbura.

⁵⁴ VI 10.

⁵⁵ EI 1-3, 5-6.

⁵⁶ EI 13.

⁵⁷ EI 6, 8, 10, 13.

⁵⁸ EI 6.

perpetrator being tried.⁵⁹ This is especially so for perpetrators holding positions within municipalities and the local government.

“I was raped by an ex-combatant, and (...) I wanted him to be arrested and tried. He was released very shortly after his arrest, and the case was suspended indefinitely. I don’t know why they did that, I asked about it but they refuse to answer me. I believe it has to do with the perpetrator’s position of power as a high-ranked ex-combatant. I heard he has raped several women before me, but he has never been in prison. (...) The idea that he can do as he pleases and does not risk any punishment is terrible to me.”⁶⁰

According to experts, corruption is entrenched into all layers of society, which has the consequence of victims becoming more reluctant to trust officials, and less dedicated to pursue their case. At the same time, the idea that conflicts should be settled within the community without too much hassle still prevails in many regions. The two mechanisms are interlinked since the urge by many, including administration officials themselves, to avoid interference by justice is paving an easy road to corruption. Criminal prosecution may also cause repercussions with perpetrators and victims are often living in the same communities. All in all, it appears that many challenges lie ahead for victims of sexual violence in Burundi to pursue redress through official channels.

6. Conclusion

Primary data on sexual violence during and after conflict is rare, and even more so in the particular case of Burundi. We presented the results of a mixed-method research on the prevalence of sexual violence, the profile of victims and perpetrators, as well as the relation of sexual violence to Burundi’s civil conflict and its aftermath. By analysing two datasets from demographic surveys conducted in 2002 and 2005 we were able to describe lifetime prevalence, as well as victim- and perpetrator profiles. In addition, we investigated which characteristics and contexts made women more vulnerable to sexual- and GBV in the context of war, as well as in everyday life. Interviews with experts, victims and perpetrators contextualised the results, while simultaneously providing explanations for (post-conflict) sexual violence, and outlining the challenges ahead.

⁵⁹ FG 2, with rape victims from Bujumbura.

⁶⁰ VI 3.

Surveys from 2002 and 2005 show consistent lifetime prevalence of sexual violence in Burundi, of around 3%. This is likely a lower-bound estimation, since stigmatization and taboo surrounding the topic of sexual violence constrain reporting of such violence in Burundi. Secondly, we see that profiles of victims and perpetrators of sexual violence vary over time and according to context. Victims of sexual violence tend to be younger and, in recent years, more often children. The husband is more often the perpetrator of sexual violence in domestic settings, where victims are generally older and the violence appears unrelated to conflict. During the war many uniformed and armed men committed sexual violence, but it appears that still today ex-combatants and military personnel continue to do so. The relation between the war and sexual violence in post conflict Burundi is likely complex. Respondents mentioned weakened solidarity in communities, poverty, lack of schooling, psycho-traumatic problems and problematic integration of ex-combatants in society as factors contributing to sustained high levels of sexual violence .

The results from our multivariate analyses indicate that the effects of age, schooling, IDP status and wealth on victimization are different in the context of war than outside. In particular, we conclude that women who are of middle-age, finished primary schooling, live in urban areas and come from poorer households, are generally more at risk to suffer GBV, multiple events of such violence and sexual violence. However, in a context of war, women of every age are at risk to suffer violence and in particular those living in camps and coming from wealthier households.

These profiles may help in understanding the complex aetiology of GBV in (post-) conflict countries. The fact that we are dealing with different risk factors for women in times of war implies that explaining conflict-related violence requires specific theoretical models. Moreover, the manifold *liaisons* between sexual violence and (past) conflict as explained by experts and victims in the field indicate that some of these conflict factors may carry over to post-conflict settings. This is particularly relevant in the emerging field of transitional justice.

According to our informants, impunity marks the manner in which sexual violence is dealt with in Burundi. A tolerance of sexual abuse against women and girls may be one of the long-lasting effects of the civil war. Not holding perpetrators may further erode morale and morals. A key part of the agreements and ceasefire between the government and main rebel group, CNDD-FDD, was the provision of temporary immunity to Nkurunziza's members and members of the government armed forces (Vandeginste, 2012). However, as long as

perpetrators of serious human rights abuses, including sexual violence, continue to escape justice, such violence may persist.

