

**The Socio-Political Status of Muslim Swahili Minority in
Burundi**

Master's Thesis

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CONTENTS

CONTENTS	i
Final Approval.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	vi
Statement of compliance with Ethical Principles and Rules.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
ABBREVIATIONS	vii
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1.1. Brief Overview of Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi	2
1.1.3. Aim of the Research.....	7
1.1.4. Significance and Scope of the Research	8
1.1.5. Structure of the Thesis.....	9
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAM IN EAST AFRICA AND MUSLIM SWAHILI IN BURUNDI.....	10
2.1. History of Islam in East Africa	10
2.2. Trade and Spread of Islam in the Horn of Africa	12
2.2.1. Muslims and Islam elsewhere in Eastern Africa	13
2.2.2. Swahili People and Civilization.....	15
2.3. History of Muslim Swahili Minority.....	17
2.3.1. Before the colonial Era.....	17
2.4. During the Colonial Era.....	18
2.4.1. Source of conflict between the Swahilis and the European Colonizers ...	18
2.4.2. German colonial period	19
2.4.3. Belgian Administration	20
2.4.4. The Catholic Church signs of power.....	21

2.4.5.	The marginal plan of the Church and the colonial power against the Muslim Swahili Minority.....	21
2.5.	Struggle of Independence	23
2.5.1.	The Quest for Independence by the Swahili Separatists	23
2.5.2.	Why did Prince Louis Rwagasore join Muslim Swahilis?	24
2.5.3.	Swahili Efforts during the Struggle	25
2.5.4.	Swahili Diplomacy during the Struggle	26
2.5.5.	The Efforts of Muslim Swahili Women during the Struggle	26
2.6.	After the Independence of Burundi.....	27
2.6.1.	Forced Displacement of Swahilis	27
2.6.2.	Muslim Swahili Discretion and Neutrality.....	28
2.6.3.	Muslim Swahili's Figures.....	29
3.	ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	32
3.1.	LITERATURE REVIEW	32
3.2.	Unequal Representation and Education in the Burundian Society	32
3.3.	The Relationship between Unequal priorities and Islamophobia: Case of Burundi	34
3.4.	Conceptual Framework	36
3.4.1.	Discrimination against Muslim Swahili Minority	36
4.	METHODOLOGY	43
4.1.	Study design.....	43
4.2.	Research Field.....	44
4.3.	Data Collection Methods	45
4.4.	Semi-Structured Interviews	45
4.5.	Online Survey	46
4.6.	Content Analysis	46
4.7.	Data Collection Tools.....	47
4.8.	Data Analysis Method	47

4.9.	Ethical Consideration Related to Research Subject	48
4.10.	Sample	48
4.10.1.	Criteria for Inclusion of Participants.....	50
5.	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	53
5.1.	Results of the Content Analysis	54
5.1.1.	Descriptive Statistics	54
5.1.2.	Content and Activist Media	55
5.2.	Findings of the interviews and Online Survey.....	57
5.2.1.	Findings related to the Causes and Effects of Muslim Swahili Discrimination	57
5.2.2.	Findings Related to the Neutrality of Muslim Swahili in Burundi's Different Ethnical Crises.....	68
5.2.3.	Findings related to the Measures to change the current situation.....	70
6.	CONCLUSIONS.....	75
6.1.	Theoretical Implications	75
6.2.	Managerial Implications	76
A.	Suggestions for Muslim Swahili Minority	77
B.	Suggestions for the Burundian Government	77
6.3.	Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research	78
	REFERENCES	79
	Appendix 1: Interview information Page (semi-structured)	86
	Appendix 2: Consent form for study involvement	88
	Appendix 3: Profiles of the research respondents	89

ABSTRACT

The pattern of discrimination began before 1962-the year which Burundi achieved its independence from the Belgian colonizers. According to many historians, Prince Louis Rwagasore, the hero of independence, with the help of Muslim Swahili Minority freed Burundi from colonizers. Today, this minority group is discriminated by the non-Muslim Burundian majority. The Government of Burundi has defined them as “detached” from other Burundian population. Therefore, the overall aim of this research is to better analyze the roots and effects of scapegoating and Islamophobia in Burundi. It also explores different strategies used by Muslim Swahilis to remain neutral in the Burundian ethnic crises and what specific measures are to be taken to change the adverse situation. This qualitative research is designed in line with online surveys and semi-structured interviews held with 30 participants, and the content analysis of their social platform accounts. The results show how colonial masters' "divide and rule" strategies, subpar governance after independence, and sociocultural disparities contributed to a number of issues facing Muslim Swahilis up to this day. Also, the results demonstrate that this situation causes "brain drain" and divides the nation in two blocks. Furthermore, Swahilis identified themselves more as Muslims than as Hutus or Tutsis. Eventually, it is important to note that since the arrival of President Evariste Ndayishimiye, a new path of democratization has been taken in Burundi. Finally, among the measures which they believe can change the current situation, they cited the insertion of the role of Muslim Swahilis in the history of Burundi's official documents and an inclusive interpretation of the constitution or even changes to make it more equal and non-discriminative to all Burundians.

Keywords: Muslim Swahili Minority, Discrimination, Neutrality Burundian Government, Equality

ÖZET

Ayrımcılığın olgusu, Burundi'nin sömürgecilikten bağımsızlığını kazandığı 1962 yılından önce başlamıştır. Birçok tarihe göre, bağımsızlığın kahraman olan Prens Louis Rwagasore, Müslüman Svahili azınlığın yardımıyla Burundi'yi sömürgecilerden kurtarmıştır. Bugün bu azınlık grup, çoğunluğu Müslüman olmayan Burundi halkı tarafından ayrımcılığa maruz kalmaktadır. Burundi Hükümeti onları diğer Burundi nüfusundan “ayrı” görmektedir. Buradan hareketle bu araştırmanın temel amacı, Burundi’de bu azınlığın neden günah keçisi haline geldiğini inceleyip ülkedeki İslamofobinin köklerini ve etkilerini analiz etmektir. Aynı zamanda Müslüman Svahililerin etnik krizlerde tarafsız kalmak için kullandıkları farklı stratejiler ve olumsuz durumu değiştirmek için aldıkları özel önlemler de araştırılacaktır. Bu nitel araştırma, 30 katılımcı ile gerçekleştirilen çevrimiçi anketler, yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve sosyal platform hesaplarının içerik analizi doğrultusunda tasarlanmıştır. Sonuçlar, sömürgeci ülkelerin “böl ve yönet” stratejilerinin, bağımsızlığın ardından vasatın altında yönetişimin ve sosyokültürel eşitsizliklerin bugüne kadar Müslüman Svahililerin karşı karşıya olduğu bir dizi soruna neden olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca sonuçlar, bu durumun beyin göçüne neden olduğunu ve ülkeyi iki bloğa böldüğünü göstermektedir. Dahası, Svahililer kendilerini Hutular veya Tutsilerden daha çok Müslüman olarak tanımlamaktadırlar. Cumhurbaşkanı Evariste Ndayishimiye'nin iktidara gelişinden bu yana Burundi’de yeni bir demokratikleşme yoluna gidildiğini belirtmek gerekir. Mevcut durumu değiştirebileceğine inanılan önlemler kapsamında, Müslüman Svahililerin ülke tarihindeki rolü resmi belgelere eklendi, anayasa daha kapsayıcı biçimde yorumlandı ve anayasayı tüm Burundililere karşı daha eşitlikçi, ayrımcılık gözetmeyen bir metin haline getirmek için değişiklikler yapıldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müslüman Svahili Azınlık, Ayrımcılık, Tarafsızlık Burundi Hükümeti, Eşitlik

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASMARU: Association scolaire musulmane africaine du Ruanda-Urundi

CNDD-FDD: Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie – Forces pour la défense de la démocratie

CNDI: Commission nationale du Dialogue inter burundais

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

EIC: État indépendant du Congo

FRELIMO: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

FLSB: Front de libération de la minorité swahili du Burundi

ICERD: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

IPK: Islamic Party of Kenya

JAWABU: Jamii ya Waswahili wa Burundi

KANU: Kenyan African National Union

OIC: Organization of Islamic Conference

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN: United Nations

UNARU: Union nationale africaine du Rwanda-Urundi

UPRONA: Union pour le Progrès national



1. INTRODUCTION

In today's world, the issue of minorities is an increasingly pressing subject and a global concern. The term "minority" is used in the social sciences to describe groups of people with lower levels of social influence. The population of Muslim Swahilis in Burundi comprises around 1.5 million. An accurate statistics is notoriously difficult to establish as they are mostly excluded from participating in different census that occur in Burundi. According to Mbongo (2008), the estimated uncouneted persons of Muslim Swahilis in Burundi are estimated over 1.5 million today to the population of 12 million of all Burundians. While the etymology of 'Muslim Swahili' is known, their chosen ethnic designation was accepted by the Burundian State in the 19 century.

After the Second World War, Burundi was mandated under the Belgian supervision by the League of Nations. It has undergone through deep political and socio-cultural changes. Burundians were assimilated to the new Western culture which enslaved them and Catholicism became a state religion (Chrétien, 1989). For the historian Mbongo, 'the colonial administration began by dividing the Burundian population, and then planned well-designed strategies for the marginalization of the Muslim Swahili minority.' In schools, the usage of Kiswahili as a language was banned. Moreover, it was almost impossible for Muslim Swahili to have concessions to build their schools and Mosques. Hence, Belgian colonizers sowed a social division and went beyond their mandate's limits. According to Sandrart (1953), they divided the Burundian society in 3 major recognized ethnic groups i.e. Hutus, Tutsis and Twas but did not include Muslim Swahili while labeling them as refugees. The country became polarized by these distinctions and this ethnic nationalism engaged the society to an eventual ethnic conflict (Chrétien, 1990).

In 1961, Swahili Muslim minority with the help of Prince Louis Rwagasore fought for independence in Burundi and successfully achieved it in 1962. The political development which followed the 1962's independence pushed the politicians to strengthen ethnic and religious divisions as a way of governance (Nkurunziza, 2018). The Hero of independence, Prince Louis Rwagasore, who had a democratic and inclusive mindset, was assassinated (Poppe, 2015). One political party, Union for National Progress (UPRONA), seized the power for many years. The government of Burundi defined them as 'detached' from the majority. Swahili Muslim minority were prevented from going to schools, were victims of forced displacement and expulsion organized by the government

of Burundi (in the Bagaza's period), not to mention the confiscations of their property and land. Families began to poison their children to not speak Kiswahili language and by transmitting to them the spirit of ethnic hatred and inter-ethnic contempt (Paviotti, 2021). This ethnic intoxication of Burundian society did not only affect Muslim society but also had harmful consequences on national unity and was at the origin of the various social tears as well as the loss of human lives that followed in past years (Reyntjens, 1994).

Such actions violated various Human Rights conventions such as but not limited to; Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. According to the ICERD, "racial discrimination" is "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or other fields in which there is or may be participation" (article 1) (Thornberry , 2016). In relation to ICERD, States shall protect the exclusion of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities, taking into account the important work that is done by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in protecting minorities and in promoting and protecting their rights.

Moreover, during the various crises, the Swahili neighborhoods were the refuge to all ethnic groups, and the access was free and peaceful. Eventually, it is important to note that since the arrival of CNDD-FDD party, some Muslim Swahili elites were given some important posts of governance in the country and the new President Evariste Ndayishimiye has currently taken Burundi to a new path of democratization (Bigirimana, 2021). Idealism has been considered to call for a creation of a new Burundi which is free of discrimination and war.

1.1.1. Brief Overview of Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi

1.1.1.1. Who is a Muslim Swahili in Burundi?

Although the question of Swahilis seems elusive for most Burundian authorities, the historical and social reality does indeed show that the existence of Swahilis and the cultural boundaries between them and other ethnic groups are also evident (Charles, 2012). To better define this question, we must distinguish three groups that form the Muslim Swahili minority in Burundi:

- The first group is made up of “Arabs” descendants of the “first settlers” who came from Oman as traders, political or religious refugees. Having arrived on the African coast for centuries and on the Burundian coast for two centuries, they have lost their original identity. They are called Wa-arabu. The majority of people recognized as Wa-arabu do not speak Arabic and those who do, use it as a second language.
- The second group is made up of mestizos (mixed race); they seem to form an intermediate category: “they have Arab blood but they are not regarded by others as Arabs. Most of these mestizos are, initially, from former slave families, and then, rare interracial unions between Arabs and blacks. They sometimes consider themselves as Waarabu but never as Wa-manga, a term reserved for true Arabs.
- As for the last and most important group, it is composed of Africans from coastal or interior tribes who have settled permanently on the coast and who have adopted a Muslim Swahili way of life. They have generally lost their tribal affiliation and they do not claim Arab decency. In these groups, we generally find descendants of slaves who invented pseudo-origins and pseudo-kinship to hide their genealogical emptiness.

In Burundi, only Africans (blacks) are called "Muslim Swahili" or "Abaswahiri", the members of two other groups are called "Abarabu" (Arabs), and yet they all form one and the same group. The term "Swahili" applies exclusively to Islamized people, except when it is used figuratively to translate a certain number of prejudices, but here too, it should be specified that the prejudices in question are those, which one nourishes from first towards Muslims (Mbongo, 2008).

To this confusion between Islam and Swahili culture, maintained even by Muslims and due to the fact that, for several decades, converts could not selectively adhere to the Muslim religion without adopting Swahili culture. Thus, in the case of Burundi, we have come to consider the terms “Swahilis” and “Muslims” as two synonyms, equivalent to each other. It is therefore impossible to consider the question of Swahili identity without deciphering the ideological implications and manipulations of meaning in each of the terms. In the case of Burundi, this is the crux of the Swahili problem.

1.1.2. The Social Status of Muslim Swahili Minority

One cannot understand the status of the Swahilis of Rwanda and Burundi or Wangwana of the DRC without referring to the history of the conquest of Manyema by

the merchants of Zanzibar and that of the beginning of Belgian colonization. Upon their arrival, the Belgians found the Arabs and their Swahili allies in control of the area between the shores of Lake Tanganyika (Page, 1974). Their reports were conflicting, leading to a violent war that forced the Arabs and their allies to disperse in the region. Throughout the colonial period, Islam and Swahili culture were seen as the main enemies of Christianity and its “civilization”, and its followers as potentially subversive elements that needed to be distanced from the rest of the population. Their marginalization was all the easier as they did not seek to mingle with other categories of the population to protect their culture (Rockel, 2009).

In Burundi, the space reserved for Muslim Swahili was determined by a series of administrative measures. This was particularly the case with regard to staying in urban centers and Swahili cities. You had to have official permission. It should be noted that identity and residence card checks were frequent. As a result, the Muslim Swahili were under colonial surveillance (Castrick, 2019). This exclusion of the Swahilis has major political, economic and social implications. In Burundi, where the kings still reigned until the departure of the Belgians, and where each citizen was a subject of the court, they were not governed by any national institution: "they lived under the authority of a chief who administered the community in accordance to the customs of Zanzibar, slightly modified for local adaptation. This administrative discrimination led to the creation, in Usumbura (former capital of Ruanda-Urundi), of a “Swahili center court” and a “Swahili review court”, with jurisdiction only for “Swahili cases”.

In Burundi, a “Mswahili” is above all a follower of Islam, then a merchant, a city dweller cut off from the realities of the rural world and in a way considered “foreign” by the members of two dominant ethnic groups. While the other citizens identify with one or the other major social groups, the Bahutu, the Batutsi and the Batwa, they are rarely identified with their fellow citizens (Paviotti, 2021). They are characters who do not claim any lineage to the founding ancestor, with whom they broke to the point of forgetting their family tree. Generally, it cannot go back more than three generations of parents after it is the genealogical void.

Figuratively, the image of Muslim Swahili Minority is all made up of stereotypes: Resourceful, clever, crafty, liar, cunning, thief..., so many attributes that make them socially human beings, but not ethnically definable. Non-Muslim Swahilis vaguely know

they are part of a linguistically different Muslim community, made up mainly of foreigners, Tanzanians, Ugandans, Congolese and Rwandans (Mbongo, 2008). We are dealing here with a closed or isolated social organization, not deliberately, but because the environment forces it to do so. Its solidarity is forged on a cultural and historical basis. The Swahilis of Burundi did not consider themselves an ethno political entity. Yet they have their own names, customs, values and language. The debate on the concept of ethnicity did not seem to interest them until the signing of the bi-ethnic agreements in Arusha. Today the Muslim Swahilis are struggling to be recognized as an ethnic minority.

1.1.2.1. The Ethnicity of the Swahili Minority

"The groups that we baptize today ethnic groups after qualifying them as clans or races or community did not fall from the sky, nor came out of termite mounds or lakes as in the tales..." The existence of national or ethnic minorities is an essentially legacy of history due in particular to the fixing of borders and the migration of populations, which is at the origin of the settlement of all nations, as history shows us, which can make people a dominant group in one country and a minority group in another (Paviotti, 2021). To better understand ethnicity of Swahilis in Burundi, one must first understand what an ethnicity is, in the Burundian context.

Scientifically, an ethnic group is a group of people who have in common a language, a history, a culture living on the same territory and being aware of their unity and their own organization. However, in Burundi, the linguistic, cultural and organizational criteria are not taken into account. Only the psychological element, also called the collective consciousness of belonging to one's unit, and the historical criterion are taken into account to determine an ethnic group (Paviotti, 2021). Then understand the characteristics of an ethnic minority and contrast the situation of Swahilis. A minority is a group of people who live on the territory of a State, the majority of which is another dominant group of people. Thus, it is ethnic or national when it meets the following conditions:

One must have different cultural factors from the dominant group:

Cultural factors include language, religion, history, customs, etc. if one contrasts them with the situation of Swahilis; it is obvious that they have different factors from the

rest of the Burundian population, in particular language, culture, religion and customs. Moreover, this is the very cause of their exclusion.

One must live in a specific territory within the State:

In the case of territory, it goes without saying that in Burundi no ethnic group has its own specific territory. All ethnic groups share the same territories. Even at this point there are areas known to be Swahili, some of which were called "Swahili villages or Swahili cities" before they were changed to Swahili neighborhoods (Luffin, 2018). These are the neighborhoods founded by the Swahilis who were the first inhabitants. It is in these areas that we find a large number of Swahilis and these are the neighborhoods of origin of all the Swahilis of Burundi wherever they are.

One must carry a social identity:

The collective consciousness is a very important element in the constitution of an ethnic minority, the members of the group must have the feeling of belonging to the same unit of values (Elgin, 1997). This point does not require much explanation because the collective consciousness is very present and visible, in time and practice. History shows that they have never declared to belong to a group other than their own. Except for a few cases where the political environment forces them to assimilate with other groups to achieve their goals. Mbongo attests that it is a strategy that Swahili intellectuals had adopted to avoid being the victim of exclusion.

One must have a historical connection and maintain relations with the majority:

It is a question of historical relations that trace its existence on the territory for a sufficiently long time. The history of Swahilis in Burundi begins at the beginning of the 19th century. Relations with the majority, also called "mountain populations", in the history books, were peaceful, as evidenced by the exodus of mountain dwellers to Swahili cities to work there in the middle of the 19th century (Arens, 1975).

In addition, the struggle for independence was the work of a union between the Swahilis, who financed the struggle and devised strategies to deceive and weaken the colonizers, and the majority, guided by Prince Luis GWAGASORE. Furthermore, relations between Swahilis and the dominant majority are not limited only to distant history. They exist whenever there is a need for significant social change. The struggle for the liberation of the Hutu led by the CNDD-FDD, today in power, is a proof of this

due to the fact that the success of this party came from the combinative efforts of the Swahilis and the dominant majority. This condition is very important because it establishes the link (citizenship) between the group (the Swahilis) and the nation (Burundi). But it also highlights the existence of a group that has been able to preserve its culture and its values despite contact with other dominant groups for more than two centuries (an ethnic character).

