

## **THE INDIVIDUATION PROCESS AND SOCIABILITY AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF BUJUMBURA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Burundi has been a theater of poverty and civil war that occurred to most children's and youth's rights violations. However, they thrive to have their right to association. We used documentary techniques combined with paying visits to identified places to collect data. We used deductive analysis of data while referencing with Zotero software. Results reveal that youth in Bujumbura live in poverty. They work for most of them in domestic work as "ababoyi" for boys and as "abayaya" for girls. Some who have finished their studies, especially those with Bachelor's degrees are working as 'EcoKash' or 'Lumicash' money and airtime transferring. They are also a portion of youth living along the streets in Bujumbura, a very dangerous life. Even though these cited cases are signs of hardship in youth life in Bujumbura, they still try to perform their associative life with the help of 'Centre JeuneKamenge', paying visits to one another, taking part in cultural games, cultural clubs, or the inclusion in a new dynamic and the National youth council even though viewed by some as though it is divisionist.

**Keywords:** Burundi, youth's association, right to association, Bujumbura

### **Introduction**

The emergence of social categories and the structuring of social roles are generally accompanied by the taking of initiatives by differentiated and sometimes rival actors. In Burundi, these initiatives are often the result of the various layers of the population trying to participate in the process of restructuring and national reconciliation. Within the framework of youth sociability, this process will have been a propitious moment to promote a more or less structured associative movement and integration of values and emerging socio-political standards. In this perspective, the associative movement, an unquestionable framework of socialization and sociability of the young people, carries the mark of the context having contributed to its installation.

In Burundi, the context of democratization and the consequences that have resulted from it have shown the existence of different types of tensions or the democratic model proposed by the West conveys without context newly adopted ideals, often difficult to reconcile with the traditional mechanisms of taking and exercising power.

This paper proposes to understand the mechanisms of sociability the young people as well as the logic which is at the base of this philosophy. It starts from the logic according to which the sociability of the young people constitutes the mechanism of adaptation to the socio-political situation and of promotion of the actors. From this general hypothesis, the following secondary hypotheses follow: the process of restructuring and national reconciliation is favorable to the establishment of youth sociability frameworks; the various sociability frameworks constitute action strategies initiated by and/or for young people to respond to the socio-political context that challenges and solicits them; these sociability frameworks offer these initiators opportunities to integrate into the socialization process that has been established.

The objective of the study is to understand the notion of sociability of young people; to establish the existing links between the frameworks of sociability set up and the context of sociability that saw them being born. Indeed, the culture of submission and emotional obedience to authority is strongly challenged by new practices essentially influenced by emerging democratic practices.

Thus, the military type of power is constantly questioned to claim the perspectives of change implying the taking into account of the existence of new actors emanating essentially from the civil society. The action of the latter was structured on the initiative of some interested actors and in favor of this context of exit from the crisis and national restructuring. This perspective calls for differentiated actors including the youth.

It is a term designating the ability of a person or a group to evolve in an adapted way in society amid a group of individuals. We can distinguish formal (or organized) sociability from informal sociability (or spontaneous sociability). Formal sociability designates relationships that are more or less constrained by the same framework of existence (sociability in work colleagues). Informal sociability refers to relationships between individuals who choose each other outside of any institutional framework (such as friends).

There is also private sociability, which is valued within the family, and public sociability, which is turned the other way around, towards the outside. In practice, sociability can take many forms, such as the ability to hold a conversation, to respect etiquette, the social norm, or to spare the face of interlocutors. It is developed in particular through socialization.

It is the process of distinction of an individual of others of the same species or of the group, of the society of which it forms part. Individuation implies egoism, the fight for existence, and the

choice to defend and attack. Life is the combat of each one against all<sup>1</sup>. In each thing lives secretly a germ of the lost and future unity, at the same time as a principle of individuation and separation<sup>2</sup>.

The degree of individuation decreases when we study, for example, the lower animal societies where it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the parts from the whole. Society becomes more capable of moving as a whole, at the same time that each of its elements has more own movements. This solidarity resembles that which is observed in the superior animals.

For the methodological procedure, this article is the result of the documentary technique in data collection. We also paid a visit to certain places that could inform us about youth associations in Burundi. This allowed us to get an idea of the various ways youth and children can rejoice in their right to association.