References

- l'Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture (ACAT). (2008). *Les violences contre les femmes au Burundi*. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/rapportalternatifburundi.pdf>.
- Agirre, X. (2010). Sexual Violence beyond Reasonable Doubt: Using Pattern Evidence and Analysis for International Cases, *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 23, 609–627.
- Amnesty International (AI). (2004). *Rape: the hidden human rights abuse*. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR16/006/2004>.
- Amowitz, L.L., et al. (2002). Prevalence of War-Related Sexual Violence and Other Human Rights Abuses among Internally Displaced Persons in Sierra Leone, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 287(4), 513.
- Bastick, M., Grimm, K., & Kunz, R. (2007). *Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict, Global Overview and Implications for the Security Sector*. Geneva: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces.
- Bijleveld, C.C.J.H., Morssinkhof, A. & Smeulders, A. L. (2009). Counting the countless. Rape victimisation during the Rwandan genocide. *International Criminal Justice Review*, 19, 208-224.
- Centre Seruka, *Rapports Annuels 2006-2011*, Bujumbura: Medecins Sans Frontiers.
- Chaire Unesco. (2009). *Etude Nationale sur les violences faites aux femmes et filles en période de conflit*. Bujumbura: CERFOPAX.
- Chinkin, C. (1994). Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women in International Law, *European Journal for International Law*, 5, 326.
- Code Pénal Burundais du 22 Avril 2009*, Loi N°1/05.
- Daley, P.O. (2007). *Gender and Genocide in Burundi. The Search for Spaces of Peace in the Great Lakes Region*. Indiana University Press.

- Farr, K. (2009). Extreme War Rape in Today's Civil War-Torn States: A Contextual and Comparative Analysis, *Gender Issues*, 26(1), 1–41.
- Fujii, L.A. (2010). Shades of truth and lies: Interpreting testimonies of war and violence, *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(2), 231-241.
- Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2003). *Everyday Victims: Civilians in the Burundian War*. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/12/21/everyday-victims>.
- Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2010). "We'll tie you up and shoot you". *Lack of Accountability for Political Violence in Burundi*. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/05/14/we-ll-tie-you-and-shoot-you>.
- Human Rights Watch (HRW). (2012). "You will not have peace while you are living". *The Escalation of Political Violence in Burundi*. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2012/05/02/you-will-not-have-peace-while-you-are-living>.
- Institut de Statistiques et d'Études Économiques du Burundi (ISTEEBU). (2008). *Enquête Nationale d'Évaluation des Conditions de vie de l'Enfant et de la Femme au Burundi-2005*. Rapport Definitif.
- Isikozlu, E. & Millard, A.S. (2010). *Towards a Typology of Wartime Rape*. BICC.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2006). *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Leatherman, J.L. (2011). *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict. War and Conflict in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lemarchand, R. (2006). *Burundi's Endangered Transition: FAST Country Risk Profile Burundi*. Swisspeace Working Paper.
- Lieberman, E. (2005). Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research, *American Political Science Review*, 99(3), 435-452.

Ligue Iteka, *Rapports Narratif d'Activités de La Ligue Burundaise des Droits de l'Homme Iteka 2001-2011*. Bujumbura: ITEKA.

Nduna, S. & Goodyear, L. (1997). *Pain too deep for tears: Assessing the prevalence of sexual gender violence among Burundian refugees in Tanzania*. International Rescue Committee.

Physicians for Human Rights (2002). *War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone: A Population-Based Assessment*.

Planty, M., Langton, L., Krebs, C., Berzofsky, M. and Smiley-McDonald, H. (2013). *Female Victims of Sexual Violence, 1994-2010*. BJS, U.S. Department of Justice, <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/fvsv9410.pdf> [accessed 14 January 2014]

Schomburg, W. & Peterson, I. (2007). Genuine Consent to Sexual Violence under International Criminal Law, *American Journal for International Law*, 101(121), 121-141.

Swiss, S. et al. (1998). Violence against Women during the Liberian Civil Conflict, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 279, 625.

Transparency International (2014). *Burundi*. <http://www.transparency.org/country#BDI>, [accessed 14 January 2014]

United Nations. (2002). *International Commission of Inquiry for Burundi: Final Report*. United Nations Security Council, S/1996/682, 7 June 2002.

UN General Assembly, *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* (last amended 2010), 17 July 1998, ISBN No. 92-9227-227-6. Retrieved 3 April 2013 from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6b3a84.html>.

United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA). (2002). *Situation Démographique et Sociale au Burundi. Résultats de l'Enquête Sociodémographique et de Santé de la Reproduction*. Burundi: Département de la Population.

Vandeginste, S. (2012). Burundi's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: How to Shed Light on the Past while Standing in the Dark Shadow of Politics? *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 1, 11.

Verwimp, P. (2012). Undernutrition, subsequent risk of mortality and civil war in Burundi, *Economics and Human Biology*, 10, 221-231.