One must be a victim of majority behavior:

This condition means the socio-political integration of the dominated group or its exclusion in the political life of the country. The exclusion of Swahilis is tragically obvious. The pages of history show the deliberate will of dominant groups to sideline the Swahilis i.e. the side lining of Swahilis after independence by the power of Uprona, during the bi-ethnic agreements of Arusha by the G7 and the G10 and after the accession to power of the CNDD-FDD (Mandivenga, 1990); (Paviotti, 2021). The decision of the President of the National Assembly to deny the existence of Swahilis in Burundi and the hostility of the authorities of the National Commission for Inter-Burundian Dialogue (CNDI) towards Swahili activists, who have asked to be represented in the dialogue, clearly show the negative behavior of the majority towards Muslim Swahilis.

Experts in international law on minorities and ethnologists explain that to be defined as a national or ethnic minority, these characteristics must not be systematically present at the same time (OHCHR, 2012). Some of them are sufficient for a group to be defined as an ethnic minority.

1.1.3. Aim of the Research

The aim of this study is to better understand basic causes of the stigmatizing behavior shown by the Majority of Burundians towards Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi, how this behavior influence the socio-political and economic status of the whole country and what can be done to change the adverse situation. In order to achieve this, this study will focus on content analysis, semi-structured interviews and online accomplish the above-developed aim; the objectives of this research have been elaborated as follows:

- *Understanding the motivations and impacts of Swahili internal socio-political crisis in Burundi,*

- *To address questions concerning the historical background of the social polarized countries,*
- *To show how education and democratic values can be used to eliminate all the evil forces in the international environment.*
- *To analyze durable solutions as tools to implement peace and security for all Burundians.*

To achieve these objectives delivered above, the research seeks to answer the following primary questions:

- What are the basic causes of the hate towards Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi?
- What are the strategies used by Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the existing ethnic crises in Burundi?
- How does the socio-political status of Swahilis affect the country?
- What are specific measures to change the adverse situation?

1.1.4. Significance and Scope of the Research

Considering and determining the significance of a peaceful society for development on socioeconomic life and sustainable growth of Burundi, this research will help to inform the Burundian elites and policymakers on effective approaches which can be implemented to pursue better environmental performance in the country. A non-polarized society has a good impact on the accumulation of physical and human resources. This results in fewer civil resistance movements and violent political shocks, as well as improved infrastructure to withstand natural calamities. Although inclusive national debate with all the excluded ethnic groups has not been receiving significant attention by the majority of all the population, it is obvious that the new government of President Ndayishimiye has brought a new peaceful approach to end discrimination and any type of crisis in the country. This research is confined to Burundi and covers the period before 1962 up to 2022. The period from 1962 to the present is significant for this research because it illustrates the origins and effects of the current problems that Muslim Swahilis face. The year 2022 is significant due to the fact that the new government has scheduled the invocation and immediate implementation of new laws that can balance the current situation. Different steps are gradually being taken to provide peace and stability to the entire country.

1.1.5. Structure of the Thesis

This study is designed under 6 main chapters connected at the start with the introduction of the work and finalized by a conclusion. In the introduction, the researcher started by demonstrating the research problem, giving a brief introduction on Muslim Swahili minority, the aims and scope of the study, and finally the structure of thesis.

Chapter 2 which is about the historical background is presented to the reader to understand history of Islam in East Africa, the arrival of Muslim Swahili in Burundi and their status in the post-colonial period. In addition, it helps the readers to understand the role of Muslim Swahili Minority during the Hutu-Tutsi conflicts and the influence of Swahili elites in Burundi politics.

Chapter 3 which is the literature review presents to the readers main comprehension about the topic, analyzes what have been collected in literacy from the topic and demonstrates followed ways used in in collection of data and its analyses. This chapter provides acceptable reasons for all judgments made as well as a detailed description of the research process.

Chapter 4 begins with an explanation of why Muslim Swahili Minority status was chosen as the research field, followed by an explanation of the data gathering methods used to answer the research questions posed earlier. It also describes the data collection tools and methodologies as well as the data analysis methods. The chapter concludes by outlining everything about the research sample, including the criterion for selecting participants, the sampling technique.

Chapter 5 focuses on giving results of the study followed by its discussion, summarizes the findings of the study and returns to the theory to emphasize and explore the connections between it and the findings. In this chapter, the collected data analyzed in light of the existing literature on the topic.

Chapter 6 attempts to paint a picture of the study's theoretical and management implications. It illustrates the current research contributions to the general knowledge and finishes with a discussion of the study's shortcomings as well as future research directions.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAM IN EAST AFRICA AND MUSLIM SWAHILI IN BURUNDI

2.1. History of Islam in East Africa

The history of Islam in the Eastern and Central Africa divulge plenty of complications as well as pluralistic nature of Islamic growth within this zone. Complications in the conversion patterns can be found everywhere in the Sub-Saharan Africa leading to religious diversities and cultural combinations (Insoll, 2003). For instance, Islam, like Christianity, is seen as a religion which originated from outside of the African continent in the earliest years of its existence, spread and has throughout the years adjusted itself to fit many distinct contexts. The historical process of the growth of African societies consolidated the process of Islamic conversion. The models of conversion can be compared to a mixture of different traditional religions, Christianity and Islam constantly sometimes intermixing and at a later time co-existing.

That is to say, pre-existing religions in Eastern and Central Africa in many different netted with Islam rather than confronting it. As written by Ray (1976): *'It would be misleading to speak of the process of Islamization as a process of "conversion" from African belief to orthodox Islamic belief. A gradual blending took place between African and Islamic elements; making a new configuration which assumed different forms in different areas.'* Trade and economic migration brought Islam to the East African coast. The Indian Ocean trade was arranged around the seasonal monsoon winds as long back as historical knowledge goes. Islamic traders arrived on the East African coast, intermarrying with the locals and assisting in the construction of coastal towns with Bantu cultures, which is credited with the development of the Kiswahili language and civilization (Middleton, 19992). Archaeologists claim that they mostly populated on East African islands such as Zanzibar, Comoros, and Mayotte, as well as continental territories in Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, and Mozambique. Even while some areas of East and Central Africa appear to have developed trade relations with Islamic traders as early as the end of the first millennium, religious influence did not go with this trade. There is little archaeological evidence that Islamic traders travelled to the inland regions until much later (Insoll, 2003). In fact, the Swahili-speaking Muslim traders have made little effort to stay permanently in the area along the Zambezi River in order to have direct

access to the areas which produced gold. As a result, Islam's expansion was slow, and those who converted were subjected to limitations.

The interior of East and Central Africa, on the other hand, was entered by Arabs and Swahili as a result of the 19th century ivory hunt, with the support of the Yao and Nyamwezi, who had long been renowned as intermediaries and dealers from the coast to the inland. Through trading links, Islam grew slowly and steadily in the region, just as it had on the coast in the past (Alpers, East Central Africa, In *The History of Islam in Africa*, 2000). The Swahili-Islamic merchants' principal purpose was commerce, not conversion. Rather than proselytizers to Islam or political power, the Arabs and Swahilis desired wealth and happiness. As a result, proselytization to Islam became limited, and the region's Muslim Swahili traders' religious ardor was muted. Nonetheless, many East and Central African peoples were exposed to Islam as a result of the vast interactions conducted by a limited number of Muslim traders.

In some locations, proselytization was minimal or non-existent, while in others, small groups of people converted to Islam. In fact, it is conceivable to speak of Swahilization without referring to Islamization, as some East Africans liked trade, coastal culture, and Kiswahili but refused to convert to Islam. The Nyamwezi of Tanzania's Tabora, Shinyanga, and Singida areas, for example, did not convert to Islam. The adoption of Kanza (Muslim robes) garments and the use of cloth instead of traditional attire such as bark cloth demonstrated the coastal people's influence in other places. Furthermore, along with weaponry, coastal people introduced new abilities and other crafts. They also brought harvests and fruits, as well as vegetables, rice, and wheat, as well as new housing styles such as square houses (Alpers, *Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal Peoples of the Southern Interior*, In *the Historical Study of African*, 1972).

As a result, new converts were drawn to Islam by a combination of the allure of Islamic civilization, religious ideals, and, of course, the Islamic way of life and attire. The formation of new languages such as Arabic and Kiswahili, as well as Arabic script, was one of the most important skills introduced by Muslim Swahili merchants. Muslim Swahili traders boosted their commerce wherever there was an influential Muslim chief or ruler in a place to preach the faith and draw the attention of other natives (Viera, 2010).

Merchants were the initial proselytizers in this section of Africa, followed by missionaries and holy men.

2.2. Trade and Spread of Islam in the Horn of Africa

East Africa is a huge region, which embodies different topography and supports different ways of living. This region includes the Horn of Africa with Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia, the island states of Mayotte, Mauritius, Madagascar and Comoros; the Swahili Coast and the Great Lakes part with Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Zambia. It is estimated that Muslim population is about 30% of the population of these countries or about 100 million today. Historically, Islam arrived in East Africa, through maritime traders from Eastern and Southern Yemen. Therefore, Muslims gathered mostly along the coast (Hoffman, 2022).

This is the case with Somalia, which is predominantly a Muslim country, has been a coastline country bordering with the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, Comoros, Mayotte, Djibouti and Zanzibar which latter merged in 1964 with Tanganyika to form the Republic United of Tanzania. Despite having a Christian identity, the federation of Ethiopia is a country with the highest Muslim population with Muslims being around 40 million or about the half of the population. In fact, the islamization of the Horn of Africa mainly started with the interaction between the Banadir coast of Somalia and the Arabia. Abraha, the ruler of the Axum dynasty latter called Ethiopia, invaded Mecca; even after some years of Islam, the Christian Abyssinia (c. 615) gave refuge to Muslims from Mecca (Bowersock, 2017).

For many years, traders from Arabia, India, Persia, and Southern Asia boosted trade in the East African Coast. The intermarriage of Arab businessmen with local women made the Swahili culture flourish. Even though Swahili language is a Bantu language, more than 30 % of its vocabulary is from Arabic, Persian and Hindi languages. It is said by some historians that the Swahili Culture on the East African coast predated Islam, while others accept that the indigenous Swahili settlement started in the 10th centuries. Many coastal chroniclers indicated that the first settlers came in a series of waves over many centuries from the Persian Gulf. For many years, there has been a discussion among Swahili and scholars regarding whether the nature of Swahili identity or the origin of Swahili culture is African or Asiatic. Many scholars who feel that Western writers led earlier racial prejudice to over emphasize the role of Arabs and Persians in the spread of

Islam on the Swahili Coast and the development of Swahili culture believe it. The emphasis of recent works is mainly on the ‘Africanness’ of the Swahili civilization and Islam in the East African region. However, a group of ‘Shirazi’ which call itself Swahili speakers took its putative source from the Princes of Shiraz, a southern territory of Iran, who came in the East African region in the 10th century (Mukhtar, 1995).

There are evidences of Persian existence in Mogadishu (Somalia) which are indicated by an inscription in a 13th century Mosque as Khusrow Ibn Muhamad Al Shirazi. In addition to this, there is an ancient city, which has a Persian name in Mogadishu, and the term ‘BanAdir’ that is mostly used in the Southern, area of Somalia is a word, which has a Persian origin. Religious and cultural dignity of the East African countries was in control of Arabs until the rise of the African nationalism in the early 1960’s. Many Swahili scholars who studied in Hadramawt (Eastern Southern region of Yemen) have claimed to have Arab origins. This hadrami influence is stated in the works of many shafii scholars (Shafii school of Sunni Islam). Islamic identity was associated with Swahili identity until the end of 1960, i.e. being Swahili signified that the concerned person was a Muslim (Valerie, 2008).

Swahili identity is no longer linked with religion but has become a global language. Moreover, even though the southern part of Somalia is included in the creation of Swahili civilization, some Somali-speaking gradually destroyed the Swahili language in the region of Merka, Warsheikh and Mogadishu around the 13th century. Swahili language called Chimbalazi dialect, which comprises with Somali vocabulary remains on the southern part of Somalia, particularly in Brava. The Shi’aa and Ibadi sects have once been served as haven in the East Africa coast (Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, 1962), but the Sunni sect was a major form of Islam with some Arab families dominating religious activities and education by forming a religious empire (Trimingham, 1952). When trade resumed in the 10th century, Islam flourished in the Red Sea part, trading cities of the coast of the Gulf of Aden such as Zeila served as centers for the spread of Islam. For many years, Islam remains associated with the coastal and urban lifestyle.

2.2.1. Muslims and Islam elsewhere in Eastern Africa

Tanzania plays a major role in the context of Islam and Muslims in eastern Africa, not only because it is physically located in the east of the continent, but also because many Muslim leaders and theologians in neighboring countries were trained in Tanzania

(Mandivenga, 1990). Many Muslim priests in Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, and Uganda are recruited from Tanzania, and Swahili is used in mosques throughout the region. A quarter of Kenya's population is Muslim, and a few thousand of them are organized in the unregistered Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK). In Kenya, however, there are Muslim MPs who are members of the Kenyan Parliament. Since 1991, Muslim youth led by the IPK and its fiery leader Khalid Balala have staged violent demonstrations in Kenya, demanding more educational facilities and employment opportunities in predominantly Muslim areas, primarily the coast.

Supporters of the IPK argue that none of Kenya's six universities and dozens of colleges is located on the coast, and the coast region brings in the majority of foreign emigrants. In Kenya, over 120 Islamic societies manage mosques, schools, and other facilities. The Kenya Muslim Welfare Society, which was founded in 1973, and the Kenya Islamic Foundation, which was founded lately, seeks to create Muslim nursery, primary, and secondary schools, as well as a university in the future. As in Tanzania, there are a number of housing complexes run by various Shia communities (Lodhi, 1994). The Bilal Islamic Mission in Kenya and Tanzania produces and distributes a lot of Islamic literature. Recently, certain KANU party officials have launched a racist propaganda campaign against IPK, attempting to split Muslim Kenyans and their leaders between those of 'African' and 'foreign' background.

Various writers estimate the Muslim population in Uganda to be between 20 and 45% in 1970 since Uganda has been a member of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). During Iddi Amin's leadership, tens of thousands of Ugandans converted to Islam and were granted special advantages, such as the ability to keep their high positions in the military and administration (Soi, 2016). Following Amin's demise, there was a modest Muslim exodus from Uganda to Kenya and Tanzania. The situation in Mozambique, which has an estimated Muslim population of 40%, is similar to that in Tanzania - Muslims in the country's north were mobilized in the FRELIMO-led freedom movement, but Muslims allege that the country is dominated by mission-educated and Tanzania-trained Christian/Catholic leadership. In mosques, Swahili is commonly spoken. There is only one Muslim ambassador and no Muslim ministers in the cabinet. Malawi's Muslim community is estimated to be one-fifth of the population, with various Muslim organizations dispersed across the country.

There are a few thousand Asians in the area, and the Muslim clergy is largely from Tanzania, hence Swahili is regularly spoken in mosques. The grievances of Muslims in this country are comparable to those in Tanzania, Kenya, and Mozambique (Islam in East Africa, 1965). According to reports, two Christian bishops (one Catholic and one Protestant) were invited to the government's February 1993 discussions on the issue of multi-partism, but no Muslim Malawian official was invited. With no evidence, such reports exacerbated tensions amongst Malawians (and East Africans) of many faiths. About 5% to 10% of Muslim minorities in Burundi, Rwanda, and Democratic Republic of Congo live in the cities of Bujumbura and Kigali, as well as the copper mining areas of Shaba in eastern DRC, where Swahili is spoken as a first or second language. Muslims are typically Afro-Arab, Afro-Asian, or slave descendants. Shopkeepers, traders, and transporters are the most common.

There was an exodus of Muslims from these countries to Uganda and Tanzania after the civil war in 1960, but the Muslim population has been slowly rising in recent years, partially due to immigration (Chande, 2008). The population of the Republic of Comoro is almost entirely Muslim. Furthermore, the Republic has been a full member of the Arab League since August 1993, after 14 years as an observer, having declared Arabic as its official language, whereas in Mayotte/Maore, the fourth island in the Comorian archipelago still under French administration, 98 percent of the population is Muslim, with the remaining Roman Catholics (Lodhi, 1994). In Madagascar's north-western region, there is a small Muslim minority of a few percent. The number of Muslims, who are mainly of mixed African, Arab, Malagasy, and Indian heritage, has not increased at all. Many Muslims in Madagascar's towns are of Asian descent and belong to various denominations. They are also French citizens. Since the beginning of this century, when the French missions replaced the Arabic alphabet with the Latin script, the Malagasy have not utilized it. Many Malagasy language documents in Arabic script, on the other hand, have survived and are held in various archives in the West.

2.2.2. Swahili People and Civilization

Swahili culture dates back to pre-Christian days, when the inhabitants of the East African coast were part of the northern Indian Ocean civilization and followed the Zoroastrian religion. The pre-Islamic Persian New Year, Naw Roz, is still celebrated as Nairuzi in Zanzibar today. The Swahili people were and are a biological mix of peoples from all across the Indian Ocean, but they are largely of black African Bantu and Cushitic

heritage. Swahili culture included urban, maritime, and agricultural communities, as well as fishing settlements.

Many years later, Swahilis converted to Islam and shifted their focus to the Middle East and India (Ichumbaki & Pollard, 2022). Their material culture, which includes art, architecture, music, clothing, cuisine, and so on, continues to be more oriental and oceanic than continental African. In the 1330s, for example, Ibn Batuta describes in full the East African ritual of chewing Indian Paan (betel leaf and betel nut with sweet spices). Material cultural components from the northern Indian Ocean (such as the north Indian female dress "kurta" and Indian cinema, the long male white dress "kanzu" from the Gulf Emirates and Oman, and so on) continue to affect East African Muslims and Non-Muslims to some extent to the present.

To conclude, Muslims opened up eastern Africa's interior, particularly Tanzania, and through their actions (slavery and the slave trade) which were historically African phenomena, were spread, wreaking havoc on some areas. Eastern Africa was brought closer to the rest of the globe as a result of Muslim economic activity, making European colonialism easier and faster, though it took till the end of the last century. Islam also offered knowledge and literature to Muslims of various backgrounds, as well as a common uniting language - Swahili-that has benefited non-Muslims as well. Muslims brought urbanization and contemporary advancements like as electricity, telegraph, and telephone.

As a result, political mobilization and resistance to European colonial control were relatively easy to achieve in many East African countries, as they were in the western countries. One of the few negative outcomes of the introduction of Islam in eastern Africa was the rise of feudalism, which altered Bantu-speaking people's conceptions of land ownership and tilling rights. In many Muslim agrarian civilizations, women have lost part of their historic rights to land ownership and tilling. Islam, on the other hand, provided them with a number of rights, including the right to inherit, which they had previously lacked. Eastern African countries are devoid of Islamic fanaticism. However, similar to Christian fundamentalists in the region, there are a few tiny organizations of Muslim activists. There is no fundamentalism here, but rather Islamic revivalism, particularly through Shia influences, to revitalize Muslim civilizations that emphasize their Islamicity.