The analysis of the results was carried out using legal methods. It is a combination of the deductive and inductive methods. The deductive method starts from the comparison of facts and contents of legal texts in a general way to deduce a conclusion on the state of application of a rule of international and regional instruments of protection of the rights of migrant workers and members of their families, especially about the pension. In the inductive technique, the starting point is a few isolated cases, and then a generalization is made for all similar cases.

The references in the text and the bibliography are the results of the software Zotero applying the format Chicago Manual of style edition (full note).

## **I. Non-governmental organizations or the institutional relay of government action**

In the aftermath of the socio-political crisis that occurred in October 1993, several local and foreign non-governmental organizations undertook to try to make a moral commitment on the part of the population in general and the youth in particular.

Indeed, national and international opinion was convinced that young people were sadly active in the looting, killing, and destruction that had become a common practice throughout most of the country and especially in Bujumbura. However, everyone seemed to be convinced that the youth had nothing to gain from this war with multi-faceted consequences that only jeopardize the future of the country.

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<sup>1</sup>René Ménéard, *L'art en Alsace-Lorraine* (Librairie de l'art, 1876), 122.

<sup>2</sup>Béguin, *L'Âme Romantique et Le Rêve*, vol. 46 (Paris: Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale, 1939), 68, <https://www.proquest.com/openview/82662ff8e0521d93800fc0a1558f68fb/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=1817784>.

A few associations have acquired a particular reputation by showing themselves to be more and more active in the supervision of young people committed to the return to peace, national reconciliation, reconstruction, unity, etc.

These organizations, through the support given to associations and other local youth organizations, have served as relays for government action in this area through the sectorial policies of various ministries. They essentially relied on the activities already underway in the various associations to which young pupils and students, especially in the capital of Bujumbura, belonged.

These non-governmental organizations then appeared to be the major providers of peace-building programs, and for practical reasons, and perhaps for reasons of efficiency, they delegated the implementation of these programs to local organizations.

Other nongovernmental organizations that have played an active role in bringing youth together include the Centre JeuneKamenge (CJK) and the Center for Youth Associations Promotion "Collectif pour la Promotion des Associations des Jeunes" (CPAJ). These groups are of particular interest to us for two main reasons. On the one hand, they bring together a good number of youth associations, and on the other hand, it is through these same groups that most of the assistance provided to youth associations is channeled.

### **1. The Kamenge youth center ("Centre JeuneKamenge") or the bringing together of trends**

The Kamenge youth center was built in 1992 by the Xaverian priests. As its motto "together to build a world of brothers" indicates, this center resembles the young people of the northern districts of the capital of Bujumbura (Kamenge, Cibitoke, Kinama, Ngagara, Buterere, Gihosha) and helps them to reconnect with the good ones that were tainted by the civil war.

The goals pursued by this center are justified by the context in which it was created. It is a question of "allowing young people in the northern neighborhoods of Bujumbura to get together, creating a meeting place for young people to fight against the major urban ills such as idleness and its consequences, delinquency, alcoholism, violence, etc."

In 2012, this center had 35,965 enrollees (including 27448 boys and 8517 girls aged 16-30). This imbalance between boys and girls enrolled at the CJK can be explained by the traditional Burundian mentality. These same reasons also explain the low involvement of girls in most activities in the public sphere.

Even if today the division of labor, especially in the city, is based on new material foundations, it would be unfair not to recognize the fact that girls are not involved in most of the public sphere.

It would be unfair not to recognize that despite the process of emancipation of women, which is increasingly taking place, women are still marked by traditional considerations that entrust them to structures of supervision that are essentially in the private sphere. The Kamenge youth center offers about forty different activities for young people to contribute to the cohabitation of all the young people of the different neighborhoods, starting from all the components of the population of Burundi.

If the CJK, through its ideals, pursues a noble and constructive mission for Burundian society, one cannot help but notice that in a climate of ethnic warfare such as the one Burundi was experiencing, especially during the years 1993-2000, bringing together young people from all the neighborhoods of the city of Bujumbura was not easy.

The balkanization of Bujumbura's neighborhoods (Hutus in some neighborhoods, Tutsis in others) was not likely to reassure everyone, especially the youth. Indeed, during the 1993 crisis, the northern zone had been particularly affected by the conflicts (with 30,000 deaths) and the neighborhoods were ethnically divided. The location of this center could also provoke or lead to a feeling of fear or suspicion and also slow down the adhesion of certain young people despite the good initiatives taken and actions accomplished at the CJK.