Verwimp, P. & Van Bavel, J. (2013). Schooling, Violent Conflict and Gender in Burundi. *World Bank Economic Review*, forthcoming.

García-Moreno, C.; Jansen, H. A. F. M.; Ellsberg, M.; Heise, L.; Watts, C. (2005). *WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence against women: initial results on prevalence, health outcomes and women's responses*. Geneva: WHO.

WHO fact sheet nr. 239, updated September 2011. Retrieved December 27 2012 from <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs239/en/>.

Wood, E.J. (2006). Variation in Sexual Violence during War, *Politics and Society*, 34(3), 307-341.

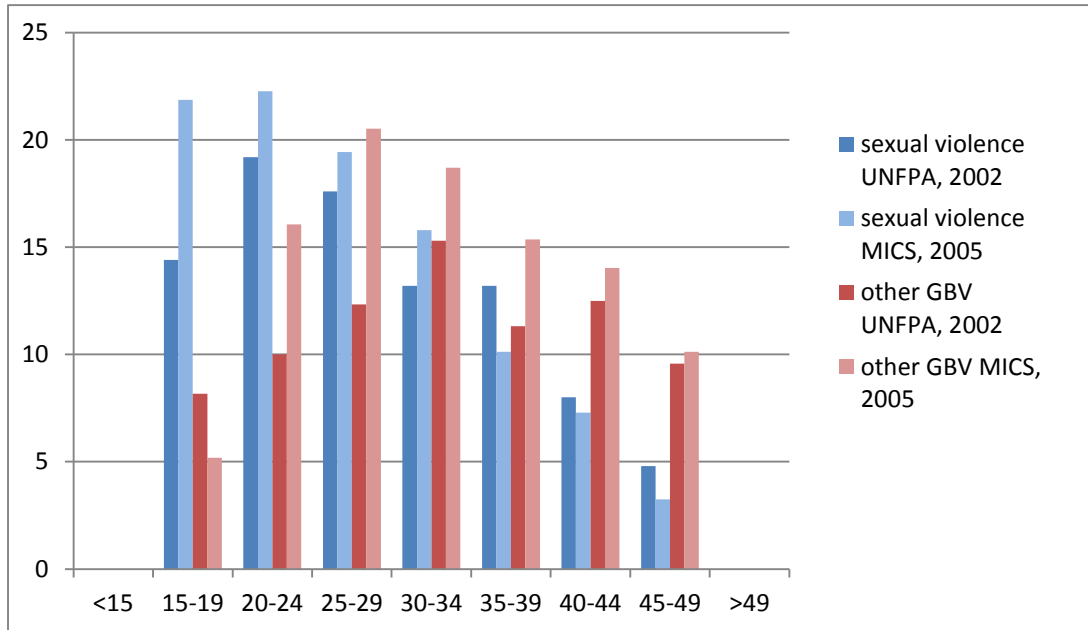
NATHALIE DIJKMAN, b. 1989, MSc in International Crimes and Criminology (VU University). She is currently enrolled for a second MSc in Human Rights at LSE (2013-2014). Her research interests are related to transitional justice and legal-philosophical approaches to (gross) human rights violations.

CATRIEN BIJLEVELD, b. 1958, PhD in Data theory (Leiden University), M Law (Leiden University). She is a senior researcher at the NSCR Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (2001-) and a full-time professor at VU University (2001 -). Her current research interests are empirical research on international crimes, historical criminology and criminal careers. Her most recent book is Weerman & Bijleveld, eds. (2013). *Criminal behaviour from school to the workplace*. Routledge.

PHILIP VERWIMP, b. 1970, Phd in Economics (KU Leuven, 2003), MA in Economics (Antwerp University) and MSc in Social Sciences (Georg-August Universiät Göttingen), is currently Associate Professor of Development Economics at the Université Libre de Bruxelles where he holds the Marie and Alain Philippon Chair in Sustainable Human Development. His most recent book is Justino, P., T.Brück and P.Verwimp, eds. (2013). *Micro-level Perspectives on Violence, Conflict and Development*, Oxford University Press.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Sexual violence and non-sexual GBV in relation to age (in percentages)



TABLES

Table 1: Violence prevalence in UNFPA and MICS surveys

Survey	N (adult women)	n (violence) % against N	n (violence cases) % multiple entries per n (violence)	n (sexual violence) % against n (violence cases) % against N	n (rape) % against n (violence cases) % against N
UNFPA (2002)	9.398	1.831	2.984	311	147
		19,5%	63,0%	10,4% 3,3%	4,9% 1,6%
MICS (2005)	9.614	2.362	3.023	308	108
		24,6%	28,0%	10,2% 3,2%	3,6% 1,1%