2.3. History of Muslim Swahili Minority

2.3.1. Before the colonial Era

In the early 19th century, the island of Zanzibar and Comoros became the center of trade and business in the whole East African area. These two islands had adequate geographic locations for trade and the African labor was productive. Moreover, the natives converted themselves to Islam and the intermarriages between Arabs and Zanzibarites were on rise. Thus, this was the announcement of a new generation with a mixture of culture, language and organization with the ones brought by Arab traders. This new hybrid generation was called Wangwana or Waungwana (“The civilised community” in English) with Kiswahili as their new trade language (Rockel, 2009). Kiswahili became a mixture of Bantu and Arabic language. In the need of trade expansion, Waungwana made a business deal with the Governor Mwinyi Kheri to settle themselves in an empty Tanzanian city called Ujiji near the shores of the Lake Tanganyika.

This place facilitated their access to the whole Imbo Region (Republic Democratic of Congo, Tanzania and Burundi). This Region had ivory which was in great demand in Europe, rice crops which were appreciated by Arabs and necklaces in small red beads called sam-sam which were loved by African traders living in Zanzibar and Comoros (Idem). Land contacts via the eastern border remained very frequent. Cotton and pearls were only spread in the region of Imbo, at the beginning, while the inhabitants of the interior of the country continued to wear (dress) ficus (Anciaux, 1949). Furthermore, the new products mingled with the usual articles of regional or local trade: oil from the palm groves north of the lake, goats, dried fish, uvinza salt transported in Ujiji, hoes and iron wire from the blacksmiths of Buvira or Bunziza. . The hawkers from the south of the country took part in these exchanges and went themselves to the Uvinza saltworks or to the Ujiji market (Luffin, 2018). Contact markets developed in Burundi, near the main landing places for canoeists. A new human landscape gradually appeared in the Imbo; first rectangular houses of the Swahili type, white calico (marekani) or dark blue cotton (kaniki) fabrics, necklaces made of small red beads called sam-sam, brass bracelets in place of the old wire nyerere, rice cultivation, and mango trees. While the Mwezi court ensured traditions on the hills, a lacustrine fringe of Swahili culture embodied radiant and easily integrated modernity for the mountain dwellers, who integrated into Swahili culture and who were, at first, called "abasirimu" but which ended up being an integral part of the Swahilis. The Swahili culture pushed the rural Barundis, without being forced to do so,

to leave behind their ancient traditions. This phenomenon has contributed to the settlement of the Swahilis (Mbongo, 2008). A role it increasingly played in the 19th century until the end of the German administration, before being marginalized by the Belgian administration.

After the death of Governor Kheri, one of his companions 'Mohamed bin Khalfan' succeeded him as the new governor of Ujiji. Bin Khalfan was a Baruani (From a large Omani Family) and was protected by the Sultan of Zanzibar Sayid Bargash. In addition to this, the new governor built his fortune on war, politics and raid rather than trade (Martin, 1969). Hence, he imposed himself as a new leader of Muslim Swahili and was ready to create an organization of resistance against the domination of European colonizers, which threatened to eradicate the whole Swahili Civilization. He earned a valiant name for his actions as Rumariza '*The exterminator*'. This new community of Waungwana became popular in the Imbo region. They were nicknamed 'Muslim Swahili or Waswahili' by reason of their Islamic culture, organization and Kiswahili language (Arens, 1975). They bought many lands and some lived in the Western part of Burundi all along Nyaza Lake, Kigwena, Rumonge, Magara, Uzige and Kajaga. They remained under the responsibilities of Rumariza who considered himself as the sovereign guardian of the whole Imbo region.

2.4. During the Colonial Era

2.4.1. Source of conflict between the Swahilis and the European Colonizers

The Campaigns of the European powers against the Swahilis are a set of military operations, financed by Cardinal Charles Martial Lavigerie led by the European Armed Forces and the Congo Free State (EIC) against the regions under Swahili domination, in the east of the current Democratic Republic of the Congo from May 1892 to January 1894 (Arens, 1976). At the height of the engagement at the end of 1892, about 100,000 Swahilis divided into several warrior posts, installed all along Lake Tanganyika, will be opposed to 120 European soldiers at the head of the black soldiers of the EIC. The rise of Swahili power in the east of the Congo Free State (EIC) and its expansion in the sub-region worried the European powers, especially Belgium, which was the master of the EIC. To force the Swahilis to submit to the will of the colonial power, they imposed a high tax on ivory, the main product of Swahili traders. Then they opened two stations in the region to control and block the flourishing Swahili trade. The disgruntled Swahilis, determined not

to surrender to European power and to defend their civilization, decided to go on the offensive against the installations of the colonial power (Krautwald, 2021).

An open war between the European power and the Swahili power started in May 1892. It opposed the troops of colonial power and supported by the troops of Belgian Congo and the Swahilis and their allies (the local warriors). The Swahilis of the eastern EIC and the Lake Tanganyika coast formed a single army because they formed the same population commanded by Tippu Tip and Rumariza (Cyrus, 1916). A war that lasted two years and which required major resources and support from both sides. If the Swahilis received help from the eastern coast, the Belgians also received reinforcement, a hundred soldiers and more than 700 porters, from Bagamoyo under the command of Jacques, who had the support of Pope Leon III (John I., Coleman L., Thomas J.B., Gladden W., Wesley J.J., Pereira H.M., Coyle R.F., 1903). Eventually, the war ended in January 1894, the Belgian colonial power and its allies won the war but not the submission of the Swahilis. A large number of Swahilis took refuge, after the war, in Tanganyika territory and in the Swahili cities of the Tanganyika coast.

2.4.2. German colonial period

In 1896 the Germans landed at the post of Kajaga. It will be the first European power to colonize Burundi. German colonization was hostile against the influence of Swahili merchants of Asian origin, who were the real suppliers of Swahili traders of African origin. Muslim Swahili were considered as a threat to them. Thus, they were obliged to settle in the Western part of Burundi (Rumonge, Nyanza Lac and Kabondo) by the colonizers (Institute for security STUDIES, 2005); (Bentley & Southall, 2005) . Initially, an agreement was signed between the German colonizers and Muslim Swahili: the former accepted to give space and allowed them to live freely with no interference in their internal affairs and the latter accepted to not interrupt any German activity in the region and show submission to the German governor (Krautwald, 2021).

Yet, Germany decreed an order forcing all persons from Arabic countries to have a day permit issued in Usumbura. This order became a barrier to many trade activities for many years due to the fact that the Burundian coasts were boycotted by the merchants definitively. The growth of maritime transport, the slowdown in trade, the introduction of money, and the establishment of missionaries were among the main marks of the German colonial era (William, 1988). Furthermore, the first Catholic mission was established in

Burundi in 1899. Initially, there was no interest in Christianity from Burundians. However, with the construction of schools, some Burundians became interested in following this new religion for the well-being of their children.

2.4.3. Belgian Administration

Since the beginning of the 19th century, Burundi has experienced significant changes, following the arrival of European missionaries, first Catholics, and then Protestants (Prunier, 1995). Muslims, mostly Swahilis, although they came before them, their role was quickly erased by the white fathers of Cardinal Charles Martial Lavigerie. These, having preceded the colonial powers, were quickly going to be victims of a series of marginalization. After the First World War in 1916, Germany lost its African colonies to the benefit of the victorious countries in Europe. Rwanda and Burundi were mandated under the Belgian supervision by the League of Nations (Nsabimana, 1994). Consequently, the white fathers of Cardinal Charles Martial Lavigerie quickly erased the influence of the Muslim Swahili civilization in Burundi.

The white fathers had a mission of instauration of a Christian civilization through education which allowed them to manipulate the Burundian society. On the social level, Burundi has undergone deep political and socio-cultural changes. Burundians were assimilated to the new Western culture, which enslaved them to worrying proportions. According to Mbongo, the colonial administration began by dividing the population Burundian, and then planned amazing and well-designed strategies for the marginalization of the Muslim Swahili minority.’ In fact, Catholicism became a state religion and this decision was a violation of freedom of conscious for the Muslim Swahili. In schools, Kiswahili language was banned from being used. Moreover, it was almost impossible for Muslim Swahili to have concessions to build their schools and Mosques. Hence, Belgian colonizers sowed a social division and went beyond their mandate’s limits. According to Sandrart (1953), they divided the Burundian society in 3 major recognized ethnic groups (Hutus, Tutsis and Twas) but did not include Muslim Swahili while labeling them as refugees. The country became polarized by these distinctions and this ethnic nationalism engaged the society to an eventual ethnic conflict. The Belgian administration played a big role for the marginalization of Muslim Swahili considered as the most excluded and indecisive nationals. This hostility of the colonizers towards Muslim Swahili explains their lack of progress in Burundi.

2.4.4. The Catholic Church signs of power

The rapid conversion of the populations, which nothing foretells after two failures of installation of the missionaries in Rumonge and Uzige, regions dominated by the Swahilis, on the coast of Lake Tanganyika, is interesting in more ways than one. Before 1922, the installation of the missions followed the German axis on the Tanganyika-Northeast coast of the country. After the creation of the Urundi Vicariate under the leadership of Bishop Gorju (Rivuzimana, 2015), the geographical distribution of the missions reveals a kind of pioneer front coming from the East before reaching the West and the South.

It should be noted that religion had become the portal to power since the 1930s. The chiefs and behind them, the sub-chiefs and the mass were converted, as Ian Linden (1977) puts it well, in the same way as in Rwanda: "*For many, Catholicism has simply become the religion of the powerful, an opinion for which there is ample evidence in Rwanda and Burundi*". The colonial power, for its part, called on the missionaries when it came to making major decisions. Father Henri Bonneau was asked to sit and seek the advice of the great chiefs during the 1918 plebiscite. The Pio Canonica was responsible for the education of the King Mwambutsa (Dunlop, 2021). There was not an essential decision could be taken by the resident without first notifying the vicar apostolic. This comfortable situation led them to act in some cases as veritable agents of the administration. The missions constituted in themselves veritable chiefdoms. In a word, from the marginal Church of the beginning of the century, there came the epoch of the Church linked to power.

2.4.5. The marginal plan of the Church and the colonial power against the Muslim Swahili Minority

In 1924, after the acceptance of the Belgian mandate on Ruanda-Urundi, the Minister of Colonies asked the Royal Commissioner to curb the influence of the Swahilis as quickly as possible (Anciaux, 1949). For him, the real barrier had to be found in the national Catholic mission post establishments, near the Swahili centers. One might think that the foundation of the Makamba 1934 mission responded, in addition to the desire to convert the Batare chiefs of the south, to this goal, given the influence of the Swahili centers. When they installed schools, the use of Kiswahili was banned. The Swahilis did not easily obtain concessions to build their mosques and schools. Worse still, their schools, built with difficulty by small contributions, did not receive state subsidies.

The decision to make Catholicism a state religion had negative consequences on the education and socio-political future of Swahilis in Burundi (Chrétien, 1989). By virtue of the convention concluded between the Holy See and Belgium in 1906, teaching was entrusted to the Catholic missions, in return for subsidies. Unfortunately, although entitled to the same share, Burundians of other faiths were marginalized, mostly Muslims never received any (Castricky, 2019). The secondary school of Astrida, entrusted to the Brothers of Charity of Ghent, kept the doors closed to non-Catholic citizens of Ruanda-Urundi. The Swahilis demanded the creation of a secular school supported by the colonial power, intended for the excluded, but this was in vain.

Although education was reserved for Catholics, good education was reserved for future leaders. They were chosen from the so-called customary ruling class and had to be educated separately in a school where the executives were reshaped to better manipulate them in order to dictate the conduct to be followed in the exercise of their functions. These future and the converted leaders were in solidarity with their religion and with the marginal instructions of the Belgian colonizer (Gaetan, 1988). The Belgian administration thus introduced a new source of political legitimacy of a purely marginal nature. Ethnic, religious ideology and civilization through the Church, led to new divisions between the various social groups and religious denominations. The opening of the country to Belgian administration introduced new sources of conflict, ethnic tension and social blockages, the future consequences of which escaped Burundians (Lemarchand, 1970). The missionaries, for their part, found themselves satisfied with the mandatory power which supported them in their fight against the Protestants and the Muslim Swahilis. Entrusting them with education was the determining factor in access to social and political ascent. This allowed them to quickly have total control over the whole country.

It appears from the statistics, in the resident's report, that the Swahilis in 1934 were counted in the territories of Usumbura, Kitega, Ngozi, Muhinga, Ruyigi, Rutana, Kayanza, Muramvya and Bururi. At the beginning, the Belgian colonizer made Swahilis customers intended to resell imported products to trading centers within the country (Kagab, 2003). Initially, they became serious competitors to such an extent that the administration feared that they would stifle all European trade. Having links all over East Africa, they were constantly on the move and lived off small businesses and clandestine trade with Rwanda, Congo, Kenyan, Uganda and especially Tanzania (Arens, *Changing patterns of ethnic identity and prestige in East Africa*, *Century of change in Eastern*

Africa, 1976). During the colonial period and even before the arrival of the colonizers, the Swahilis made frequent trips to and from the Indian Ocean coast for commercial activities.

The second activity was agriculture. Almost all the Swahilis had fields that they did not work themselves, outside their cities. They called on local labor and only went to the fields to see the progress of the work and supervise the harvest. The role played by the Belgian administration for the marginalization of Swahilis in Burundi was stronger and determined to make Swahilis the most indecisive and excluded citizens of the Burundian society (Constantin, 2003). The hostility of the colonial administration and the Catholic Church explains the lack of progress of the Swahilis of Burundi.

2.5. Struggle of Independence

2.5.1. The Quest for Independence by the Swahili Separatists

The idea of independence was introduced and supported first by Muslim Swahilis for they were the most marginalized in Burundi. Despite their contribution to the development of education through the payment of exorbitant taxes and duties, Muslim Swahilis were largely marginalized by the colonizer (Castrycck, 2020). This exclusion pushed them to regroup and form resistance movements against the colonizer. In 1955 the Swahilis undertook the idea of a cooperative to try to help each other, while the taxes against Swahili traders continued to increase ruthlessly. However, the cooperatives were not going to last because the colonizer saw in them a communist ideology in his territory. The Swahilis continued to resist the colonizer's plan to do away with the idea of the cooperative when they had the support of Prince Louis Rwagasore who became a true ally of the Swahilis throughout the period of the struggle for independence. In 1956, without the authorization of the colonial authority, the Swahilis launched a political newspaper called *Wananchi Presse* which spoke only of independence, which only expressed the will of the Burundis to see the colonizer leave their territory. This press was quickly banned by the colonial power. In 1957, after the closing of this newspaper they invented another strategy, the creation and the animation of groups of songs, traditional dances (Msondo ngoma), and poetry, (Mashairi), which were groups of campaigns in charge of transmitting the coded messages to the public present in the ceremonies.

The most famous message was the song Barafu Nyeupe which literally means 'white snow', but basically the message meant the snow always ends up melting under the heat i.e. the snow meant the colonizer and the heat the struggle. This kind of messages went unnoticed in the eyes of the secret services of the colonial power. In 1958, the Swahilis began to found organizations for the defence of their rights, but in the form of confessional organizations (Arens, 1975). They created ASMARU (Muslim school association of Rwanda-Urundi). Its purpose was to defend the right to education of Swahili children and demanded subsidies from the colonial power. Furthermore, the Swahilis of Usumbura, Rumonge and Nyanza-lac founded APROTA (Progressive association of Lake Tanganyika) which was an organization that fought for social equality and especially the rights of merchants.

For example, this organization had contributed to the uprising of the Swahilis against excessive taxes in Rumonge where they had locked the colonial administrator in his office for the whole day. The discontent lasted several days and then, Swahilis were persecuted by the colonial police. In April 1959, Swahilis decided to found the first political party in Burundi, the UNARU (National Union of Rwanda-Urundi) and it was approved on July 28 of the same year. At the head of this party was Ntunguka Barnabé, Masudi Siwatu the vice-president and Salum Hassan Mashangwe general secretary. After the approval of UNARU, senior officials wrote a letter to Prince Louis Rwagasore asking him to join their political party which had just been founded for social change with the primary mission of independence for Burundi (Castrick, 2019). Prince Rwagasore had already taken steps to found his own political party but accepted to cooperate with the latter.

2.5.2. Why did Prince Louis Rwagasore join Muslim Swahilis?

Relations between Rwagasore and the colonizer, supported by the Catholic Church, deteriorated when Prince Rwagasore decided to embrace the idea of independence (Russell, 2012). The Catholic Church and the colonial power felt betrayed by the prince's decision. His own father King Mwambutsa was against his son. The Prince was determined to follow through with his objectives. In the need of a base; the Prince made contact with Swahilis had already founded a political party for the same purpose and had already expressed their dissatisfaction with the colonizer (Deslaurier, 2010). According to some sources in Buyenzi, Prince Louis Rwagasore had allied with the Swahilis for the following reasons:

- They were the first to engage in the fight for independence, and their determination was very strong and sincere.

- They were the most marginalized social group during the colonial period so they had a strong interest in independence.

- They had sufficient means to lead the fight; they were great traders, they maintained good relations with separatists from neighboring countries and even Arab countries like Egypt and they had perfect control of the sub-region.

- They were not hypocrites and they were evolved and open-minded compared to the general population of Burundi.

2.5.3. Swahili Efforts during the Struggle

In 1955, the Swahilis of Buyenzi tried to get in touch with Mwalim Julius Kambarage Nyerere leader of the independence of Tanganyika Territory. Swahili traders played an important role in convincing Mwalim Nyerere to come to Burundi to meet the Burundian separatists in order to share his experience with them. In 1956, he answered their call and sent a delegation of his close collaborators to meet the leaders of the separatists of Burundi (Deslaurier, 2010). Among his collaborators, he had the famous Bibi Titi Muhamed, known as a sensitizer of the independence ideology of Tanganyika; but also known for his formal role of preparing and announcing the arrival of Mwalim Nyerere. There was also Oscar Kambona and Suleyman Dagadiri. The Swahili separatists of Buyenzi received them. The meeting was kept secret in Buyenzi with the presence of Prince Louis Rwagasore, Mzee Salum Bicuka, Ntunguka Barnabé and Salum Hassan Mashangwe. In 1957, Mwalim Nyerere arrived discreetly in Burundi and was received by the Swahili separatists of Buyenzi, despite the efforts of the colonial power to prevent his entry into the territory of Rwanda-Urundi.

The resident's secret services were informed that Mwalim Julius Kambarage Nyerere was already in Buyenzi and that the Swahili separatists had planned a secret meeting with Prince Louis Rwagasore. The colonial police made a surprise and muscular raid to try to catch, in flagrante delicto, Mwalim Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Prince Rwagasore. However, Muslim Swahilis were smarter than the colonial police. The police

surrounded the village of Buyenzi, searched the houses and arrested some activists (Jawabu, 2019). However, they could not stop the movement leaders and yet they were there but in disguise. To escape the colonial police, Mwalim Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Prince Rwagasore and Muslim Swahili separatist heads wore BaiBui women's clothing (black, long and thick dresses with a full veil, a kind of bourquat); and the colonial police passed them by without realizing it, believing that they were women and failed to arrest them or prevent their meeting from taking place. The arrested activists were taken to the police station where they were mistreated.

Moreover, The Swahilis continued the struggle by issuing leaflets to the various urban centers to provoke the reaction of the colonizer. Mzee Ahmad was one of the young activists who were responsible for issuing the leaflets and posting them on mango trees in the town of Usumbura (Jawabu, 2019). He testifies to having been arrested by a Belgian commando who had stabbed him in the leg with a bayonet, then transported to the Prince Régent Charles hospital where he was handcuffed to a hospital bed for a few days. He was released after an intervention by Katikati Félix, a close friend of Prince Louis Rwagasore.