To achieve these objectives, the CJK organizes group activities. Once the activity is chosen, the center organizes a registration for a fixed number of participants. The activity is guided by a facilitator and the presence of other youth. The activities of the CJK can be divided into five categories:

- ✓ Didactic activities: language courses (English, Italian, French, Spanish, German, Kirundi, Arabic), compatibility, physics, mathematics, biology, chemistry, etc.
- ✓ Training activities: computer, typing, hairdressing, human rights groups, video forum with debates, etc.
- ✓ Sports activities: tennis, ping pong, basketball, gymnastics, weight training, soccer, volleyball, sports refereeing, etc.
- ✓ Free time activities: guitar, singing, dancing, piano, cinema, video forum, rhythmic orchestra, theater group, music group, etc.
- ✓ Religious activities: Bible group, interfaith vigils, praise group, deliverance group, etc.

The CJK is an undeniable framework for youth socialization in the sense that it constitutes a meeting and learning link for many young people. Indeed, it ensures the meeting of several young people from primary and secondary schools (106 schools including 56 secondary schools) as well as those from religious communities in the northern districts of Bujumbura through multiple and varied activities.

Thus, at the entrance of the center, one is quickly impressed by the intense movement of young people who enter and leave, all the young people meet in various activities. The sense of responsibility that characterizes all the members of the CJK is no less impressive. Each young person feels responsible for the infrastructure, while elsewhere it is regularly damaged and destroyed, often even by its users.

In this respect, the CJK has a model to offer to many other organizations in terms of protecting and respecting collective property. Through all these initiatives, the center promotes the actors in the sense that it is not only a framework for learning and acquiring undeniable technical and professional skills for all the young people who are members of it, but also an employer in its own right for some of them.

## **2. The life of young people in the city of Bujumbura**

In the city of Bujumbura, young people are subdivided in different ways through various occupations<sup>3</sup>. In particular, there are house workers and house watchmen.

### **1.1 Household workers**

They are young, mostly younger and younger. Ignorant, groping, they find themselves confronted with sexual exploitation (especially for the maids), and all forms of abuse of power. At the slightest clumsiness, they are at the mercy of a brutal pruning in an already meager salary, here to replace a shirt ravaged by an iron too heavy.

#### **1.1.1 The maids (abayaya)**

Many young people from the countryside apply for domestic service in the city. The city is difficult in the countryside, forcing them to migrate. Bujumbura, the economic capital, is home to more exiles from the countryside than any other city in the country<sup>4</sup>.

Many activities are performed by maids such as cooking, taking children to school, washing clothes, cleaning the house, and others. They suffer more when they are forced to do all the housework and childcare.

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<sup>3</sup>Pascasie Minani, "Intégration des femmes en politique au Burundi: quand le nombre n'est pas synonyme d'influence" (Ontario, Université d'Ottawa, 2011), 55–57, <http://ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/26036>.

<sup>4</sup>Melchicedec Nduwayezu, Salvator Nahimana, and Célestin Mvutsebanka, "Le Travail Domestique: Occultation de La Personne et de Catégories de Genre Existantes," *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 25, no. 1 (2021): 119–21, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48630982>.

It is important to note that maids have friends with whom to socialize while sharing career ideas. They can understand which ones are favored in their activities and which ones are disfavored and therefore despised by their bosses (employers).

### **1.1.2 The boys**

The figure of the "boy" (umuboyi in Kirundi / pl. ababoyi) has been omnipresent in Burundi since the beginning of its urban development in the 20th century and is now familiar to all city dwellers. Everywhere in the city, one comes across servants who are still referred to as ababoyi in everyday language, even though the term is neither flattering nor always in line with the usual generality of its English root.

The 2008 national census put the share of men in the domestic workforce at 66.4 percent, and figures based on a 2013 survey of four cities in the country estimated that 69.2 percent of them were over the age of 18. While these ratios are declining in the younger age groups and poorer neighborhoods, the markers of maturity and masculinity are still prevalent, more so than in neighboring countries. If the name and the wage of the boy are of colonial introduction, the male involvement in domestic activities in other people's homes is not of European importation and its post-colonial persistence denotes an adaptation of the model that says a lot about the continuities of power in Burundi<sup>5</sup>.