Table 2: Sexual and domestic violence victimisation during life-phase, in percentages (UNFPA, 2002)

Type of violence	Life phase when violence took place				
	Childhood	Adolescence	Adulthood before marriage	Adulthood during marriage	Adulthood after departure or decease husband
Other GBV	11,6	6,1	3,8	74,4	4,1
Sexual violence (incl. rape)	5,5	35,4	17,4	28,9	12,9
Rape	6,8	42,9	23,1	16,3	10,9

Table 3: Types of violence by perpetrator, in percentages (UNFPA, 2002)

Type of violence	Perpetrator					
	Husband or partner	Family	Family-in-law	Neighbours and acquaintances	Uniformed or armed men	Unknown
Other GBV	73,9	16,9	3,4	3,8	0,4	1,5
Sexual violence (incl. rape)	33,2	3,0	2,7	22,6	7,0	31,6
Rape	18,2	4,9	2,8	30,8	9,8	33,6

Table 4: Perpetrators of sexual violence by life phase, in percentages (UNFPA, 2002)

Perpetrator	Life phase when violence took place				
	Childhood	Adolescence	Adulthood before marriage	Adulthood during marriage	Adulthood after departure or decease husband
Husband or partner	1,0	14,0	8,0	75,0	2,0
Family	11,1	77,8	11,1	0	0
Family in law	0	37,5	0	0	62,5
Neighbours and acquaintances	10,3	42,7	25,0	8,8	13,2
Uniformed or armed men	0	38,1	23,8	4,8	33,3
Unknown	8,4	49,5	22,1	6,3	13,7

N=301

Table 5: Context of victimisation, in percentages (UNFPA, 2002)

Type of violence	Context	
	Conflict	Everyday life
Other GBV	5,4	94,6
Sexual violence (incl. rape)	36,6	63,4
Rape	44,8	55,2

Table 6: Sexual violence cases by context and perpetrator, in percentages (UNFPA, 2002)

Context	Perpetrator					
	Husband or partner	Family	Family-in-law	Neighbours and acquaintances	Uniformed or armed men	Unknown
Conflict	9,0	0,9	0,9	30,6	16,2	42,3
Everyday life	47,0	4,3	3,2	17,8	1,6	26,0

N=296

Table 7: Violence against women in Burundi, in war and in peace time (UNFPA, 2002)

	Occurrence	Frequency	Seriousness	Context, mlogit	
	logit	tobit	ologit	Everyday	during war
Age	0.11*** (0.01)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.01)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.05 (0.04)
Age squared	-0.001** *(0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)
<i>Religion (base=catholic)</i>					
Protestant	0.09 (0.11)	0.12 (0.15)	0.10 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)	0.09 (0.39)
Muslim	0.02 (0.20)	-0.03 (0.27)	0.03 (0.20)	0.004 (0.20)	0.18 (0.65)
Other	0.02 (0.28)	0.09 (0.43)	0.03 (0.27)	-0.13 (0.30)	1.15 (0.64)
<i>Education (base= no)</i>					
Primary schooling	0.25** (0.11)	0.40*** (0.16)	0.26** (0.11)	0.20* (0.11)	1.44*** (0.58)
At least secondary schooling	-0.40* (0.21)	-0.57** (0.28)	-0.41** (0.21)	-0.40* (0.22)	0.68 (0.83)
<i>Residence (base=rural)</i>					
Urban area	0.56** (0.23)	0.87*** (0.32)	0.60*** (0.24)	0.45** (0.23)	1.26** (0.52)
In a camp	0.24** (0.11)	0.34** (0.16)	0.25** (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)	1.51*** (0.30)
Wealth before the war	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.02)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	0.01*** (0.004)
Constant variable	-3.76	-5.62		-4.12	-5.21
Province Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sample weights	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Test statistics					
N	9084	9084	9084	1606	148

$\alpha = * < .1, ** < .05, *** < .01.$

Table 8: Action of victims of sexual violence, in percentages (MICS, 2005)

Type of action	Advice by others⁶¹	Action by victims of all sexual violence⁶²	Action by victim of rape⁶³
Consult a doctor or medical assistant	68,2	9,9	19,3
Report to the police	17,3	17,6	21,8
Tell someone in confidence	4,5	22,5	17,6
Take revenge	0,2	1,9	1,7
Nothing	9,9	48,1	39,5

⁶¹ 'What would you advise a person who has been raped to do as soon after the incident?', (N=10.324).

⁶² 'What action did you undertake after the incident?', including victims of: rape, sexual harassment and forced marriage (N=262)

⁶³ Ibid, (N=119)