2.5.4. Swahili Diplomacy during the Struggle

Muslim Swahili Minority played an important role in promoting Burundi's struggle for independence throughout Africa. They used their trade relations to reach out to separatists in the sub-region and succeeded in convincing them to form an alliance. The Lumumbists, the Mau Mau and the Burundian separatists formed an alliance to fight against the colonial powers (Castruyck, 2019). Thus, they successfully established relations with Tunisia and were supported by Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Burundi's independence struggle campaign was broadcast regularly by the "Voice of Africa" radio station in Cairo. In 1961 the Swahilis convinced Gamal Abdel Nasser to finance the UPRONA campaigns. An amount of 14,000,000 Burundian francs were given to the Prince and a dozen of cars to carry out electoral campaigns capable of ensuring the victory. Although Muslim Swahilis of Burundi have marked great moments in the history of Burundi, they remain the most marginalized ethnic group in Burundi.

2.5.5. The Efforts of Muslim Swahili Women during the Struggle

Swahili women did not sit idly by as they made a significant contribution to the struggle for independence. Their greatest works were the role of spy they played during

the struggle and the massive participation in the demonstrations. Most of the members of traditional Swahili dance groups were women. According to Jamii ya Waswahili wa Burundi (Jawabu, 2019), they organized the tours next to the Lake Tanganyika. The goal was not to only perform on stages but also to bring secret messages to the Burundian separatists. In addition to this, they brought in the independence campaign newspapers, photos of separatists. In addition, they introduced the KANGA on which there were different messages.

The best known are the KANGA which carried the messages "IKO SIKU UTAFIKA" which meant "one day it will arrive" or "one day we will have our independence", and "UHURU NI LAZIMA" to mean "independence is inevitable". Furthermore, Muslim Swahili women played disguise strategy to hide their leaders on many occasions during the struggle (Idem). For example, the day of the meeting between Nyerere and Rwagasore, the secret services of colonial power had taken a decision to follow the movements of the Prince to prevent him from going outside to any meeting of African separatists. The Muslim Swahili women proposed to the Prince the idea of disguising him as a woman for they could cross the border in a group of women. This strategy made it easier for the leaders to deceive the vigilance of the secret services and to allow the Prince to participate in pan-African meetings which brought independence to Burundi.

2.6. After the Independence of Burundi

2.6.1. Forced Displacement of Swahilis

After the assassination of Prince Louis Rwagasore, the Prince's party displayed a spirit of extremism unprecedented in the political history of Burundi (Poppe, 2015). It was undoubtedly the spirit of 'divide and rule' which manifested through UPRONA. The new Burundian elites forgot their allies with all the efforts and suffering to gain independence. The political class of the time stigmatized Swahilis to make them less credible in society. The Upronists rejected and showed certain hostility towards the Swahilis who were their allies. They set up a discreet propaganda from family to family to discredit Swahilis and all their values in the Burundian society.

This is how families began to poison their children by transmitting them the spirit of ethnic hatred and inter-ethnic contempt. The Swahilis were treated as individuals

without any credibility, social status and inferior to other ethnic groups. Only few families which accepted to change the religion or admired the values of this majority were given equal rights with others in the country. The Swahilis were, for the first time, excluded by the leaders of the Burundian ethnic groups. According to Achibakhe C., Nayomoya P. & Srouji F. (1982), Muslim Swahilis were not only victims of forced displacement; they were also victims of expulsion organized by the high Burundian authorities. Also the authorities confiscated their property and land. During the Second Republic under the presidency of Jean-Baptiste BAGAZA, the power of UPRONA was not only content to marginalize the Swahilis but wanted to put an end to them. For example, some Muslim Swahilis from Rumonge and Nyanza-lac were expelled to Zaire (current DRC).

They were accused of being ‘detached’ from the majority. Thus, they left behind their lives, homes, cities, lands and goods. Others, who remained, were obliged to sell their houses, goods at a derisory price. This remains as one of the unforgettable events to the Swahilis of Burundi who were victims of this unjust, arbitrary and discriminatory expulsion. After the departure of President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, the majority of the expelled Swahilis were allowed to return to their homeland but their property and land were confiscated by high-level connections.

This intoxication remained asymmetrical due to the fact that Swahilis were opposed to the idea of polarizing future generations and preferred encouraging them to fend themselves to avoid being manipulated in the ethnic conflicts. However, this polarization of the Burundian society did not only affect the Swahili society but also had harmful consequences on national unity and was at the origin of the various social tears as well as the loss of human lives in different political crises (Jawabu, 2019). During these various crises, the Swahili neighborhoods were the refuge to all ethnic groups (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa). Muslim Swahilis were considered as the “hyphen” to unite the Burundian society.

2.6.2. Muslim Swahili Discretion and Neutrality

During the catastrophic Hutu-Tutsi hostilities in 1993 and 1995, Muslim Swahili Minority kept out of the fighting. Luffin (1999) stated that *'during the events, their neighborhood was called 'Swiss,' until the army threatened to change it into a new Tchetchenia!'*. When the army demolished the Hutu neighborhood of Kamenge in 1995, its residents fled to the 'neutral' Buyenzi, which is currently overcrowded. Burundian

Muslims' economic dreams are realized in Buyenzi, a suburb of the Burundian capital, and areas along the beaches of Lake Tanganyika. In the politics of Muslim communities, there is a two-fold dynamic. On one hand, they adhere to a tradition founded on Kiswahili language, culture, and trade; on the other hand, they seek to develop a warm welcoming environment for everyone in need.

Thus, conversion to Islam has risen sharply in both Burundi in recent years. This might, of course, be attributable to a general desire for spirituality in the aftermath of such these tragedies. There is also a noticeable increase in interest in Catholic and Protestant churches. Despite this, many people are drawn to Islam because of its neutrality during the conflicts. The main reason of this neutrality is that many Muslims believe it is due to the fact that they identify as Muslims rather than Hutus or Tutsis (Chrétien & Gérard, 2003). However, this ideal viewpoint is not always accurate. Some Muslims in Burundi emphasize their "ethnic" roots, while others do not. A Muslim clerk in Bujumbura claimed that the newly converted place a greater emphasis on their ethnicity than the rest of the population, and he expressed his worry of this new occurrence.

In addition to this, the Catholic Church is inextricably linked to present Burundian history. It can be interpreted positively or adversely, but it is never regarded as an impartial observer. As a weapon of colonial authority, Catholicism was installed in Burundi, and it created beliefs that reinforced the Hutu-Tutsi divide (Harden, 1987). Following independence, it continued to serve as an ally at times and an adversary of the government at other times. Some priests used the churches to exhort or defend their atrocities. However, Islam is never linked to political developments in the region. The few Muslims who took part in the atrocities, on the other hand, behaved as individuals, never as believers who used their faith to murder their brothers.

2.6.3. Muslim Swahili's Figures

Despite the country's small size, Muslim Swahili minority makes up less than 10 percent of the population, but their figures have had a significant impact in Burundi. During the civil conflict that destroyed the country – and killed hundreds of thousands of people – in the 1990s, Muslim Swahili played a key role in Hutu-Tutsi reconciliation (Luffin, 2018). Following these events, many Muslims in Burundi chose to enter politics. The Bahutu and Batutsi ethnic groups have a long history of strife in Burundi. A deal reached in Arusha, Tanzania ended the civil conflict in 2000. Former Bahutu rebels

regrouped together and formed a political party named CNDD-FDD, which won the 2005 elections (Idem).

At first, the new political party had two prominent leaders: the late president of the country, Pierre Nkurunziza, an evangelical Christian, and Hussein Radjabu, a Muslim Swahili. They shared power and collaborated closely. The Muslim community was ecstatic to support the government's measures. Radjabu turned out to be an ardent supporter of Islam, whilst Nkurunziza promoted evangelical Christianity built on his wife's pastoral ministry. The cooperation between Nkurunziza and Radjabu came to a halt, and an open dispute erupted. Nkurunziza was the one who gathered more support and marginalized his Muslim opponent. Radjabu was caught on treason allegations without a trial and imprisoned, from which he eventually escaped in 2015. With Radjabu's absence from the public political scene, the Muslim community abandoned the government and banded together behind a small opposition group UPD-Zigamibanga led by Zed Feruzi (ZERO, 2020). Before being killed in 2015, Feruzi had been regarded as one of Burundi's most powerful Muslim figures in recent years.

In September 2010, the Burundian government attempted to appeal to Burundian Muslims by nominating Mohamed Rukara, a local Muslim politician from Buyenzi, to the position of Burundian Ombudsman (idem). He was a powerful figure. He also incurred the wrath of the president when he challenged Nkurunziza's so-called third term in office. Sheikh Rukara also had close ties with Burundi's former mufti Abdallah Kajandi Sadiki and former Minister of Education Saidi Kibeya. Moreover, several women are included in the list of influential Muslim figures in Burundi. Two of these are Leontine Nzeyimana (former Minister of EAC Affairs and member of the fourth EA Legislative Assembly) and Hafsa Mossi (former Burundian minister for the presidency in charge of the East African Community). Mossi, a former journalist, served as minister for three years before being assassinated in 2016 (Lindskov & Gauslå, 2018).



3. ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1.LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is divided into two sections and tries to enlighten the reader about the numerous scientific hypotheses on this topic that already exist in the scientific literature. First, it raises the issue of unequal education and representation in the Burundian Society. The second part deals with the relationship between Unequal priorities and Islamophobia.

3.2. Unequal Representation and Education in the Burundian Society

Grievances against the state emerge in countries where political, social, and economic inequalities intersect with ethnicity, increasing the likelihood of civil war (Stewart, 2002). The impact of political exclusion of ethnic groups on violence (Ross, 2007); (Vogt, 2019) (Charles, 2012) or the strategies governments use to recognize ethnic groups (or not) and address inequalities after violence (King & Samii, (2020); (Cederman, Hug , & Wucherpfennig , 2020), as well as the consequences of this recognition for peace (Cederman, Hug , & Wucherpfennig , 2020); (King & Samii, (2020). Even though it is not overlooked, the significance of education in producing these political grievances is minimized or depoliticized, and it is viewed as a component of social inequalities rather than political inequalities (Ostby, 2008).

Moreover, any kind of discrimination and unequal representation is against the laws as it is mentioned in the Burundian constitution promulgated in 2018 that; *"the Burundi government must be composed so that all Burundians are represented in it and so that it represents all Burundians, so that each person has an equal chance of being part of it, so that all citizens have access to public services, and so that the decisions and actions of the Government receive the greatest possible support"* (article 16, p 7) (Constituteproject, 2022).

Many national researches have stated that the worst of the violence has subsided in Burundi but the situation remains delicate, with an unresolved political position and ongoing displacement both inside and outside the nation. The main role of the government is to equally represent and unite all Burundian amid their language and religion as it is stipulated in the 2018 constitution: *'The Government is tasked with the realization of the Burundian people's aspirations, in particular to heal the divisions of the past, to improve*

the quality of life of all Burundians, and to guarantee to all the option to live in Burundi sheltered from fear, discrimination, disease, and hunger' (Article 17, p 7) idem.

Education, on the other hand, is intrinsically political (King, 2014), and educational inequities do contribute to political, social, and economic inequalities (Langer & Kuppens, (2019); (Brown, 2011). Furthermore, even in regions remote from capital cities and centers of power, education is one of the primary ways that ordinary citizens connect with the state (Burde, 2014). In addition to its position as a source of credentialing and social prestige (Bourdieu, 1986), education can increase government legitimacy (Burde, Middleton , & Samii , 2016); (Gellner, 1983); (Weiler, 1983).

According to the study done by Lange (2012:20), it is stated that education is a crucial factor of social mobility. Education inequalities along ethnic lines are thus a concrete manifestation of inequalities; whereas power sharing in political institutions or the judicial branch is reserved for the elites, education is, in theory, open to everybody (Novelli , Higgins, Ugur, & Valiente, 2014); (Burde, Kapit, & Wahl, 2017); Both quantitative research (Ostby, 2008); (Alcorta, Smits, & Swedlu, 2016); (Omoeva, 2015) and qualitative single-country case studies (Burde, 2014); (King, 2014) emphasize that ethnic inequalities in education directly contribute to conflict. This may be due to the palpable aspect of these inequalities. Inequitable access to education accumulates and seeps through political and economic institutions (King, 2014); (Brown, 2011). Overt policy goals, such as measures that promote universal education or national unity, might obscure the covert goals of a government attempting to marginalize groups from power, such as unequal school distribution or hate-mongering campaigns (Burde, 2014); (King, 2014).

Furthermore, perceptions of disparities range significantly from concrete, or observable, inequalities (Langer & Mikami, 2013), and the gaps between observations and perceptions can obscure covert discriminating policies. In studies on the relationship between education and conflict, the mismatch between overt and covert policy goals, as well as how related perceived disparities play out in the brains of the children who encounter them, is frequently disregarded. Understanding how youth reacted to educational policies can give light on how inequities manifest themselves as complaints against the state, which has ramifications for post-conflict education policy development.

3.3. The Relationship between Unequal priorities and Islamophobia: Case of Burundi

Although prejudice against Islam and violence against Muslims may exist around the world, this study will have its focus on Islamophobia in Burundi. As a result, the proposed definition will be specific to the Burundian context and will not attempt to encompass cross-cultural variants of Islamophobia. Furthermore, the given definition comprises the entirety of the ways in which Muslims are discriminated against and excluded in Burundi; it also includes a major portion of the ways in which Muslims are excluded and discriminated against in Burundi.

Islamophobia is defined in this research as a form of prejudice against Islamic values and individuals who accept such values that consists of a hierarchical cultural conceptualization in which Islam is subordinated and inferiorized, as well as hostility, discriminatory, and exclusionary results for people who are perceived as Muslims. Therefore, Islamophobia is defined as a prejudiced hierarchical view of cultural norms that ranks Islam as inferior, as well as discrimination and exclusionary activities directed at those who are seen as and/or identified as Muslims (Allen, 2013). Before the Hutu, Tutsis, and Twas divisions, the conquerors' first marker of subalternity and inferiority was religious affiliation.

Even after independence, the Muslim Swahili minority was regarded as inferior and "separate" from the majority. Swahilis were demonized by the political class of the period in order to make them less trustworthy in society. Furthermore, the Upronsists rejected and expressed hatred toward their friends, the Swahilis. They set up a clandestine propaganda campaign to undermine Swahilis and all of their beliefs in Burundian society. This is how families began poisoning their children by instilling in them an attitude of ethnic animosity and inter-ethnic hatred. The Swahilis were seen as people who lacked credibility, had low social position, and were considered inferior to other ethnic groups. Muslims were labeled "people of the wrong religion," or "people of the wrong God," and hence ranked lower in the hierarchy.

Islamophobia was associated with many myths about Mohammed in Christian civilization from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment. It was a prevalent belief at the time that Mohammed, for example, engaged a magician to produce fake miracles. Though ludicrous and outlandish to us today, this medieval hate propaganda was extremely

persuasive and powerful at the time (Barrett, 2016). Islamophobia is sustained in modern Burundi by preserving and enhancing inequities in economic, political, social, and cultural interactions.

By scapegoating Muslims and justifying the exclusion of these minorities from the political, cultural, economic and social resources and human rights to which the dominant groups in society have open access, Islamophobia perpetuates differences, favoring a dominant group of people with the goal of underscoring, stabilizing, and widening their power and dominant status (Barrett, 2016). This exclusion is frequently exhibited by categorizing Muslims as a numerical danger whose existence Islamophobes contend undermines their ideals. This isolation is maintained on multiple levels by projecting a negative image of Islam and Muslims. Muslims are frequently depicted as members of an uncivilized and regressive faith, leading lives inferior to those of Christians, and representing lesser civilizations and cultures (Barrett, 2016).

These unfavorable opinions are manifested in the following ideas regarding Islam and Muslims in particular. To begin with, Islam is considered a monolithic and static religion, implying that all Muslims share the same beliefs, thoughts, and behavior (Kumar 2012). Second, Islam is perceived as fundamentally distinct from and opposed to Western ideals, particularly those of democracy, freedom, and equality, which are considered as uniquely Western and not shared by Muslims (Allen, 2013). "The Islamic faith is not perceived as a specific form of spirituality, but rather as a 'totalizing culture,' presenting a threat to our Western civilization (essentialist worldview)," writes French philosopher Pierre Tévanian (Gessier, 2010). Third, Muslims are stereotyped as extremists who are violent, confrontational, and unpredictable (Barrett, 2016); (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2007). This is the image held by many Burundians today, albeit the picture may be different for individuals living in other nations. More specifically, these acts were ethically acceptable since Arabs were thought to be fundamentally vengeful and vicious (Goldberg 2006). Fourth, Muslims are frequently portrayed as sexists and homophobes who abuse, persecute and suppress homosexuals and women (Goldberg , 2006). According to David Goldberg, Non-Muslims see Islam as a combination of deficiencies, including a lack of "freedom; of a disposition to scientific inquiry; of decency and manners; of joy of life; of human worth; of equal regard for homosexuals and women" (idem). This picture of Muslims and Islam implies that Muslims constitute a numerical threat, and that their presence in large numbers in Burundi could erode Burundian ideals.

To summarize, as it is specified in the 2018 Burundian constitution that ‘*All Burundian people are equal in merit and in dignity. All citizens enjoy the same rights and have the same protection of the law. No Burundian will be excluded from the social, political, or economic life due to their race, language, religion, sex, or ethnic origin*’ (Article, 13) (Constituteproject, 2022). Islamophobia takes many forms, including discrimination against Muslims and Muslims seen as Muslims in basic areas such as work, housing, education, social services, the criminal justice system, and police relations (Rana, 2007). Negative liberties are also violated, as seen by violent physical and verbal attacks against Muslim property, bodies, and institutions (Gessier, 2010); (Rana, 2007). As stated by Michael, Islamophobia is a symptom of religious intolerance in which Muslims are perceived as dangers and Islam as a source of terrorism, being a Muslim in Burundi is the source of many problems the Muslim Swahili Minority confront in their daily lives.

3.4. Conceptual Framework

This chapter enlightens the reader with a conceptual framework based on discrimination against Muslim Swahili Minorities to better understand how the methodology of this thesis was developed. It will also give a wider picture on the rights of Minorities in International Law and post-colonial Approach.

3.4.1. Discrimination against Muslim Swahili Minority

Discrimination is defined as a differentiation or preference on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or socioeconomic origin, and has the potential to negate or damage equality of opportunity or treatment in the workplace (Chae, Nuru-Jeter, Lincoln, & Francis, 2011). In the workplace, it manifests itself in the following ways: in the ways of recruiting, interviews advertisements, differential compensation for equal work, wrongful dismissals, and workplace harassment. In fact, everyone must be treated fairly and equally in front of the law in order to be guaranteed the right to equal treatment. Indeed, this is what is inflicted to Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi.

Discrimination based on race and ethnicity is common in both the public and private sectors when it comes to products and services (Jah, 2013). This has the ability to severely restrict one's rights and quality of life. For instance, the refusal of the usage of public transport to Swahilis like in parks and restaurants, etc.

The scapegoat theory explains the hate and blame of a certain group towards another group. It can be done by a person to another person, groups of persons to other groups of persons or groups of persons to a particular person. According to Glick, scapegoating is a blame that is put to a particular type of people especially the low class or the minority as a way to explain the economic crisis or calamity found in a country. In the 19th century, an Anti-Black movement was born in the southern of the United State of America, a movement which wanted all black persons to leave the country and return in Africa. The Ku Klux Klan group lynched thousands of black people, Jews and Muslims. In a so far idea, Scapegoat theory can also be defined by the xenophobic movements as fear or hatred of natives towards foreigners. It is mostly seen in South Africa whereby foreigners are being traumatized, discriminated and killed by South African natives.