Male domesticity is not a phenomenon specific to Burundi; the cases of Zambia, Tanzania, and Cameroon have been analyzed or initiated elsewhere, but its durability and its employer invite a return to history to grasp its specificities.

### **1.2 Street children**

Children living in public spaces in Bujumbura "self-educate". They seek another form of socialization outside of any family framework. For these children, sociability is represented by the members of the group to which they belong, since every child has a group in which they meet to put together strategies for service, to manage daily life, or to sleep<sup>6</sup>.

### **1.3 The agents of the security companies**

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<sup>5</sup>Christine Deslaurier, "Des « boys » aux « travailleurs de maison » au Burundi, ou le politique domestiqué," *Politique africaine* 154, no. 2 (2019): 49–51, <https://doi.org/10.3917/polaf.154.0049>.

<sup>6</sup>Ildephonse Sindayigaya, "Analysis of the Child's Right to Housing Implementation for Street Children in Burundi: Case of Kirundo City," *Applied Mathematical Sciences* 16, no. 10 (2022): 470, <https://doi.org/10.12988/ams.2022.916819>.

On March 24, 2022, the Director in charge of the follow-up, control, and regulation of the activities of private security companies in Burundi, Col de Police Tharcisse NDAYIRAGIJE, in his speech said that 36 security companies are approved and classified into four categories:

- The first category is in the green zone and represents the companies that work by the law and regulations.
- The second category is in the yellow zone and includes companies that show a willingness to reach the required level of compliance with the regulations.
- The third category is classified in the orange zone and includes companies that are still trying to comply with the regulations, and the last category is classified in the red zone, representing companies that tend to ignore the regulations.

Given all these observations, Mr. Ndayiragije said that recommendations have been issued to the managers of security companies. They must have head offices and rates for all their agents. They must also have workers' registers, and pay the salaries of their employees on time while considering their overtime<sup>7</sup>.

Security companies provide jobs to young people in Burundi in general and in the city of Bujumbura in particular, which is our area of study. These mostly young employees are called upon to protect material goods within a company to avoid theft, destruction, or even industrial espionage caused by a growing climate of insecurity.

The vocation of security companies is to implement the service ensuring the security of goods and people. To fulfill this mission for companies, security companies have a whole range of complementary services at their disposal:

- ⇒ Surveillance and guarding of the accesses of buildings, offices, and other premises, and sites in a general way,
- ⇒ Organization of the rounds and routes of surveillance;
- ⇒ Opening and closing of the accesses, reception of the external visitors; control of the badges, checking of the comings and goings;
- ⇒ Monitoring of the proper functioning of technical equipment, and control of the company's internal security devices;

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<sup>7</sup>“Les Sociétés de Gardiennage Appelées à Se Conformer à La Réglementation – ABP – Agence Burundaise de Presse,” ABP Info, March 27, 2022, <https://abpinfo.bi/2022/03/27/les-societes-de-gardiennage-appelées-a-se-conformer-a-la-reglementation/>.



⇒ Intervention in situ in case of reported malfunction<sup>8</sup>.

#### **1.4 Lumicash and Ecocash agents**

Lumicash is an electronic money transfer system for banks, communication companies, and distributors. It also allows to make different operations including payments and purchases<sup>9</sup>. This transfer system has become a very important occupation for young people who finish their studies in the city of Bujumbura and who do not want to return to the countryside. These young people keep themselves busy and socialize by establishing relationships with each other through this activity.

### **2. Texts regulating the associative life**

#### **2.1. Legislative framework**

There are several types of texts related to it including the constitution of the Republic of Burundi; the law N°1/02 of January 27, 2017, on the organic framework of non-profit associations in Burundi; the law N°1/010 of May 13, 2004, on the code of civil procedure; the law N°1/05 of April 22, 2009 on the reform of the penal code; the law N°1/010 of April 3, 2013 on the reform of the code of penal procedure and the decree-law N°1/11 of April 18, 1992 on the organic framework of non-profit associations;

#### **2.2 The collective for the promotion of youth associations (CPAJ) and national issues**

The Collective for the Formation of Youth Associations (“collectif pour la formation des associations des jeunes” CPAJ) was created in 1995 with the main mission of promoting the associative dynamics of young people for their active participation in the construction of a peaceful and prosperous Burundi. Today, the CPAJ supervises 1500 young people through 270 associations engaged in the pursuit of the ideals of national unity, return to peace, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, mutual aid, the fight against AIDS, etc.

The specific objectives pursued by CPAJ are to strengthen the organizational and operational capacities of youth associations, to serve as a framework for consultation, exchange, and coordination of actions, to mobilize resources and support the implementation of the action plans of member associations; to promote and pilot the common projects of member

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<sup>8</sup>“Les sociétés privées de gardiennage et de surveillance ordonnées au respect de la loi - Le journal MBWIRA,” *Le journal Mbwira* (blog), March 24, 2022, <https://mbwira.bi/2022/03/24/les-societes-privées-de-gardiennage-et-de-surveillance-ordonnées-au-respect-de-la-loi/>.

<sup>9</sup>Mathias Ntibarikure, “Lumicash: Des avantages, mais aussi des défis....,” *Burundi Eco*, February 13, 2017, <https://burundi-eco.com/service-lumicash-avantages-aussi-defis/>.

associations. Among other achievements, CPAJ has set up a national network for consultation and coordination of youth actions in the fight against AIDS (RENAJES). Indeed, the mission is to mobilize and make effective the participation of young people in the national response to the AIDS pandemic and its social, economic, and cultural consequences. This network is supported in its actions by UNAIDS, UNICEF, and many other national and international organizations involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Thanks to this network, the CPAJ has organized several seminars on themes related to AIDS in the youth environment<sup>10</sup>. It should be noted that all these local non-governmental organizations working in Burundi operate with the help of funding from foreign donors.

They guide young people through awareness raising on social issues such as the fight against AIDS, environmental protection, national reconstruction, development, national reconciliation, peaceful conflict resolution, non-discrimination, love of work, and many other values that conflict with the Burundian socio-political context. And since these associations benefit from funding from developed countries through local non-governmental organizations receive considerable support from specialized international institutions such as PUND, WHO, UNESCO, UNICEF, USAID, etc. The local organizations appear as job donors to many young people who are in great need, especially in the current context where youth unemployment has reached considerable proportions. They also play the role of controllers of all the actions carried out within the framework of the youth associations. The initiatives and actions of CPAJ are organized around some major areas, namely; project financing, communication for behavior change in the fight and prevention of HIV/AIDS, vocational training, training in income-generating activities (IGA), peacebuilding, and youth participation in the regional integration process.

Thanks to all these activities, CPAJ is present in several localities in Burundi and involves all youth in the design and monitoring, and evaluation of projects through a sufficiently functional framework for exchange and consultation. It also provides capacity building for its member associations. In this perspective, resource persons ensure the training of other youth or can take advantage of opportunities offered outside the CPAJ. In this way, the youth of this jurisdiction acquire technical skills that allow them to be hired at CPAJ itself or elsewhere. In addition, the CPAJ helps associations in the mobilization of funds for the financing and execution of different projects.

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<sup>10</sup>Nicolas Hajayandi, "La sociabilité des jeunes comme mécanisme d'adaptation et de promotion des acteurs," *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est / The East African Review*, no. 46-2 (January 1, 2013): 140-41, <https://doi.org/10.4000/estafrica.426>.

### **2.3. The National Youth Council of Burundi (CNJB) or the overcoming of divisionist tendencies**

The National Youth Council in Burundi, like other youth socialization frameworks, has always aimed at educating the values and moralization of the society to revive the values and ideals that the socio-political crisis had dealt a heavy blow. At times, some youth sociability frameworks, although established based on a largely negotiated consensus, have served as frameworks for more or less violent confrontations between actors who saw in the vision of youth an opportunity to make contact with donors. Thus, all of the values and ideals that the various actors mobilized for meaningful engagement involved an enormous effort of social construction and assessment of the Burundian socio-political context. Unfortunately, this evolution produced effects contrary to what was expected. Indeed, the creation of these frameworks of sociability has, in some cases, been the occasion for more or less structured actions in which the different social protagonists have adopted competing strategies that are sometimes detrimental to the development or promotion of youth<sup>11</sup>.

The establishment of the CNJB was also inspired by the will and commitment of young people to have an appropriate framework for expression. It is in this perspective that the youth associations are committed to the establishment of a national framework appropriate to their objectives and needs to continue to manage and shape the future of Burundi. Faced with this imperative, some young people point out the difficulties they face and the opportunities they have.