Ethnic research has been a staple of social scientific disciplines since the end of 1960's. This legacy continues with a number of current writers who use comparable analytical tactics as Max Weber, Fredrik Barth, and Pierre Bourdieu (and others like Wallman, 1986; Loveman, 1997; Wacquant, 1997; Zolberg & Woon, 1999; Lamont, 2000; Tilly, 2004 and Alba, 2005). Ethnicity is primarily viewed in this tradition as a process of forming and re-forming groupings through establishing the borders between them (Wimmer, 2008). Currently, two schools of thought have emerged based on this concept: earlier work was relatively static, focusing on the characteristics of the borders themselves and the processes of their maintenance; and latest works prioritizes the 'making' of the ethnic border, whether through political movements or everyday interactions of individuals.

Thus, the primordial approach explains that ethnicity is inborn and unchangeable. According to Geertz, the acquired features such as culture are only there to shape or color the ethnic identity. Racism or other social hate is an inborn factor and nothing can be done to change it. The primordialist perspective to ethno-political conflict provides a simple but powerful explanation (Taras & Ganguly , 2002). As both culturally learned components (culture, language and religion) and genetically determined qualities (physiognomy and pigmentation) in shaping ethnic identity, primordialists believe ethnic identity is inborn and thus immutable (Geertz, 1963). The socio-biological component of primordialism claims that ethnicity, which is linked to kinship, promotes a convergence of interests between individuals and the collective goals of their kin group. Therefore, racism and ethnocentrism might be seen as severe kinds of nepotism motivated by notions

of propinquity and consanguinity. As a result, primordialists see nationalism as a natural occurrence. However, the constructivist theory considers ethnicity as a personal choice. Max Weber explains that any group of people with common history or back group can come together and create a community. Taras and Ganguly concludes that it is not a natural or innate phenomenon but rather an outcome of a common interest and political environment. Ethnic identities, according to constructivist theory, are the result of human acts and choices in the past, and are produced and transmitted rather than genetically inherited (Ibid). One thinker, Max Weber, emphasized the social origins of ethnic identity. Weber saw each ethnic group as a "human group" whose belief in a common heritage led to the establishment of a community, concluding that ethnic identity is mostly a function of circumstances and political context, rather than a genetic phenomenon (Stone, 1995).

Many have claimed that, in order to further this study of ethnicity, more research into how ethnicity is 'created' and 'non-created' in everyday interactions between people is needed (Barth, 1994); (Brubaker, 2002); (Lamont & Molnár, 2002). To get at such an "agency-rich" account of ethnic boundary construction, several philosophers pursued various paths. Others believe in evolutionary or game-theoretic techniques, while some rely primarily on the many contexts in which ethnicity operate (Kroneberg & Wimmer, 2012). Some researchers like Lustick have employed agent-based modeling in addition to the pragmatist tradition of social theorizing approved by Lamont.

Nationalism, according to constructivists, is an eighteenth-century European phenomenon and intellectual construction (Stone, 1995). The desire to build armies and improve military capabilities, the failure of industrialization to create a homogeneous cultural structure and market, and the development of standardized communication systems, according to various constructivists, all made it possible to imagine and invent communities (Posen, 1993). As a result of the imagined, arrogated, and attributed national character supporting the nation-building process, nationalism in Burundi grew. While nationalism helped Burundi become stronger and more connected, it also resulted in several battles over several generations, as well as forced displacement and mass extermination. Will the rise of nationalism in todays under developing countries necessarily result in the same terrible outcome?

3.2.2. The Rights of Minorities in International Law

3.2.2.1. Minority Rights

Minority rights are both the collective rights granted to minority groups as well as the typical individual rights applicable to individuals of racial, ethnic, class, religious, linguistic, or sexual minorities. The term "minority rights" can also refer to the unrestricted individual rights of anyone who disagrees with a majority decision (Daniel, 2008). Global women's rights or the many racial minority rights movements around the world are examples of civil rights movements that frequently work to ensure that individual rights are not denied on the basis of membership in a minority group.

3.2.2.2. Minority Group

A minority group is a term that may be defined by law that refers to a group of people who are different from the social majority, or those who wield the majority of social authority in a society. The word "minority group" refers to the aforementioned group rather than a relational "social group," as the term would imply. One or more observable human qualities, such as ethnicity, color, religion, caste, gender, money, health, or sexual orientation, may be the basis for the distinction. Despite the term's common mis-association with a numerical, statistical minority, it is used to refer to a variety of situations and civilizations throughout history (Barzilai, 2010). The term "minority" is used in the social sciences to describe groups of people with lower levels of social influence. The discussion of civil rights and collective rights, which gained popularity in the 20th century, frequently includes the phrase "minority group." People who belong to minority groups often face unfair treatment in the nations and societies where they dwell. Without taking into account the individual's particular accomplishments, this prejudice may be based solely on the perception of the individual as belonging to a minority group. Due to social systems that are not equally accessible to everyone, it may also happen indirectly. Advocates for a variety of causes, such as animal rights, consumer rights, and student rights, may speak in terms of minority rights (Jean S, 1989).

3.2.2.3. International Minority Rights Mechanisms

Diversity is valued and protected by international human rights frameworks. It is noteworthy that the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), intended to protect people on the basis of their national, ethnic, racial, and religious diversity, and to punish those who sought to eradicate them, was the first international treaty pertaining to human rights to be adopted by the UN. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted at the UN the next day (UDHR, 2022). The "Fate of Minorities" resolution, which the General Assembly passed on the same day, acknowledged that the UDHR did not specifically include any rights for minorities but called for "a thorough study of the problem of minorities [to be made] so that the United Nations may be able to take effective measures for the protection of racial, national, religious, or linguistic minorities."

The study pushed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to include a clause protecting minority rights (1966). The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), an initiative led by decolonized governments and their supporters, was the second international human rights convention ratified by the UN a year earlier (Maurizio , 2018). These three types of rights—human rights, minority rights, and non-discrimination—were developed and connected inside the framework of the UN in this way. Human rights, especially the fundamental right against discrimination, serve as the cornerstone upon which minority rights are based.

Also, according to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, "racial discrimination" is "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or other fields in which there is or may be participation" (Thornberry , 2016). This article raises a number of crucial points. First, it lists the grounds for discrimination that are forbidden: "race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin." Under the ICERD, individuals or groups who might be thought to possess the characteristics on this list are shielded from discrimination. In relation to ICERD, this list is frequently referred to as the protected groups.

Last but not least, the preamble and articles of the United Nations declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities

state that: States shall protect the exclusion of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities, taking into account the important work that is done by intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in protecting minorities and in promoting and protecting their rights (UN, 2022)

3.4.3. Post-colonial Approach

The phrase "Post colonialism" refers generally to the representations of culture, ethnicity, race, and human identity in the modern age following the independence declarations of various colonized nations (Safak, 2014). However, some detractors use the phrase to highlight all aspects of culture and cultural output that imperialism has influenced from the time of colonialism up to the twenty-first century. The postcolonial approach can be used to explain the position of Muslim Swahilis. In postcolonial literature, the interactions between Europeans and the people they conquered are attempted to be portrayed. The majority of Third World countries—those that are dispersed around the globe and are referred to as such—were ruled by European nations by the middle of the 20th century. Theorists demonstrate how colonial masters' divide and rule tactics caused numerous issues for the colonies (Said , 2012). The colonial process led to the creation of new frontiers. Ethnic groupings were formed, supported, or divided sharply.

Some of the most notable examples of postcolonial literature include *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie (1981), *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe (1958), *The English Patient* by Michael Ondaatje (1992), *The Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon (1961), *A Small Place* by Jamaica Kincaid (1988), *The House of the Spirits* by Isabel Allende (1982), *Waiting for the Barbarians* and *Disgrace* by J. M. Coetzee (Milne, 2009: 593-594).

Young (2001:383-426) asserts that postcolonial theory as a "political discourse" sprang primarily from oppression experiences and freedom battles following the "tri-continental" 3 awakening in Africa, Asia, and Latin America: the continents regarded as being poor and troubled (Young R. J., 2001). The focus of postcolonial critique is on the oppression and coercive dominance that exist in the modern world (Young 2001:11). This theory's basic concept opposes the idea of going to war with the past in favor of going to war with the reality of today, which are either openly or indirectly the results of the past.

Neocolonialism and its (local and international) agents are hence the focus of the battle because they continue to be enforced through political, economic, and social exploitation in post-independent nations.

African leaders such as the prophet Simon Kimbangu (1889–1952) led the fight against Belgian colonialism in the Democratic Republic of the Congo even before the formation of liberation theology and black theology (DRC). A former evangelist for the local Baptist church received a revelation that God will free the Congo and black people from colonialism. Kimbangu was charged with spreading blasphemy and stirring up opposition to the colonial authorities. He was detained in November 1921 and given a death sentence. His supporters linked Jesus' trial before Pilate to his trial before colonial judges (Martin M.-L. , 1975). The Belgian colonial system's current order and tyranny would be overthrown, and God's Kingdom would take their place, according to the Kimbanguist movement. Because of Kimbangu's various acts of resistance through songs and preaching, the Belgians accused him of treason.

Southern African independent churches and other religious movements were also crucial in the fight against colonialism (see Banana 1996:69-76) (Banana, 1996). The fight against class dominance, oppression, and apartheid was a defining feature of liberation theology and Black theology (see Maimela 1998:111–119) (Maimela, 1998). African Christians throughout the African continent were inspired to engage with and challenge apartheid and dictatorial regimes by the experiences of Latin Americans and African Americans in their campaigns against social injustice and racism, in which Martin Luther King and Malcolm X stood on the side of the poor (cf. Cone 1993:1–11) (Cone, 1993). According to Steve Biko's "Black Consciousness," which was established from a biblical perspective, the Christian message would find the God of the Blacks through Jesus Christ's support of the racial oppressed.

Additionally, the post-colonial theory shows also the changes made by different countries after the independence era. Robert and Wolpe argue that a new era began for many countries and modern values were strongly promoted; therefore racism and hatred among tribes and communities were abolished. However, some countries did not abide by these principles. In Burundi, the political development which occurred in 1960's pushed the politicians to strengthen ethnicity as a way of governance. The Hero of

independence, Prince Louis Rwagasore, who had a democratic and inclusive mindset, got assassinated. One political party, Union for National Progress, seized the power.

Its political strategies were strengthened by ethnicity and stigmatization of Muslim Swahilis, considered by the government as a threat. In fact, ethnic leadership was the only way used by the government to get strong networks and mobilize the majority against Muslim Swahilis; this strategy allowed them to remain on power for more than 40 years. After the 2005 elections, Muslim Swahilis were allowed to study in national schools; but they had to follow Christian rules and regulations (such as singing Gospels and following biblical clubs). This pushed a lot of Muslim Swahilis members to stop going to school, and others but few to accept the challenge. Additionally, many Muslim Swahili scholars who decided to write books and articles about these situations in Burundi, to make the situations known all over the world, were either jailed or forced to flee the country.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Study design

In this research, qualitative research method, which is based on an exploratory descriptive design, is used. This enables the author to answer the formulated questions in the previous chapters. In fact, it usually describes the settings, which provide the control of variables. It contributes to the development of the theory that explains the social phenomenon from the perspective of the persons who are being examined. The research field is first introduced and justified, followed by a more detailed explanation of the data

collection procedures. Then follow the description of tools used, the data collection process, and the method of data analysis, and finally, everything about the sample of this study is detailed, including the criteria for participant selection, the sampling technique, information about their consent and the participants' personal information.

4.2. Research Field

As stated in the first chapter, the study's subject area is Muslim Swahili cities in Burundi, with Buyenzi as the primary emphasis. The main reason for putting my focus on this city is as stated by Boguslaw *'the way Buyenzi differs from other parts, not only of the city, but of the whole country, is striking. In some way, it makes an impression of an independent state.'* Buyenzi has a significant impact on the Burundian Islamic community's daily lives. The previous ancient camp for Arab commerce caravans is now part of Bujumbura, and it is home to the city's largest Muslim community. Local traders have erected many smaller mosques and Muslim organizations, such as schools and associations, in the area. In the early 1940, Many Muslims Swahilis lived in Kabondo, which is now part of the city but was then a village south of Bujumbura (www.minorityvoices.org/force...). At the end of 1940's, the Belgian government forcibly relocated Swahili speakers from Kabondo to Buyenzi while reorganizing Bujumbura's architectural space. That is where the last ancestors of Muslim Swahili Minority remain. Also, it is a city where the struggle of independence of Burundi with the Prince Rwagasore occurred.

Moreover, the research conducted by Boguslaw provides figures that indicate Swahili culture, limited schooling, thriving business, and opposition to outside political intrusion are all characteristics of the Muslim presence in Buyenzi. According to the Muslim inhabitants, this city is their home and belongs to them. They practice Sunni Islam of the Shafi'i legal school in their social lives. They are challenged with civil legislation in their daily lives, which is shaped by Belgian colonial and native Burundi traditions. Burundi's constitution provides religious freedom. Immigrants must respect and accept Muslim terms of cohabitation in practice if they wish to dwell there. For these reasons, Buyenzi was chosen as the subject of this study and some other cities like Rumonge and Nyanza Lac were also included to have a wider understand of the current situation.

4.3. Data Collection Methods

Semi-structured interviews, content analysis, and an online survey were utilized to collect data for this study. To answer the research questions indicated above, a semi-structured interview was used. Most of the time, this type of method helps the writer follow up all verbal and non-verbal responses, such as feelings, impressions, laughter and silence, to uncover hidden details that can be useful in the final data analysis of the many themes retrieved from the interview (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In addition, "*Qualitative research tries to address topics connected with creating a knowledge of the meaning and experiential components of persons' lives and social contexts,*" according to Fossey, Harvey, and Mcdermott & Davidson.

D'Astous (2011) and Lunenberg and Irby (2008) describe this method for gathering more specific information regarding the nature of particular events. This study is exploratory in nature. It tries to learn more about a relatively new area about which little is known, and its findings can be utilized as a foundation for future studies. Since the semi-structured interviews only allowed for a partial response to the third and fourth study questions, it appeared appropriate to directly monitor the public content found on Muslim Swahili who live in Buyenzi, Nyanza Lac and Rumonge. Thus, it was feasible to immediately watch and find new facts and behaviourism about Swahilis in Burundi by doing a content analysis of participants' profiles. Furthermore, this strategy allows for the detection of material that may have been omitted or forgotten during semi-structured interviews for a variety of reasons.

4.4. Semi-Structured Interviews

The researcher conducted a semi-structured interview on each participant that he facilitated in a flexible conversational connection. According to D'Astous (2011), the researcher is guided by the rhythm and distinctive content of the interaction in order to address the general themes that they desire to examine with the research participant in a conversational form. Like in the case of Muslim Swahili Minority, this strategy aids in the development of a trusting relationship with the interviewee as well as the exploration of a complicated topic in greater depth (Imbert, 2010); (Savoie-Zajk, 2009)

Moreover, the research technique appeared to be the most appropriate as it entailed asking questions directly to the participants about a subject that occupies them and is crucial in their existence. As stated by Belk et al. (2013), this style of interview can have varied duration and can be prolonged in minutes if needed. In fact, it enables for highly thorough information to be obtained which will be important in this study as it is about a very new topic.

4.5. Online Survey

Following the completion of personal interviews with all this research's interviewees, it was necessary to use an online questionnaire to evaluate and make clear the accuracy of some information. According to Scholl et al. (2002), when the majority of a society has access to the internet and knowledge, the primary disadvantage of using online survey research vanishes. That access to the internet will then become an even more valuable tool for gathering information from respondents living in various parts of different countries or even around the world in a simple and relative way.

Furthermore, online surveys allow for dynamic interaction between the respondent and the questionnaire and are less intrusive (Bethlehem & Biffignandi, 2012), respondents are more comfortable and secure in providing open and honest feedback. Following their consultation and consent, all participants were sent a link to the online questionnaire through e-mail and WhatsApp. Some of the questions were new and the ones asked in personal interviews were incorporated in the questionnaire but in different forms.

4.6. Content Analysis

The author has adapted content analysis to suit the unique needs of their research questions, has developed collective techniques and approaches for examining text grouped under the wide term of textual analysis. "*The spectrum of procedures in content analysis is wide, in terms of both analytical aims and the means or processes devised to accomplish them,*" (Meyer & Wodak, 2000) according to Merten (Cited by Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, Titscher, 2000). This method can be used to create a worldwide portrait of each study participant's published content and social media platforms.

4.7. Data Collection Tools

An established interview guide was used to efficiently conduct semi-structured interview. (The questions are found in Appendix below). The researcher included organized open-ended questions which focused on four key schemes i.e. the basic causes of the hate towards Muslim Swahili Minority, the strategies used by Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the existing ethnic crisis, the effects of the socio-political status of Swahilis in the country and the needed changes to live in peace and harmony.

The interviewer conducted the interviews over the phone, as the participants were first contacted and a fixed date was scheduled. The participants were urged to expound on their replies based on their own experiences due to the fact that with open-minded questions, interview had to take time. Then, an observation grid was established ahead of time in order to capture the data. This document offers descriptive general information about the participants as well as an initial review of their experiences with the socio-political status of Muslim Swahili minorities. Furthermore, this paper also depended on secondary data. Inductive method research was used, while taking into consideration data based on journals, articles, etc. Online databases and search engines like Google scholar was used as sources as well as social platforms of the participants.

4.8. Data Analysis Method

The semi-structured interviews were initially verbatim transcribed shortly after the interview took place. The participants were contacted over the phone using WhatsApp application calls that could automatically record voices while interviewing. The interviews recordings were transferred to password-protected computers and removed from recording devices. This technique entails transcribing oral information into text (Poland, 1995).

Thus, the texts were evaluated using a systematic coding procedure that entailed crucial segments and giving each part a name (Cresswell, 2007). According to Deterding and Waters (2018) *'Applying thematic codes to reduce data during validation and refinement increases the likelihood that the coding is reliable and valid across hundreds or thousands of pages of data. In short, the process allows researchers to spend more time developing and elaborating concepts—and meaningfully linking them to data—than on cleaning up and combining line-by-line codes'* (p. 26).

Therefore, these portions were categorized based on their similarities and differences. The coding was analyzed iteratively, as proposed by Belk et al. (2013), which mean that when the data was acquired, a return was made on the current codes to aggregate some codes into broader groups.

4.9. Ethical Consideration Related to Research Subject

According to Bryman (2012), there are four main ethical considerations in social research i.e. whether there is deceit, harm to interviewees, lack of informed permission and/or an invasion of privacy. The researchers should ensure that they are not over-evaluating or misinterpreting data while interpreting them. Furthermore, they should try to portray all conceivable outcomes as accurately as feasible.

Besides, as a Muslim Swahili, I have tried to avoid personal biases as much as possible during the research due to the fact that this ethical research has to give a genuine understanding, promote trust and protect people from harm. There is a possible risk of being biased by my personal beliefs. Thus, I tried to apply a reflexive research to avoid being biased by my personal opinions or beliefs on the subject. A *“Reflexive research often tends to construct reflexivity as an individual effort to overcome one’s own biases”* (Maton, 2003). Theoretical approaches were taken into considerations by the author in this research.