Among other difficulties, we can note the fragility and the financial dependence of the youth associations, the bad apprehension of the notion of voluntary work by the young people, the existence of a still shaky democratic practice, the difficulty to set up operational frameworks of dialogue, the impossibility to widen their fields of action on all the national territory. These obstacles constitute a major hindrance to the establishment of a body for youth expression. Indeed, it is difficult for young people to organize themselves into independent and autonomous structures when they still have to depend on the power of other leaders. Moreover, voluntary work does not encourage them when they have to find ways to take charge of their lives and prepare for their entry into adult life.

In terms of opportunities, there is an active and free labor force among youth, their demographic importance, and an awareness of their marginalization. These assets must be supported by an even stronger will to organize and act together. In this perspective, some proposals are made to make the associations dynamic so that they can better play their role, to encourage the emergence

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<sup>11</sup>Bernard Roudet, "L'évolution de l'appartenance associative des jeunes," *Agora débats/jeunesses* 20, no. 1 (2000): 108–9, <https://doi.org/10.3406/agora.2000.1755>.

of young executives capable of ensuring the leadership of youth associations; to set up coordination and consultation bodies capable of combining the efforts of youth associations.

It is within this framework that the National Youth Council was envisaged and set up. It wants to be a body of expression and channeling of the initiatives of the youth and plays an advisory role with the administration, the interlocutor, and the spokesman of the youth with these partners<sup>12</sup>. Other objectives include the promotion of youth, the initiative of young people to ancestral values, the creation and promotion of a patriotic spirit, the improvement of an educational system, the fight against the manipulation of young people for political purposes, and the strengthening of cooperation with young people in other countries. This rivalry can also be seen in the attempt to form folk clubs for each province and traditional region of Burundi. The stated aim of the initiators of these projects is to reflect the cultural specificities of each region, which is a positive aspect besides many other reasons that are not always revealed.

If some cultural groups benefit from the support of public authorities sporadically, we know that other actors were able to obtain from the Burundian Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Culture a work contract to ensure the promotion of Burundian culture through certain activities such as dance, music, etc. Here the State becomes for the artists "a provider of employment, resources and reputational credits". It is within this institutional framework that talents are developed and allows them to participate in international cultural competitions. This means that investment in cultural activities can be a strategy to get hired and get back into public structures.

#### **2.4 The establishment of cultural clubs or the inclusion in a new dynamic**

The creation of cultural clubs responds to the need to rehabilitate the cultural heritage threatened with disappearance. It is the work of individuals who initiate cultural activities such as traditional dances, songs, pastoral, agricultural, war poetry, etc. The transmission and promotion of this culture imply the teaching of Burundian culture to the younger generation by adults who are great holders of it. It is in this perspective that the clubs deploy their actions and that the culture of the country is progressively transmitted and valued<sup>13</sup>.

However, the analysis of Burundian culture must take into account a certain cultural relativism to understand that it is subject to many influences from foreign cultures. This relativism helps to take into account the specificity of Burundian culture and at the same time to inscribe it in cultural diversity. It can also be used to reconcile points of view in the debate between the

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<sup>12</sup>Koné Djakaridja, "Les enfants et les jeunes face à la pauvreté urbaine en Afrique," *L'Autre* 4, no. 2 (2003): 269, <https://doi.org/10.3917/lastr.011.0263>.

<sup>13</sup>Abdou Kouomoun, "Les jeunes de la ville de Yaoundé et la sociabilité dans la pratique du parifoot," *Revue Jeunes et Société* 6, no. 1 (2021): 60–61, <https://doi.org/10.7202/1087099ar>.

proponents of modernity and those of tradition. The mobilizing themes in Burundian culture refer to values that have long been defended, even if some of them were eroded by the socio-political crisis of 1993<sup>14</sup>. It is a question of peace, unity, respect for the human person, mutual aid, a sense of humanity, honor and dignity, courage, bravery, etc. Various artists compete with each other to convey messages related to the promotion of these values. In the same vein, associations and cultural clubs are created to ensure the dissemination of these values through shows organized throughout the country<sup>15</sup>. The presentation of these shows constitutes for the members of the associations or clubs means to prove their strategies of competence

The establishment of this council is inspired by democratic principles, national unity, and decentralization of representative structures. From this perspective, it must be focused on the sensitization of young people, the administration, and donors. As we can see, the CNJB has taken care to integrate its missions towards the youth (promotion of income-generating activities, the fight against unemployment, the fight against the financial dependence of the youth, etc.) but also initiatives on a national scale even if it is because the themes around which the youth are mobilizing meet today the assent of the national and international opinion<sup>16</sup>. However, it is necessary to wonder if the support granted and the means of action available to the CNJB are sufficient for the realization of all the objectives it has set. Moreover, it is not obvious that all the essential partners in the action of the NYCB cooperate easily and meet all the expectations of the youth as expressed through the objectives of the NYCB. The NYCB indeed pursues noble goals and ideals.

However, the context that contributed to its establishment was itself significant and particular to be able to meet all the expectations of young people without being subservient to the political regime in place. It should also be noted that this body was the subject of speculation that was sometimes misunderstood or subjectively interpreted by interested actors.

## **2.5 The new frameworks of sociability of the youth or the taking into account of the new realities**

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<sup>14</sup>Émilie Matignon, "La prise en charge de la jeunesse violente au Burundi : nouvel arsenal juridique et pratiques innovantes," *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est / The East African Review*, no. 46-2 (January 1, 2013): 19-20, <https://doi.org/10.4000/eastafrica.416>.

<sup>15</sup>Joséphine Wouango, "Les associations des enfants et jeunes travailleurs du Burkina Faso comme espace d'expression de la capacité d'action des enfants ?," *Enfances Familles Générations. Revue interdisciplinaire sur la famille contemporaine*, no. 25 (October 4, 2016), <https://journals.openedition.org/efg/1125>.

<sup>16</sup>Jonathan Ndikumana, "Le travail des domestiques toujours fustigé," *Burundi Eco*, December 27, 2019, <https://burundi-eco.com/le-travail-des-domestiques-toujours-fustige/>.

If the family remained for a long time the only framework structuring the sociability of the young people and the children in Burundi, it sees itself competing more and more with other places without doubt the education of the young people. Here, how young people spend their leisure time can be used as a line of research on this socialization of young people.

The social, political, and economic transformations, observed throughout the world under the cover of modernity, entrainment quite a lot of changes for the behavior advantage at the same time symbolic and material. From the symbolic point of view, they constitute undisputed values of socialization to the positive values of Burundi and receive the administration and encouragement of the population. From a material point of view, these shows offer opportunities to earn money because they are peasants.

The activities of these associations and/or cultural clubs are supported by the public authorities who not only approve them but also occasionally finance them. They also offer opportunities to go out of the country, to make Burundian culture known outside the country. However, since these associations are not yet financially autonomous, there are not many trips abroad since they are conditioned by the granting of visas and other travel documents, the cost of which is not always within the reach of members.

Under these conditions, the leaders will also compete for initiatives and influence to obtain funding for a good continuation of their activities. It should also be noted that these clubs and associations regularly record requests for membership. These requests are still not satisfied because some people even see in them a kind of speculation rather than a real will to contribute to the enhancement of the national culture. This speculation is related to the possibility of being able to go abroad, to be able to earn some money. This situation is all the more understandable because those who ask to join are sometimes young people who have to manage their self-care and who need to get in touch with others through an association or a club.

The concrete functioning of these clubs reveals a certain rivalry between the different clubs that are pursuing the same goals, namely the promotion of Burundian culture, but that does not want to merge to carry out their youth activities together. If in traditional Burundian society, the supervision of children and youth was done within well-known structures and under the responsibility of adults, new attitudes reflect a certain liberalization of youth practices that are likely to break the vertical links of social transmission. We are currently witnessing the establishment of new sociability links among young people where learning about social issues is their own experience. These situations are so numerous that they cannot escape the analysis of the process of socialization of young people.

## **2.6 Young People and collective games: old practices for new purposes**

Meetings between young people on the occasion of collective games offer a favorable moment for their initiation to collective life. They constitute a framework for learning about social realities in which young people show the intention to learn themselves. By collective games, we mean group games in which young people play in a spontaneous or organized way. They can take place near their homes as well as far away from homes in organized spaces. The investment of young people in these collective games seems to be linked to their age. These collective games must be organized and promoted for the development of young people and children. They contribute indeed to the supervision of the latter and the promotion of the sports culture. The occupation of the young people by collective games also varies according to the zone of residence. In this respect, we have noticed that it is in the Kamenge area where young people are more numerous with this kind of games occupation.