4.10. Sample

N ^o	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Address	Language	Followers on Facebook
1	Abdul-Karim	22	Male	Rumonge	English	4943

2	Abdul-Majid	25	Male	Buyenzi	French	1075
3	Abdul-Swamad	25	Male	Buyenzi	English	2300
4	Aisha	21	Female	Buyenzi	English	3456
5	Amissi	26	Male	Buyenzi	French/English	678
6	Balad	30	Male	Buyenzi	French	4568
7	Brenda	30	Female	Rumonge	French	1124
8	Fatma	31	Female	Nyanza Lac	English/French	4999
9	Hafsa	23	Female	Buyenzi	French	4976
10	Hamza	29	Male	Buyenzi	English	4567
11	Hassan	24	Male	Buyenzi	English	3451
12	Idrissa	20	Male	Buyenzi	French	3002
13	Hussein	20	Male	Buyenzi	French	4999
14	Hemedi	20	Male	Buyenzi	English	1250
15	Mariam	33	Female	Buyenzi	English	4432
16	Muhamad	32	Male	Buyenzi	English	2998
17	Mussa	27	Male	Nyanza Lac	French	3454
18	Murat	23	Male	Buyenzi	English	175
19	Nadia	21	Female	Buyenzi	French/English	999

20	Omar	22	Male	Rumonge	English/French	4556
21	Ousman	27	Male	Rumonge	French	5000
22	Rajabu	31	Male	Buyenzi	English	300
23	Raissa	28	Female	Rumonge	French	4777
24	Saidi	34	Male	Buyenzi	French	1332
25	Sarah	24	Female	Buyenzi	French	1110
26	Sefu	29	Male	Buyenzi	English	5000
27	Yassin	34	Male	Buyenzi	English	4556
28	Yussuf	26	Male	Buyenzi	English	2566
29	Zaza	22	Female	Nyanza Lac	French	3354
30	Zubeiri	20	Male	Buyenzi	English	4330

4.10.1. Criteria for Inclusion of Participants

Participants had to meet certain inclusive criteria for them to be taken in this study. These criteria were established to avoid biases as much as feasible because the research is exploratory in nature and involves a small sample.

4.10.1.1. *Language, Age and Educational Qualifications*

The chosen 30 participants were the ones who could comprehend and speak either French or little English. I had to use Kiswahili on some occasions to make them understand the meaning of some key words of the questions. This factor made the communication easier as most of the chosen participants were literate. Since the research

focuses on the past and future of Burundi's Muslim Swahili minority situation, the age group used in this case is 20 to 35 years old. This decision is justified by the fact that the new generation is subjected to assimilation and ignores the rest.

For these reasons, the study's sample was split into two groups: 20 to 27 year olds and 28 to 35 year olds. When it came to educational qualifications, the majority of respondents (50%) said they had completed secondary school; around 20% are in University; another 20% had completed primary school and the last ones (10%) said they had madrasa education.

4.10.1.2. *Participants from Swahili Cities*

First and foremost, all respondents stated that Islam was their religion. Second, the majority of the participants (60%) were born in Buyenzi, 30% in Rumonge, and 10% in Nyanza-Lac.

Furthermore, it should be emphasized that no gender criteria were included because the study's major focus is on the Swahili Muslim Minority in general. Thus, the sample consists of 21 men (70%) and 9 women (30%).

4.10.1.3. *Activity on Social Media*

Each participant was required to have an active account on social media platforms such as Instagram or Twitter, but the major focus was on Facebook because it is a low-cost platform for Burundians to use and has a large number of Burundian followers. That account had to be set to public mode as well. On Facebook, users can choose whether or not their profile is visible to others; it can be private or public. According to Brookson (2013), an active facebook user is someone who uses the platform at least once a month. As a result, active accounts in this study are those who post at least once in a week or a month.

4.10.1.4. *Sampling Method and Recruitment of Participants*

It was not possible to apply a probability sampling procedure for the study population was not known in its full (D'Astous, 2011). In addition, the goal of this study as an exploratory was not to generalize the findings to the entire population, but rather to propose future research paths and to gain a better understanding of a new experience. Therefore, consecutive sampling and a non-probability sampling method were adopted.

Purposive sampling was used to find respondents (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014) and also a consecutive sampling was chosen based on the researcher's subjective judgment rather than random selection (David, Allan, & David, 2011). Thus, under this technique, every subject that meets the researcher's inclusion criteria was chosen. The respondents received calls and message via their phones, e-mail or facebook asking them to participate either directly or through an intermediary in the researcher's close friends.

4.10.1.5. *Consent of the Participants*

The author helped the participants to understand the study's aims and plan of action before beginning each interview. Consent had to be granted to the researcher before proceeding with the explanation of the questionnaire during the semi-structured interviews. This step of the research designed to safeguard their personal information as well. Moreover, a consent form was sent with more information about the research and its ethical implications. The pseudonyms supplied are retained throughout this search to protect their identities. Finally, some of the participants completed the questionnaire and returned an electronic copy to give their written consent, while the remaining participants orally consented at the start of each interview.

4.10.1.6. *Data Collection Procedure*

The data was collected between April 20 and June 2, 2022. The initial stage was for each participant to have a video call via Whatsapp or a web videoconference. In total, 30 interviews were performed, 25 of which were conducted via Whatsapp video call and the remaining 5 via Whatsapp calls. The interviews lasted about an hour on average. The interviews recordings were transferred to password-protected computers and removed from recording devices. This technique entails transcribing oral information into text (Poland, 1995). Furthermore, an explanation email and consent form was provided to each participant after they accepted to participate in the study. The interview was then scheduled. The goal of the study was re-explained on the day of the interview, and those who had not given their written agreement did so verbally at the start of the session. Eventually, following the completion of all interviews, all participants' Instagram and Facebook profiles were observed on the same day to ensure that all profiles were checked uniformly. The content analysis took place on the 3rd and 4th of June, and it consisted of a review of each participant's latest 20 articles.



5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This part of the study aims at revealing different results obtained during this study. In fact, it is focused on the presentation of the data from the primary sources. First, the results of the content analysis will be introduced in order to give the reader a glimpse of the various revolutionary routines adopted by Muslim Swahili on various social media platforms. Additionally, descriptive data are also used to gain a general understanding of the participants' profiles, compulsions and political publishing habits. Secondly, the findings of the semi-structured interviews and the online survey are introduced to determine the basic causes of the hate towards Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi, the

strategies used by Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the existing ethnic crisis in Burundi, the ways that the socio-political status of Swahilis affect the daily life of Muslim Swahili minorities and the whole country in general, and lastly the measures which should be considered to change the adverse situation. The principal themes and findings are presented in this part of the study, which was pointed out via thematic examinations.

5.1. Results of the Content Analysis

The findings of the content analysis revealed that despite the fact that we frequently associate social changes with significant occasions, pivotal moments in history, meaningful transformation requires revolutionary routines. In fact, the researcher had full access to their Facebook and Instagram profiles, making it feasible to highlight trends by observing the types of content that were posted every day. Descriptive statistics are used to show the user profiles' features. Then, a summary of their publications' contents and the most popular cutting-edge practices are provided.

5.1.1. Descriptive Statistics

Basic information about each user's Facebook and Instagram profile data was provided in the first section of the observation framework. This largely concentrated on the quantity of subscribers, followers, and posts in each account. All profiles have this information prominently displayed at the top. The second element required a slightly more in-depth observation because it needed determining percentages or averages of the users' publishing preferences. In order to determine whether the type of content published and the motivations expressed in the interview would vary depending on the type of profile, as was mentioned in the methodology, certain variations in the data of each profile were employed.

Furthermore, the basic statistics show that it has been easy for the researcher to see that each account has anywhere from 150 to approximately 5000 followers. Also, it appeared like more individuals were following each participant than the other way around. 90% of the participants do in fact fit this description. There are only 10 users with more subscriptions. The number of captions released with photographs ranges from 500 to approximately 2500. However, just 40% of participants had more than 2,500 posts and photographs on their Facebook and Instagram profiles, and 60% had fewer than 1000

posts with written captions. It was clear that the majority of participants were quite picky about how many captions with photographs they post on their profiles.

5.1.1.1. Publishing Practice

For the sake of time, the researcher has only examined 100 online papers for this study. In order to have sufficient visibility and reach as many people as they can around the world, it was clear that 60% of the researchers share images with captions in foreign languages (English and French). Only 40% of photographers publish their images in Kirundi and Kiswahili. In actuality, all of the responders use hash tags and tags in their Facebook posts and Instagram photos. When a photo is linked with a hash tag, it is used. They might use the hash tag #Stop_the_war, for instance, if the image depicts the situation between Russia and Ukraine. Additionally, they frequently attempt to relate a global catastrophe to the Swahili Muslim culture and use these hash tags.

Regarding the likes and comments on each post, for instance, the average number of Likes and comments for the participants who publish in international languages vary from 100 to 6000 likes (comments are about 50 to 100); however, those who publish in Kiswahili or Kirundi have around 50 and 6000 likes (comments are about 10 to 20) on each publication. The number of subscribers and the number of Likes and comments has been proven to be strongly correlated, meaning that the more subscribers a user has, the more Likes his or her publications receive. Of course, more subscribers equal more visibility, which increases the likelihood that published content will receive favorable comments (Likes or comments for example). Users' accounts are extremely varied, especially in publications that are expressly oriented to travel. Some of the participants concentrated solely on the Muslim Swahili topic, while others covered a wide range of topics while connecting them to internal issues.

5.1.2. Content and Activist Media

It was anticipated that respondents would submit content on a variety of topics relevant to the struggle and revolution of the Muslim Swahili minority given the nature of the research on the socio-status of that group. After looking at the photographs that responders had posted, it was discovered that more than 90% of them had been seriously interested in the subject, as evidenced by the number of published posts. They are known as media activists. In fact, activist Media refers to a tool for grassroots revolutionaries and activists who disseminate information that isn't available through mainstream media or

use online platforms to advance social or political movement objectives. Media is being used by activists to expose injustice and advance social and political change, claims Gino Canella (2022) (Canella G. (2022), 'Activist Media Documenting Movements and Networked Solidarity', Rutgers University Press. After the "*Black Lives Matter*" movement, this expression became widely known, in which activist media provide opportunity for activists to resolve disputes and embrace their political and ideological differences. Additionally, it was clear that activist media techniques—including interviewing organizers, composing scripts and producing videos, posting on social media, and holding community screenings—promote unity among civil-society organizers.

By focusing more on the main subject, there are, for instance, four of the published articles discussed how the mainstream media does not accurately portray the situation of Muslim Swahili, particularly in some areas such as their historical participation in the Burundian independence struggle, the unfair treatment they endured after the country gained its independence, the current disparities in access to education and employment opportunities, and how they learn about Swahilis' current living circumstances.

Also, one of the respondents published a photo with a caption showing the power of every day habit and their effect in our society. His words grabbed the attention of over two hundred thousand persons around the world. It was written like: "*Although (as Muslim Swahilis) we prefer to link social reform with significant events, one has to accept that revolutionary routines implies that ultimately modest everyday habits are the key to genuine change,*" Additionally, he maintained that cooperation between all parties was necessary in addition to the minor everyday adjustments that Muslim Swahilis must make. He thinks it will be challenging the arguments to be taken seriously if there is no coherence in them. He added him: '*With regard to the logics of habit, the nature of social change, and progressive politics, Revolutionary Routines gives a fresh perspective on history's great leaders. It provides examples of various mental states and cooperative behaviors that could lead to the emergence of political solidarities. According to Mahatma Gandhi, one should fight with the weapons of truth and non-violence and not be a coward. Truth, nonviolence, and cooperation were the essential components of his plan. We must share the same beliefs, fight for the same causes, and aim for the same things*'.

These types of publications or posts seem to attract a lot of attention and generate positive comments and likes from different persons around the world who are in the same struggles as Swahilis. Finally, even if the accounts of several participants reflects a rhythm of a revolutionary lifestyle and the posts tend to receive positive feedback, most of the time they receive threat messages or online harassment on comments or in their inboxes. These types of threatening or insulting comments make them feel intensely personal and laser focused on the main objectives. Other times, the respondents create other accounts with pseudonyms to avoid threat to their life and property.

5.2. Findings of the interviews and Online Survey

In order to properly collect data from primary sources it seems appropriate to present the results of the semi-structured interviews and the online survey in the same way as in the interview guide. The first part of the findings reveal about the causes and effects of the Muslim Swahili discrimination. The second part show the strategies used by Muslim Swahili to avoid interfere to the crisis that Burundi has undergone. And finally, the last part is more focused on the measures which can be considered to change the adverse situation in Burundi.

5.2.1. Findings related to the Causes and Effects of Muslim Swahili Discrimination

5.2.1.1. *Roots and Extent of Discrimination towards Muslim Swahilis*

5.2.1.1.1. Colonialist Divide and Rule Strategy

When questioned about the primary causes and severity of the hatred toward the Muslim Swahili minority, respondents provided a variety of illustrations. The majority of them explained that the primary cause was the divide and conquer tactic used by Belgian conquerors in Burundi to effectively dominate Burundi. In this instance, Muhammad explains *'Hatred towards the Swahili Muslim minority in Burundi has its roots in the colonization period, usually by Belgian Christian settlers who taught Burundian Christians that Swahili Muslims were bad, dangerous and primarily foreigners from Tanzania brought to Burundi by Muslim Arab traders...'* In fact, this reason has been written in many articles and repeated with different historians as mentioned above in the conceptual framework section.

In line with this, Muhammad added that the Catholic Church with its missionaries became the portal of power in Burundi. He mentioned, '*... These teachings were held even in the Catholic churches of Burundi and in the political framework of the kingdom of Burundi but evenly systematically till nowadays.*' The Catholic Church was influential at the colonial epoch to the extent that they acted in some cases as veritable agents of the administration. In a word, from the marginal Church of the beginning of the century, there came the epoch of the Church linked to power.

From this context, the postcolonial theory can be used to explain the position of Muslim Swahilis in Burundi. Theorists demonstrate how colonial masters' divide and rule tactics caused numerous issues for the colonies. During the colonial process, new borders were established. Religions or ethnic groups were developed or supported, while others were sharply divided. This is a specific instance of Burundi and other African nations. Young uses the phrase "only to the extent that history has shaped the configurations and power structures of the present" to describe the role of the postcolonial system. After the "tri-continental" 3 awakening in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, a political discourse evolved that was shaped by experiences of oppression and freedom battles (Young, 2016).

It is the same with Sarah who also insisted on the role played by the colonial masters in Burundi. She mentioned that it is also the fact Burundi was already divided by ethnicity that Muslim Swahilis could not be given any space at the time, '*... a country which was already been divided in two part of ethnicity...It has always been obvious that Tutsis and Hutus have always hated each other and for that, you just have to go through the history of Burundi to realize it. How could they focus on the Muslim matter while they were killing each other... It is true that now people do not show it often (the hatred towards Swahilis), but the hatred and contempt engendered by ethnicity is a prison that is not about to dissipate in the hearts of Burundi. And despite all (of what happened in history), people forget quickly about this ethnicity story*'. Wimmer (2008) that ethnicity is primarily viewed as a process of forming and re-forming groupings through establishing the borders between them. Ethnicity prioritizes the 'making' of the ethnic border, whether through political movements or everyday interactions of individuals.

However, one of the interviewees, Sefu, argued with a different approach attesting that only Muslim Swahili were to be blame for whatever occurred after the independence. He revealed that "*I think we are also blindfolded to the scale that we no*

longer know where we came from, where we are and we are heading to... For instance, In Rumonge Province, where it is historically the origin city of Islam in Burundi... Waswahilis prevailed in crowds, fishing was their specialty... No one dared to put their nose on that business. But now unfortunately, if you scrutinize the issue, you shall find Waswahilis scarce... And majority beholders are "Barundi" (majority in Burundi). Then, the question is: "Where are Waswahilis?" The answer the parents taught their children these children this patrimony but their offspring took it for granted." His approach was different from other participants. He insisted on the fact that Muslim Swahili 2 and 3rd generations did not act enough to protect their social status right after the independence of Burundi.

5.2.1.1.2. Cost of Poor Leadership: Educational Inequality

In the interview, most of the participants agreed that the instant Burundian events which followed the independence have had a huge impact on what is happening today on Muslim Swahili daily life. Hussein, one of the interviews confirmed that, *'I think UPRONA leaders continued to act in a way that embodied the colonial rulers' "divide and rule" mentality. With all the struggles and suffering to achieve independence, the new Burundian elites forgot about their allies (Muslim Swahilis)... Swahilis were demonized at the time by the ruling elite in an effort to diminish their social standing. The Swahilis were the Upronists' allies, but they rejected them and displayed some enmity toward them. To undermine Swahilis and all of their ideals in Burundian society, they set up a covert propaganda campaign from family to family'*. Thus, it was noticed that many of the respondents were angry at the UPRONA elites who govern Burundi after its independence.

The modernization theory, according to Robert and Wolpe (1970), demonstrates that modifications made by various nations following the era of independence were the ones that were vital for the future of any African country. They had their fellow African chiefs as their colonial rulers, and many of them returned throughout the colonial era. Additionally, a new age was intended to start for many nations, along with a strong promotion of contemporary ideals and the abolition of racism and enmity amongst communities and tribes. Some nations, meanwhile, did not follow these guidelines. Politicians in Burundi were compelled to emphasize ethnicity as a form of government as a result of the country's political development in the 1960s.

Brenda, one of the interviewees whose father was among those who fought for Burundian independence insisted the fact that the death of Prince Louis Rwagasore gave an open door to the UPRONA elites to act strangely and toughly towards Muslim Swahilis in Burundi. She mentioned that, *'When Prince Louis Rwagasore, the independence hero who exhibited a democratic and open mindset, was slain, one political party, the Union for National Progress, took power. The stigmatization of Waswahilis, who were seen by the government as a danger, and their ethnicity bolstered its political strategies. In actuality, the government relied only on ethnic leadership to build strong networks and organize the populace against Waswahilis (Muslim Swahilis); this tactic allowed them to hold onto power for more than 40 years.'* To the Burundian majority, Swahilis were considered as 'a threat' to their governance due to the fact that they were well-organized, were also civilized, had external supports.

In this perspective, the only way to put them aside was isolate them in small cities like 'Buyenzi, Nyanza Lac, Rumonge'. Also, they were prevented from education and other essential needs for any community to progress. Here's how the interviewee said about that:

'Due to lack of education, the majority of Burundo-Burundians don't understand how Swahili people can be considered as Burundians while they have a different culture. So, the hate is due the fact that they are seen as foreigners' (Abdul-Karim)

'No much education opportunity for them (at the epoch) compared to others and they like to say the truth (not Hypocrite) so due to these facts make them to be victims of the hate. franchement_ parlant nadhani pia ni wivu kwa sababu tulikuwa na akili zaidi yao maana tupo considerer kama foreingers pindi unapo taka kufaanikiwa lazma wa umiye hawapendi kutuona tupo ndani ya secteurs yoyote ile mu islam mrundi ana mzidi haki mu islam mrundi (Translation: Honestly speaking, I think they were jealous towards Muslim Swahilis due to the fact that they were more intelligent than the majority were. So, they considered us as foreigners and were angry at us whenever we could do something special)' (Nadia)

'It is due to the rate of educated ones among us (Muslim Swahilis) causing the strange behavior of most of them. How can you develop yourself if the government does allow you to study and have essential needs?' (Amissi).

However, the same interviewee (Amissi) added that some of the Muslim Swahilis were given opportunities by the government at the epoch but refused and others used those opportunities in their favors, he added, *'according to the history that my father narrated to me, it is said that they (some Muslim Swahilis) used opportunities for the general interest of Muslim community of Burundi but for themselves and discriminated the other Muslims who are not among them (burundo-burundi).*

Education is a significant concern in a person's life (Al-Shuaibi, 2014), It is essential to future success and the abundance of opportunities in our lives. People can benefit much from education. For instance, it enlightens a person's thoughts and mind. Education in a subject area enables people to think, feel, and act in a way that supports their success and raises both their level of personal happiness and that of their community. Education also fosters the growth of a person's personality, ideas, and social abilities. Furthermore, it also gets people ready for experiences in life. People are given a special position in their own community and wherever they dwell as a result. Everyone has a right to education "from cradle to death," in my opinion. The advantages of education range from having a successful career to having a high social status to having self-assurance.