This is a popular area where young people and children are always together and play together either in the streets or in the fields. The game most often played is soccer. The political and administrative leaders encourage these activities by organizing sports meetings between the different communes of the Bujumbura City Council<sup>17</sup>. These activities are organized to reconcile the youth of the different communes who are victims of serious ethnic divisions. This strategy allows young people to meet again after so many years of hatred and absolute distrust of each other, and this kind of meeting puts people in confidence and nourishes the hope of a still possible cohabitation as long as the young people can play together through all the districts of the economic capital and the centers of the interior of the country<sup>18</sup>. Beyond this purely sporting and cultural aspect, team games allow certain individuals to display their talents and to arouse the sympathy and support of some supporters or other backers. Thus, the promotion of team games can be ensured by private initiatives through funding or sponsorship.

Investment in team games also varies according to gender. Indeed, the survey revealed that boys are much more involved than girls with team games, at 70.3% versus 29.7%. This is understandable insofar as Burundian tradition does not allow girls to exhibit themselves publicly, while boys are allowed to do so. As a result, public events, sporting events, and team games were mainly reserved for boys, while girls were expected to do domestic work.

## **2.7 Young people and visits to friends: moments of sociability sometimes negatively connoted**

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<sup>17</sup>Jean-Salathiel Muntunutiwe, "La mobilisation politique des jeunes au Burundi à travers les élections démocratiques de 2010," *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est / The East African Review*, no. 46-2 (January 1, 2013): 118-20, <https://doi.org/10.4000/eastafrica.424>.

<sup>18</sup>Wouango, "Les associations des enfants et jeunes travailleurs du Burkina Faso comme espace d'expression de la capacité d'action des enfants ?"

Visits to friends for young people are a relatively recent reality in Burundi. The notion of friends is essentially linked to the school, to the new places of sociability where friends are classmates, schoolmates, and those with whom one plays, exchanges gifts, and visits, especially during vacations and other free moments. This said the visits in which young people indulge are part of modernity insofar as they relate to ways of life or social organization different from those of traditional social structures. Even though young people generally visit their friends, we can see that young people in urban areas have more free time than those in the countryside, who are always busy with domestic or rural work. In other words, urban youth take up leisure activities that remain there and sometimes become the foundation of street culture. Age also seems to be an important factor in the propensity of young people to visit friends; those who are relatively advanced in age are less occupied with this activity than those who are younger<sup>19</sup>. That is, after a certain age, generally from their twenties onwards, young people become more and more involved in working life.

It should be noted that these visits must be controlled and supervised by the parents. Indeed, in a social context made of many intrigues and where nothing seems to be left to chance, these friends to whom the young people claim to visit should first be known and recognized as such by the parents. Moreover, in rural areas, being busy visiting friends is sometimes interpreted as a lack of occupation, a complete lack of interest in domestic and rural work.

## **2.8 Young people and the theater and/or cinema: a field in continuous progression**

Theater and cinema refer to those shows that are offered to the public and in which plays are presented on a variety of themes from everyday life, such as love, prostitution, abortion, AIDS, alcoholism, banditry, war, etc. The use of these places is not very developed in Burundi, but we wanted to point them out because of their importance in the formation of the personality of young people, especially since the topics discussed there are the same ones that fuel social learning sessions. Thus, these different youth meeting places are analyzed as places of sociability and sometimes of distraction. They seem to compete, unintentionally perhaps but inevitably, with the traditional socialization that was provided within families.

## **Conclusion**

The study of the socialization frameworks of young people in Burundi reveals facts and realities that are rich in meaning and deserve special attention. Indeed, if certain frameworks are part of

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<sup>19</sup>Joséphine Wouango and Daniel Turcotte, "Configurations institutionnelles de la protection de l'enfance : regards croisés de l'Afrique, de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord," *Enfances Familles Générations. Revue interdisciplinaire sur la famille contemporaine*, no. 21 (November 15, 2014): 241–43, <https://journals.openedition.org/efg/776>.



the classic process of social learning, many others are the result of the context of democratization, which has led to the emergence of differentiated and sometimes rival actors. Their initiatives are inspired by the imperative of new-look targets and demands of modern society. It results from it that the various frameworks of socialization of the young people are animated by a perspective of national revitalization at the bottom of interested calculations.

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