Nevertheless, Zubeiri pointed fingers on Muslim Swahili accusing them of promoting the continuation of this situation. He believes that nothing was done at the epoch to prevent these circumstances from happening. He said, *'I talked to many persons about this. My conclusions were that two blocs were already created in the country. The block of Christian Majority who had power in their hands, and another block of Muslim Swahilis who had enough support from the outside neighboring countries. When all of this was happening they (Muslim Swahilis) did not realize that they were the ones losing because they were the minority and had no internal power in their hands'*. This view was also confirmed by other two interviewees.

5.2.1.1.3. Socio-Cultural Differences

Cultural identity is mentioned as a group of people who are considered to have a certain cultural setting. When we unconsciously interpret and absorb signals from the environment into our own identities in order to feel like we belong, we develop a cultural identity. This definition defines it as a cultural entity that permits a person to exist in a society that is different from everyone else's. According to Berry cultural identity is analyzed as an interethnic group with a small number of relationships (Berry, 1997). This

observed research demonstrates sociocultural differences that are related to adaption in the environment of the Burundian majority. Muslim Swahilis are classified according to their cultural identity when it is likely assumed that they are less receptive to adapting to the host culture.

The interview results have shown that the Muslim Swahilis have been facing discrimination and different forms of assimilations. Most importantly, the interviewees have indicated that historically the Burundian government under the reign of President Bagaza intended to chase them to the Democratic Republic of Congo, prevent them from making the Muslim call 'Adhan' and destroy their cultural artifacts. Abdul-Swamad explains, *"My parents told me how they were chased from Rumonge to the DRC under the epoch of (President) BAGAZA... Even now we to go to the Mosque wearing our Kanza (Muslim white gown); they (Christian majority) strangely look and spit down calling us witches... This makes me angry indeed...."* This statement describes how some Muslim Swahilis are treated by some the majority people in some areas of Burundi.

In fact, it recalls the discoveries of the scapegoat theory, seen above with Glick (2015), which is illustrated as a blame that is put to a particular type of people especially the low class or the minority as a way to explain the economic crisis or calamity found in a country. Some of the interviewees addressed that, from their perspective, the government has a hidden agenda to destroy Muslim Swahilis through cultural assimilation. Here's how the respondents said about that,

"They do not want us to speak our language (Kiswahili). For them, Mswahili signifies "an illiterate, impolite and crook person", these kinds of qualifications have psychologically affected us..." (Fatma)

'We are hated just because of our strictness in the religion, our model (style) of dressing and our language.' (Idrissa)

'Being simply a Muslim creates a sense of hate by others...They still do not understand that one can be a Burundian while they have a different culture and speak a different language.' (Hafsa)

Furthermore, one of the interviewees explained that Muslim Swahilis were not Burundians by origins but by naturalization. They came to Burundian territory when still

called 'URUNDI' before the creation of Burundi with its current borders. He said, *'Swahilo-Burundian are people who have Burundi citizenship by means of naturalization and who have Swahili language as mother tongue while Burundo-Burundian are those Burundians who have Kirundi language as their mother tongue and who are Burundians by origin. The current Burundi with its borders is a country of all of those who have been inside it since its creation by the colonizers.'*

However, Balad agreed that there is systematic assimilation, but he does not accept the fact that the government is behind it, *'I don't think there is any cultural genocide going on because as far as I know there has never been any plan by the government or by a group of people to extinguish Swahili culture in Burundi. But I do think that due to the stigmatization they have been going through for years, some Swahili people have been trying to assimilate themselves to Burundo-Burundians in order to be normally treated. This can be seen especially in different social-cultural activities gathering a lot of people from different ethnic groups, where Swahilo-Burundians try to hide their culture by forcing themselves to wear like Burundo-Burundians and by speaking Kirundi in order to get approved by others. This can be seen even in some families where Swahili people try to adopt Burundo-Burundians' way of life because they think it is better. Therefore, nowadays it is not surprising to hear Kirundi language being spoken in a Swahili family or by two Swahili friends. Swahili people have considered themselves as victims at the point that they are now being assimilating themselves to Burundo-Burundians and thus, losing their original identity.'* This view is also shared by some of the respondents. Thus, it is obvious that Islamic religions, Kiswahili language and other cultural differences are also the main causes of the discrimination of Muslim Swahilis in Burundi.

5.2.1.2. Effect of Muslim Swahili Discrimination

5.2.1.2.1. Split: A Divided Burundi

Historically, Before the Hutu, Tutsis, and Twas divisions, the conquerors' first marker of subalternity and inferiority was religious affiliation. Muslim Swahilis were demonized by the political class of the period in order to make them less trustworthy in society. In fact, Hutus were viewed as inferior, countrymen, and farmworkers while Tutsis were viewed as superior, mentally strong, and naturally born to govern. All of the Hutus who held prominent positions in the government were fired, and Tutsis were appointed in their place. Every Burundian received a new racial identity card, according to

(Bigirimana, 20211). After the independence, Belgian occupiers abandoned Burundi in a fragile state. Political elites started fighting constantly and hatching schemes and counter schemes, which resulted in actual political instability. These distinctions between Hutu and Tutsi created a fundamental rift in the nation and set it up for future ethnic strife. On the other hand, Muslim Swahili minority was regarded as inferior and "separate" from the majority. In addition to this, propaganda campaign was systematically set to undermine the religion and language of Muslim Swahilis in the Burundian society. In fact, this is how parents started poisoning their kids by ingraining in them a mindset of racial and inter-racial hatred. The Swahilis were viewed as lacking trustworthiness, having a poor social status, and being under other ethnic groups. Muslims were rated lower in the hierarchy because they were referred to as "people of the wrong religion" or "people of the wrong God."

When asked about how these social distinctions of the majority and minority affect the country in general, the respondents angrily explained that it splits the country into two blocks. Zaza, one of the female interviewees said, *'There is nothing beneficial which can come from dividing people... I am shocked because they still have not learned a lesson about what happened in 1966, in 1972, 1993 and 2015, was it not enough to see all those people killed?'* She added that the situation will not remain the same. Muslims Swahilis will not tolerate being viewed as inferior or low-ranking individuals, and they will mount an internal resistance. She added, *'Nowhere in the world, people can accept to be stigmatized, considered as foreigners, treated as people of low rank, and just sit down and rest. The government and the majority on throne have to understand that it will come a time where people will revolt, and when this comes. Only Allah knows what will happen later.'*

In line with this, the participants explained that the country has been divided in different racial cities. Some are given high value by the government, while others are segregated. Furthermore, they added the fact that many Muslim Swahilis young generations have been fleeing the country looking for opportunities in other countries. Here's what they said,

'...We have cities like Buyenzi which are only for Swahilis and cities like Rohero or Musaga which are only for the majority. Everyone fears to enter into another one's city. This only splits the country...' (Raissa)

'When a group the population is discriminated and stigmatized, they don't contribute fully to the development of the country, because not only they are put aside but also they feel guilty. They just focus on taking care of their families in order to survive. They remain poor and the country loses an important strength.' (Murat)

'...Only systemic discrimination exists in Burundi generally with regard to jobs within public institutions and political movements, and another persistent form of discrimination against Swahili-speaking pupils and students within public educational institutions and even private ones controlled by non-Muslims.' (Abdul-Majid)

'My fellow Burundian does not want to see me, just because I pray 5 times a day.'
(Saidi)

The main reason of them leaving Burundi to go abroad is the lack of opportunities; Yusuf said, *"No jobs, no education and no future for us."*

Finally, Islamophobia is described in this study as a type of prejudice against Islamic values and people who uphold them that includes a hierarchical cultural conceptualization in which Islam is devalued as well as animosity, discrimination, and exclusionary outcomes for those who are perceived to be Muslims. Thus, Islamophobia refers to acts of discrimination and exclusion directed at those who are perceived as or identified as Muslims as well as a prejudiced hierarchical view of cultural norms that places Islam as inferior (Allen, 2013). As of today, Muslim Swahilis continue to flee the country due to the fact they do not feel accepted by the Burundian system. The proportion of jobs and opportunities is not the same in the country.

5.2.1.2.2. Lack of motivational Dynamics of Muslim Swahili Diaspora investment

Being less receptive in their homeland, Muslim Swahilis who fled to other countries maintain a deliberate dialectical interaction between the old and new locations; and remittances and brain drain occur. As stated by Brubaker, an orientation to the homeland is a sign of value and identity (Brubaker, 2002). According to Safran, homeland orientation is the fact that communities acknowledge the existence of their ancestral homeland, keeping strong awareness of their ethnic group and have a strong belief of a one-day return to the homeland.

It's interesting to note that Muslim Swahilis continued to foster the idea of improving conditions in their hometown while fetishizing historical occurrences. With the hope of going back home, they began to construct their own conception of life in the host countries. As a result, they developed a strong sense of ethnic identification and, in fact, of their own cultural and political identity.

However, according to some of the participants, Muslim Swahilis Diaspora communities have been sending huge amount of money but not through the national banks or legal institution for the country to benefit in foreign currencies. Omar mentioned,

'Yes, most (of) Swahili people are fleeing our country for external opportunities. When they send money to their families, they refused to pass it via banks. The government is deprived from these external currencies...'

The government has hypocritically created mechanism to facilitate the transfer of remittances from women workers who are in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, and urged them to invest in the country. Unfortunately, they refused to conform to that demand. Mariam, one of those women who worked in Qatar explained,

'My money, my choice. Whenever I could get money while being in Saudi Arabia, I sent it via black market... I do not trust the government... And if they do not like us, we do not like them too.'

She added, *'A person who does not feel complete freedom cannot develop his nation. Many Swahili people are afraid to invest in a nation that will not recognize them and give them a valuable place in society like other natives.'*

Thus, it is obvious that Muslim Swahilis have created alternative adaptations in between their Diaspora communities as ways to have strong social networks across national borders and to surpass the general interest of their homeland. This new social network organization for engagements in transnational progress facilitated the communications and enabled them to emerge new adaptations rather than assimilation.

5.2.1.2.3. “FLSB” Association for Political Engagement

An association “Front de Liberation De La Minorité Swahili Du Burundi” has been created to plan and synchronize political engagement. Mussa explained how they created this association in Belgium and its main objectives, *“We and other Waswahilis*

(Muslim Swahilis) have created FLSB to represent the oppressed Waswahilis and set our own agendas... We do a lot of seminars to sensibelize others to spread our cause all over the world... We have sued the Burundian government to the East African Court of Justice so that we are recognized as an ethnic group and stop this systematic stigma in the country...” Some of the interviewees whose family members who are among the committee of this association explained that the association also help to connect Muslim Swahilis around the world, teach them about integration in transnational communities and how to use social media for political purposes. Here’s what they said,

“Some have gone in South African countries... It is not easy for them there. You know those countries are poor and their citizens are suffering. So, it is not easy for the natives to accept foreigners who are considered to take even the little they have. Last year, two of Waswahilis Diaspora members were hospitalized in comma after being beaten by natives, just because of jealousy. Their business was prospering...”(Hamza)

“Yes, there are few cases of Xenophobia in here... But it does not happen many times. Sometimes they are in a class and you find themselves alone in the whole class row. All students go far from you. Sometimes, you are called Negro in the street by passengers. It hurts but we have no choice. Here is better than home.”(Hassan)

“Alhamdulillah, social platforms are here for everyone. We are very active on social Medias. We are connected and have a lot of accounts on facebook, Instagram, Twitter and others. We contact with them time to time via those platforms. We also do live teachings with other Diaspora members who are specialized in different domains such leadership and human rights to help them progress in those fields. We have created and financed entrepreneurs and they are making positive impacts.”(Ousman)

However, those who fled to Europe express satisfaction for they have been well treated; and their presence has been genuinely accepted. For most, the host countries have created policies which allow them to feel safe; and eventually benefit from educational and economic opportunities that the host countries provided to them, though some have faced racism and antagonism directed against them.

“They really enjoyed the way they have been received and treated in those countries. Some had had few difficulties with their family to adapt in the beginning but

after receiving my papers, they have all the basic rights as a native in there. t study for free and each month they are given money for basic needs.”(Yassin)

Finally, the connection between Diasporas is so strong on social Medias due to the fact that messages reach very fast to the concern. This new social network organization for engagements in transnational progress facilitates the communications between them.

5.2.2. Findings Related to the Neutrality of Muslim Swahili in Burundi’s Different Ethnical Crises

Muslim Swahili Minority refrained from participating in the devastating Hutu-Tutsi conflicts in 1993 and 1995. Residents of Kamenge, a Hutu neighborhood, fled to the impartial Swahili city of "Buyenzi" when the army destroyed it in 1995. Due to the fact that nobody was hurt, this city earned the nickname "the SWISS of Burundi." The fundamental justification for this neutrality, according to many Muslims, is that they identify more as Muslims than as Hutus or Tutsis (Chrétien & Prunier, 2003). Islam encourages followers to live a peaceful existence based on theism, justice, and purity. Therefore, Islam has an eternal foundation for peace. Even in the time of crisis in Burundi, they continued with their custom rooted in Kiswahili language, culture, and trade, while on the other, they work to create a friendly, accepting atmosphere for anyone in need. Islamic principles prioritize peace and coexistence over conflict, violence, and war; hence even the nature of battle in Islam is defensive rather than attacking. In this research, interview respondents confirmed positive contributions of Muslims in the socio-political crises that Burundi has undergone in 1966, 1972, 1993 and 2015. The participants have shown that cities like Buyenzi, Rumonge and others created friendship environment for internal refugees to feel safe. Brenda explains that, *‘The strategy behind the resistance of the Swahili of Burundi to deal with the cyclical ethnic conflicts that the country experiences are that the Swahili does not have their own ethnicity in Burundi. What counts for the Swahili of Burundi is belonging to the Swahili community and to the Muslim religion which is too applied and above all stricter against racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination. The main thing for the Swahili community in Burundi is to be human above all else. Country politics, such as membership in a political party, is not significant to members of the Swahili community in Burundi. First, the Swahili of Burundi carry out their daily activities within their places of residence; we can mention among others small trade, and manual work such as car mechanics, carpentry, and others. The*

aforementioned reasons make Burundi Swahili neutral in the cyclical conflicts between ethnic groups in Burundi.'

Among the strategies used by Muslim Swahilis to sensitize young generations not to partake in those crises were accomplished in different Mosques through pulpits teachings of Islam. Thus, those teachings were mainly focused on respecting the rules and regulations of Islam, not to themselves in politics and to go out of the Muslim cities. Rajabu confirms that, '*Njiya ambazo walizozitumiya wazee wetu kujilinda nahizo vita za miaka 1972 na 1993 viongozi wa dini yakiislam walitumiya mimbari kuwafundisha waislam kuwa uislam hawuruhusu kujikita kwenye vita za ukabila nanjiya nyingine ilikuwa nikuwahimiza vijana nawazeee kutokutoka mumijii yetu. (Translation: The methods used by our elders to protect themselves from the wars of 1972 and 1993 Islamic religious leaders used the pulpit to teach Muslims that Islam does not allow them to engage in tribal wars and another way was to encourage young and old people not to leave our cities.)'* He added the fact that the organization of their Swahilis' cities was so strong to the extent that external forces could not shake it. Muslim laws were above Burundi's law. He said, '*Nous, peuple Swahili, avons appris à nous séparer des éléments politiques du monde, mais nous, peuple swahili, avons notre propre organisation qui était très puissante. Avant d'entendre le président du pays, nous avons d'abord entendu ce que disait le chef religieux. La religion était bien plus puissante que toute autre. Notre force venait du fait de vivre au même endroit, nous avons l'amour entre nous et vous rejetez ce que la politique n'existait pas. Il était très facile de ne pas intimider les autres et de les aider pour cette raison. (Translation: We Swahili people were taught to separate ourselves from the political elements of the world, but we Swahili people had our own organization which was very powerful. Before we heard the president of the country we used to hear what the religious leader was saying. Religion was far more powerful than any other. Our strength came from living in the same place, we had love between us and you reject what politics did not exist. It was very easy not to bully others and help them for that reason.)'*

However, two of the interviewees delivered a different point of view. They attested that Muslim Swahilis did not partake in those crises because many of them did not know Kirundi; therefore it was hard for them to understand what was happening and others did not consider themselves as Burundians. Here's what they said,

'Some of our parents did not care about those issues not because they didn't want to participate but because they just didn't feel like other Burundians. I mean it was not their problems. This is what is happening up to now, we are busy following what is going in Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo instead of being keen on what is going in our country...' (Hafsa)

'... Some of us felt they were Tanzanians or Congolese... They even act like it. They didn't know Kirundi to be able to know exactly what was going on out there.' (Hemedi)

Overall, most of the participants seemed to have insisted on Islamic teachings as the main reasons for them not to partake in those crises while others focused their views on Muslim Swahilis' ignorance on different Burundi's political issues.

5.2.3. Findings related to the Measures to change the current situation

5.2.3.1. Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination

Discrimination is defined as a differentiation or preference on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or socioeconomic origin, and has the potential to negate or damage equality of opportunity or treatment in the workplace (Chae, et al, 2011). In the workplace, it manifests itself in the following ways: in the ways of recruiting, interviews advertisements, differential compensation for equal work, wrongful dismissals, and workplace harassment. As a result, everyone must be treated fairly and equally in front of the law in order to be guaranteed the right to equal treatment. Furthermore, the equality and nondiscrimination principle ensures that people in similar situations are treated fairly in both law and practice. A state may be required by the equality principle in certain situations to implement affirmative action in order to lessen or eradicate factors that contribute to or support discrimination. Indeed, this is what is inflicted to Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi. Discrimination based on race and ethnicity is common in both the public and private sectors when it comes to products and services (Jah, 2013). This has the ability to severely restrict one's rights and quality of life. Balad, one of the respondents attested that Muslim Swahilis intellectuals have the obligation to raise awareness of this topic wherever they are. Additionally, before getting in touch with the external responsible actors of this situation, internal changes have to be

made so that each and every Muslim Swahilis can understand the urgency of the situation in the same dimension as others. He explained,

'The principal actor in changing the situation should be Burundo-Swahili themselves. There is a need for Swahili intellectuals to stand up and start defending their cause. The first thing should be to make sure all members of the community are proud of their identity, understand the situation they are going through and is willing to give anything that is needed to change the situation. It has to be voiced across the globe. The mobilization needs to be done everywhere from inside families to social media, without forgetting the Mosques. After this step is successful, and this can take years, then they can go out and start reaching those who are responsible for the stigmatization, I mean Burundo-Burundians and there must be a well-designed strategy to do this. Brief, Swahilo-Burundians, especially intellectuals need to do something.'

In this line with this, Mariam mentioned the fact that destiny of Muslim Swahilis are in their hands. She believes that in history there has never been a social change unless there is a group of people who stand up and raise the awareness of others. She added,

'First Muslims should their destiny in their hands and stand for their right and fight for their honor. Second, an inclusive political structure is needed and has to be seen to avoid generational repercussions in the future as we have seen it between Hutus and Tutsis a period during which the only source of peace and tolerance was found in Swahilis influenced by Islamic traditions and prophetic teachings from Abraham to Muhammad (saw) i.e. Hutu-Tutsi staff meant naughty to Muslims majority of whom were Swahili ...'

Furthermore, some of the participants have acknowledged dramatic changes brought by President Evariste Ndayishimiye. Since his arrival, a new path of democratization has been taken in Burundi. They believe he is healing the wounds of past of the past crises and their complaints and cries have to be taken into consideration. Among the measures which they believe can change the current situation, they cited the insertion of the role of Muslim Swahilis in the history of Burundi's official documents, an inclusive interpretation of the Burundian constitution or even changes to make it more equal and discriminative to all and recognition of Muslim Swahilis as an ethnic group. Here's what they said,

'...The history of the country must be reviewed especially the history of the fight for the independence of Burundi which knows its sources in the Swahili community which gave itself financially and physically for the acquisition of the independence of Burundi which many non-Muslim Burundians do not know because the politicians have hidden this political and social truth of the contribution of Swahili Muslims from Burundi in the liberation of Burundi from Belgian settlers. This story should be added to the Burundi history course curriculum.' (Zaza)

'There is a need to change the constitution of the country as it is heavily dependent on 3 ethnic groups that are Hutu insults and monks. This Swahili tribe is isolated there is a need to recognize it and add it to be recognized.' (Hassan)

'If it continues like this, then in the years to come there will be no such thing as Swahili. The process of dividing us will have been completed hundreds of times. That is why before water crosses this, it is very good to join, to be one, and to defend our nature and Swahili traditions. These new generations do not understand themselves and do not know what is going on well, that is why they are hating themselves and rejecting themselves, they will betray themselves and be betrayed...' (Nadia)

'We call on the government of President Evariste to support the Swahili community, remembering that we were the ones who helped them until they came to power. Give cooperation to the Swahili people and put the Swahili in the government.' (Hafsa)

Finally, the participants addressed how they viewed the future. They were all optimistic about it. In fact, they all wish to come together with the majority and have one vision on how they can build their country. Hemedi attests that he always pray for Burundi to be a united country, *'I need to see my country unite that is why I never stop praying for it. We are tired of problems every day.'*

Abdul-Karim wishes to see that in the future, there will be a Burundi with Burundians and ethnicity in it, *'I wish that in the next years, it will no longer be the question of Swahilo-Burundian or Burundo-Burundian, Hutus, Tutsis or Twas. We will all be Burundians who seek the good things for the development of our country'*

Aisha explains that her desire is to have leaders who promote peace and stability for all Burundians, ‘...*To see Burundi as a country with leaders who promote peace and union among citizens. I want a country where all ethnic groups live together in peace and work together to put the country forward.*’

Also, Sarah added that this situation will change for the better, ‘...*two things never vanish on the face of earth: Hope and the truth. With time things are going to drastically change and a new era will gather all the differences transforming them into a positive diversity and hence developing the country.*’

In summary, as said by some of the respondents, horrible events cannot be denied as it happened in the past but it can be avoided to not be repeated in the future. For them, successful peace-building initiatives integrate civil society, establish rule of law mechanisms, and create an environment that is supportive of a structural and societal issues, durable peace.



6. CONCLUSIONS

The last part of this study focuses on presenting an overview to the research's major theoretical and managerial contributions. Following that, some recommendations will be provided to orientate future researches about the sociopolitical status of the Muslim Swahili minority in Burundi.

6.1. Theoretical Implications

This exploratory research adds to the body of knowledge in numerous ways at the theoretical level. First, the findings have improved our comprehension of the fundamental reasons behind the majority of Burundians' stigmatizing behavior toward the Muslim Swahili minority in Burundi, which was little documented. In terms of their use of social networks and the way they liberate others to frequently associate social changes with important events, pivotal moments in history, and the requirement for revolutionary routines, this work more generally offers a better understanding of the socio-political status of Muslim Swahilis. Discrimination is a phenomenon increasingly present in different societies and can be defined as a distinction or preference made on the basis of a person's race, color, sex, religion, political stance, national origin, or socioeconomic background and has the potential to undermine or harm equality of opportunity or treatment in the workplace. More specifically, the results demonstrated how colonial masters' "divide and rule" strategies, subpar governance following independence, and sociocultural disparities contributed to a number of issues facing Muslim Swahilis up to this day.

In addition, the research gives a clear summary of how discrimination affects the socio-political and economic situation of the entire nation as a whole. In fact, the results demonstrate that this discrimination causes "brain drain" and divides the nation into two blocks. These are believed to be one of Burundi's largest development-related roadblocks. Some participants highlighted that Muslim Swahilis living abroad have created alternative adaptations in between their Diaspora communities to refuse to conform to the mechanism which was created by the Burundian government to facilitate the transfer of remittances and brain circulation.

Furthermore, this study aimed at showing the strategies used by Muslim Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the existing ethnic crises that occurred in Burundi. The results have shown that fundamental justification for this neutrality, according to many Muslims, is that they identify more as Muslims than as Hutus or Tutsis. Some participants have shown that Muslim Swahili cities created friendship environments for internal refugees to feel safe. Thus, on one hand they continued with their custom rooted in Kiswahili language, culture, and trade, while on the other hand, they work to create a friendly, accepting atmosphere for anyone in need. Islamic principles prioritize peace and coexistence over conflict, violence, and war; hence even the nature of battle in Islam is defensive rather than attacking.

Finally, the study addressed what measures should be considered to change the adverse situation and how they viewed the future. The results showed that all the participants want the implementation of the equality principles in certain situations which can bring affirmative actions in order to lessen or eradicate factors that contribute to or support discrimination. Furthermore, some of the participants have acknowledged dramatic changes brought by President Evariste Ndayishimiye. Since his arrival, a new path of democratization has been taken in Burundi.

They believe he is healing the wounds of past of the past crises and their complaints and cries have to be taken into consideration. Among the measures which they believe can change the current situation, they cited the insertion of the role of Muslim Swahilis in the history of Burundi's official documents, an inclusive interpretation of the Burundian constitution or even changes to make it more equal and non-discriminative to all and recognition of Muslim Swahilis as an ethnic group. Overall, the results support that successful peace-building initiatives integrate civil society, establish rule of law mechanisms, and create an environment that is supportive of a structural and societal issues, durable peace.

6.2. Managerial Implications

On a practical level, this study offers insightful recommendations or advices to promote national integration and cohesion in order to address and eradicate factors that encourage or contribute to discrimination.

A. Suggestions for Muslim Swahili Minority

In order to eliminate the social and political conditions that support or exacerbate Burundi's discrimination against the Muslim Swahili minority some suggestions have been proposed on the basis of this study.

- To provide efforts in social integration. They have to understand that when you integrate into a society, you become part of it. Integration is not synonymous to losing their own identity but they become an integral part of the society. It differs from participation, which develops a parallel system that breeds prejudice and a sense of "us and them."
- To address problems concerning their community by expressing their disapproval through words and deeds without resorting to violence. They have to create their own strategic ways to raise awareness of the problems between them by encouraging education and democratic values to be used to eliminate all evil forces in Burundi.
- To always promote peace and harmony. Any society in the world can achieve peace and stability by implementing these two ideas. Additionally, they are prerequisites for human life and advancement. A Burundi without peace and harmony will undoubtedly disintegrate and go back to the days of ethnic conflicts where the powerful prey on the poor.
- To respect the Burundian condition constitution. In addition, regarding Burundi's execution of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGB), they must represent the moral precept that no one should remain behind in the development of their country.

B. Suggestions for the Burundian Government

The Burundian government should:

- Encourage Muslim Swahili minority to engage in socio-local activities from an institutional perspective because doing so should improve their interactions with the majority environment.
- Remove the system of structuring opportunities and stop putting values on those factors which can bring division in between the Burundian population.
- Have inclusive approach in the interpretation of the Burundian constitution whereby all Burundian must be valued and treated with respect and dignity.
- Change the mindset and analyze durable solutions as tools to implement peace and security for all Burundians.

6.3. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this exploratory study cannot be commonly applied to the entire Muslim Swahili community because it only examined a small sample and was exploratory in nature. It's also crucial to note that the socioeconomic class of participants was not taken into consideration when choosing the sample; this would have contributed some fascinating information to the findings, given that travel necessitates a certain level of financial capability. In addition to this, some of the participants were also concerned about the potential repercussions from the government of Burundi.

There are also other factors that could influence the continuation of the discrimination and possible solutions to them. Following semi-structured interviews, it is possible that there may be social desirability bias from some participants to create a favorable impression. Thus, it would have been intriguing to observe what sort of outcomes the ethnographic methodology procured. Using this strategy, it is possible to follow the respondents and observe their behavior in their respective cities.

Finally, in order to further clarify the current scenario, it would be intriguing to learn the about the perspectives of the Christian majority or the government officials. This may bring new empirical awareness of the addressed questions about historical background of the social polarized countries and analyze durable solutions as tools to implement peace and security in Burundi.

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Appendix 1: Interview information Page (semi-structured)

The author asked you to take part in this research project and it is critical that you comprehend the main reasons of the study to be undertaken and what it will entail before deciding if you are going to participate or not. You can pass thoroughly by reading the following information and discuss it with your friends if you want. Also you can get in touch with us in case you have anything to ask or add. Thanks for your time and cooperation.

1. What is the goal of this investigation?

This is part of a master's degree being pursued by researcher Mossi Bigirimana, who is now enrolled in the African Studies department at Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Universitesi. The study aims to comprehend the motivations and consequences of Burundi's Swahili internal socio-political crisis, to address questions about the historical background of socially polarized countries, and to demonstrate how education and democratic values can be used to eliminate all evil forces in the international environment, finally change the current situation and implement peace and security in Burundi.

2. Purpose of this semi-structured interview?

The researcher and the participant will engage in a phone dialogue during the semi-structured interview. The conversation will be divided in four parts: first, it will be about the basic causes of the hate towards Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi. Second, the strategies used by Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the past ethnic crisis in the country. Third, the interview will also focus on how the current socio-political status of Swahilis affects the country in all the sectors. The last part will be about what to be done to change the adverse situation. There will be no compulsion to discuss anything that you would rather keep hidden. Indeed, some questions are any sensitive, you will have the option to skip them or discontinue your participation at any moment if you do not wish to answer or participate in the debate. The dialogue will be voice recorded for transcription purposes, but the respondents' identities will be kept confidential during the dialogue as well as during the presentation of the results. The conversation will last an hour. The voice recordings will be destroyed after the interview has been transcribed.

3. Justifications for your participation

The author invited you to participate in this research due to the fact that you meet the set requirements of participation. Some of them are: being a Muslim Swahili living in one of the Swahili cities, being literate and able to comprehend either English or French, having a social account on Facebook, etc.

4. Is it necessary for me to participate?

Since the author recognizes how delicate this topic is for a variety of reasons, you have complete discretion over whether or not to participate in this research. You will be given a consent form to keep and will be needed to sign if you participate. Furthermore, you have the right to cancel your participation at any moment for any explanation.

5. Outcome of the interview

The researcher is going to use the results for their Master's thesis. It's possible that the findings will be published as articles in academic publications or on websites. Recitations or quotes from your responses will be included in the aforementioned reports; but none of the respondents will be identified by their real names or identities because the recitations will be represented by a pseudonym that each participant will choose during the interview to remain unknown.

6. For further information, who should you contact?

If you have any questions concerning the study, you may contact Mossi Bigirimana through phone at +905313987029 (same number is on Whatsapp), directly send a message on his Facebook account Moses H. Bigirimana, or email at bizigael@yahoo.com.

7. Who has looked over this study?

Doç Dr Mürsel Bayram, the research supervisor, has reviewed this study.

8. Time and Place for the Interview

Following your confirmation of participation, the researcher will contact you via Whatsapp to propose interview dates and times; you will be free to choose a date that fits

your schedule. All of the interviews will take place between April 20 and May 15, 2022. Furthermore, the interview address will be determined between the researcher and each participant via a video chat via Whatsapp or a web videoconference. The suitability of each respondent shall be recognized.

9. Confirmation and Compensation for Participation

If you opt to take part in the study, you will send an SMS on Whatsapp to the researcher confirming your participation. Each respondent will receive 10000 Burundian Francs (50 TL) at the conclusion of the interview to cover both their time and call charges. As proof of receipt, each participant will sign a document.

Mossi Bigirimana

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Appendix 2: Consent form for study involvement

Name of the Project: *The Socio-Political Status of Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi*

Conditions	Please sign the appropriate box
I affirm that I read and comprehended the study's information sheet	
I agree to participate in the interview and allow it to be recorded.	
I consent to the researcher viewing my Facebook account after the interviews by protecting my privacy.	
In scholarly academic journals, I consent for to remain anonymous for my recitations.	
I realize that my participation is entirely optional, and that I may withdraw at any moment for any motive.	

Appendix 3: Profiles of the research respondents

Questions of Interview

Date and time:

Participant:

Duration:

Study presentation includes:

- ◆ Researcher's presentation,
- ◆ Research subject's presentation,
- ◆ Confidentiality explanation and the signing on the consent form.

Questions

1. Where do you live?
2. Where is your hometown?
3. How old are you?
4. What is your mother tongue?
5. What is your occupation?
6. How would you describe/describe yourself?
7. What does being Swahili means to you?
8. How well do you define about your ethno-religious group?
9. Are Most of your friends from Swahilo-Burundians or Burundo-Burundians? What is the difference between the two?
10. How do you feel about your identity?

11. How are Swahili Muslim Minority treated in Burundi?
12. What are the basic causes of the hate towards Muslim Swahili Minority in Burundi?
13. Does religion and ethnicity play a role in their context?
14. Do you think that there is an on-going cultural genocide or assimilation towards them?
Why/why not?
15. What are the strategies used by Swahilis to resist the stigmatization and remain neutral in the existing ethnic crisis in Burundi?
16. Do you think it is important that Swahilis living outside Of Burundi are well connected? Do they mobilize politically and raise awareness of their struggle? What do they do?
17. How does the socio-political status of Swahilis affect the country?
18. What can be done to change the adverse situation?
19. What are your future perceptions?
20. Do you have anything to add? Do you have any questions about the aim of the study or this interview?

Thanks for your time and attention.

Geniş Özet

Burundi, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Milletler Cemiyeti tarafından Belçika vesayetine tabi kılınmıştır. O zamandan beri ülkede derin siyasi ve sosyokültürel gelişmeler

meydana gelmiştir. Katoliklik, Burundi'nin resmi dini haline getirilmiş ve ülke halkı yeni Batı toplumuna entegre olmaya zorlanmıştır. Sömürge hükümeti önce Burundi halkını bölmüş ve Müslüman Svahili azınlığı marjinalleştirmek üzere stratejiler planlamıştır. Burundi toplumu üç büyük tanınmış etnik gruba (Hutu, Tutsi ve Twa) bölünürken Müslüman Svahililer mülteci olarak etiketlenip mevcut gruplara dâhil edilmemiştir. Ülke bu ayrımlarla kutuplaşmış ve etnik milliyetçilik toplumu nihai bir çatışmaya sürüklemiştir. 1962'den sonra bağımsızlığını izleyen siyasi gelişme, politikacıları bir yönetim yolu olarak etnik ve dini bölünmeleri güçlendirmeye itmiştir. Bir siyasi parti olan Ulusal İlerleme Birliği (UPRONA), uzun yıllar iktidarı ele geçirmiştir Burundi'nin bu hükümeti, Müslüman Svahilileri çoğunluktan "ayrı" olarak tanımlamıştır. Svahili Müslüman azınlığın okullara gitmesi engellenmiş, Burundi hükümeti tarafından organize edilip zorla yerinden edilmiş ve sınır dışı edilmiş, mülklerine ve topraklarına el konulmuştur.

Eylemler, bunlarla sınırlı kalmamıştır. İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyannamesi ve Her Türlü Irk Ayrımcılığının Ortadan Kaldırılmasına İlişkin Uluslararası Sözleşmeye (ICERD) dâhil olmak üzere çeşitli İnsan Hakları sözleşmeleri de ihlâl edilmiştir. ICERD'ye göre, "ırk, renk, soy veya ulusal veya etnik kökene dayalı olarak tanınmak" ırk ayrımcılığıdır. Her alanda insan hakları ve temel özgürlüklerin eşit bir şekilde sağlanması gerekir. Bu nedenle, bu araştırmanın genel amacı, Burundi'de günah keçisi yapılan Müslüman Svahili azınlığın ve Islamofobinin köklerini ve etkilerini analiz etmektir. Ayrıca Burundi etnik krizlerinde tarafsız kalmak isteyen Müslüman Svahililerin hangi farklı stratejileri kullandıkları ve tüm Burundililer için barış ve güvenliği uygulamak için araçlar olarak hangi özel önlemlerin alınması gerektiği araştırılmıştır.

Ayrımcılığın nedenlerini ve etkilerini analiz ederek, 20 Nisan - 2 Haziran 2022 tarihleri arasında üç farklı Müslüman Svahili kentindeki katılımcılardan farklı nitel araştırma yöntemleriyle ampirik veriler toplanmıştır. birincil kaynaklar özellikle bu çalışmada kullanılmak üzere görüşmelerden ve ikincil bilgi kaynaklarından toplanmıştır. Post-kolonyal yaklaşımlara dayalı analiz ile bu çalışmada dört temel bulgu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu keşifsel araştırma, teorik düzeyde çeşitli şekillerde bilgi birikimine katkıda bulunmaktadır. İlk olarak, bulgular Burundililerin çoğunluğunun Müslüman Svahili azınlığa karşı çok az belgelenmiş davranışlarının arkasındaki temel nedenlere ilişkin anlayışımızı geliştirmiştir. Sosyal ağ kullanımı, sosyal değişiklikler, devrimci rutinler ve özgürleştirme biçimleri bağlamında bu çalışma Müslüman Svahililerin sosyopolitik statüsünün daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlamaktadır. Müslüman Svahililere yapılan ayrımcılık beyin göçüne neden olmuş ve Burundi halkını iki

bloğa bölmüştür. Bunların Burundi'nin kalkınmasının önündeki engellerden biri olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Bazı katılımcılar, yurtdışında yaşayan Müslüman Svahililerin, diaspora toplulukları arasında Burundi hükümeti tarafından para transferini kolaylaştırmak için oluşturulan mekanizmalardan kaçınmak için alternatif uyarlamalar yarattığını vurgulamıştır.

Son olarak, sonuçlar, tüm katılımcıların, ayrımcılığa neden olan veya ayrımcılığı destekleyen faktörleri azaltmak veya ortadan kaldırmak için olumlu eylemler teşkil edebilecek durumlarda eşitlik ilkelerinin uygulanmasını istediklerini göstermiştir. Bazı katılımcılar, Başkan Evariste Ndayishimiye'nin getirdiği dramatik değişiklikleri kabul ettiler. Burundi'de yeni bir demokratikleşme yolu izlenmektedir. Geçmiş krizlerin yaralarının iyileştirilmesi ve şikâyetlerin dikkate alınması gerekmektedir. Genel olarak, sonuçlar başarılı barış inşa girişimlerinin sivil toplumu bütünleştirdiğini, hukukun üstünlüğünü esas alan mekanizmalar oluşturduğunu ve yapısal ve toplumsal sorunları azaltan, kalıcı barışı destekleyen bir ortam yarattığını desteklemektedir. Son olarak, gelecekteki araştırmacılar için etnografik bir metodolojinin ne tür sonuçlar elde edebileceğini gözlemlemek daha ilginç olacaktır. Ayrıca Hristiyan çoğunluğun ya da hükümet yetkililerinin bakış açılarını öğrenmek ilgi çekici olacaktır. Gelecekteki araştırmalar, sosyal kutuplaşmış ülkelerin tarihsel arka planına yeni bir ampirik farkındalıkla yaklaşabilir ve Burundi'de barış ve güvenliğin uygulanmasına yönelik araçlar olarak kalıcı çözümleri analiz edebilir.