Drawing Boundaries over Scarcity:
Playing the Blame Game on Land Scarcity in Burundian News Media

A case study on the framing of land scarcity in post-conflict societies.

Lotte de Jong
5955750
Utrecht University
3 August 2017

A Thesis submitted to the Board of Examiners in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Conflict Studies and Human Rights.

Name of supervisor: Lauren Gould

Date of submission: 3 August 2017

Program trajectory: Internship (15 ECTS) and Research & Thesis Writing (15 ECTS)

Word count: 14.933

Cover Picture: *A Women cultivating her small plot of land in Kayanza, Burundi*. Picture taken by Martina Bacigalupo. Retrieved through http://www.populationconnection.org/article/the-blood-cries-out/ on 31 August 2017.

Abstract

In this MA research, a relatively novel perspective to research the connection between violence and post-conflict land scarcity has been adopted. While much of the traditional literature on the relationship between land and violent conflict focuses on scarcity and deprivation as the drivers of conflict, more research is needed into the ways in which this scarcity is framed by important actors. Based on a thorough research of previous literature, I will argue that it is not scarcity on itself that is the main driver of violent conflict, but the ways in which this scarcity is understood and perceived by the larger public. By employing collective action frames, this perception can be altered to the needs of the larger agenda of important actors. In Burundi, a country that has been plagued by ongoing episodes of violence since its independence from Belgium in 1962, the mass influx of refugees returning after periods of violence and the resulting competition over scarce land has been identified as one of the main causes contributing to the ongoing instability of the country. In the Arusha peace agreements that have been established after the last civil war in August of 2000, the problem of land tenure for returning refugees has been addressed by the promise that the state would help provide land for all those returning from exile. Despite this promise, tens of thousands of land disputes have been reported since. In this research, the ways in which post-conflict land scarcity and the accompanying land disputes are being framed in Burundian news media will be examined in order to be able understand if and how frames of land scarcity have reinforced ethnic tensions in Burundi after the establishment of the Arusha accords between June 2013 and June 2015. This is done through the analysis of a significant number of news articles that have been published within this time period.

Acknowledgments

Writing this thesis would not have been possible without the help of the people who guided and motivated me during the process of my research and writing. I feel grateful for having the people around me who supported me like they did.

First of all, I would like to thank the Ministry of Defence for providing me with the opportunity to conduct my research at a unit that does such interesting and important work. I would especially like to thank my daily supervisors, who always found time for me in their busy schedule and for whom no problem seemed unsolvable. I feel grateful for the confidence that was expressed in me and the liberty I got to conduct a research that originated out of my own personal interest. In addition, I would like to thank all of the colleagues who have taken the time to provide feedback, who have made me feel truly welcome and have helped to make my time at the unit an unforgettable and very valuable one. To end with, I would like to thank Remy Witte and my fellow interns Tom van Gorkom and Laurens Bakker for their help and advice on this project. Your experience and willingness to share has truly given me a head start.

Secondly, my gratitude goes out to my supervisor Lauren Gould, who has provided me with the academic support and feedback that I needed to bridge the gap between my internship research and my thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, brother and sister for their help and never-ending confidence in me. Above all, I want to thank Jochem for his incredible patience in listening to all my concerns throughout this year, and for never getting tired of telling me that I could do it. I can honestly say that I could not have accomplished what I have without your love and support.

Table of Contents

Introduction

When a conflict comes to an end, a window of opportunity presents itself for both the conflict-affected country and the international community to rebuild and consolidate peace, and establish security (Unruh and Williams 2013: ix). However, this is not a simple or straightforward process. In most occasions, a wide range of factors can be identified that threaten the newly established, and often fragile, peace (Unruh and Williams 2013: 4). Scarcity of renewable resources such as fresh water, timber and arable land are increasingly common destabilising factors. Due to a rapidly growing world population and worldwide economic growth, the demand for many renewable resources is steadily increasing At the same time, climate change is expected to heavily threaten the supply of these same resources (UN IFTPA 2012: 80). Some researchers have even gone as far as to claim that renewable resource scarcity exacerbated by climate change will soon become the most important factor driving violent conflict in the world (Klare 2012). One renewable resource in particular; arable land, has persistently proven to be a troublesome issue in peacebuilding processes. Post-conflict societies can frequently be characterised by overlapping or competing land rights and claims (Elhawary, Pantuliano 2013: 115). Additionally, it is common for large groups of displaced persons to return to their places of origin when peace has returned in an area. Many come back finding their land and properties destroyed, damaged or illegally occupied by others (Todorvski, Zevenbergen and van der Molen 2012: 47-59). Problematically, access to land, and arable land in particular, is crucial in re-establishing livelihoods and food security for the population of a post-conflict society. Especially in societies where a large part of the population is heavily reliant on agriculture for its survival, lack of access to land can create or perpetuate potentially destabilising grievances (Unruh and Williams 2013: 1).

An elaborate theoretical debate concerning the nexus between the scarcity of renewable resources and violent conflict exists, which is often addressed within the context of climate change. Thomas Homer-Dixon and Günter Beachler are two of the most influential voices in this field, who have established that environmental degradation and scarcity are important factors causing civil strife (Homer-Dixon 1994; Beachler 1999). However, others such as Halvard Bauhaug have claimed that renewable resource scarcity in itself is never a cause of violent conflict based on the results of large-scale quantitative research (2010: 16477-16482). The diverging results that have come out of previous academic studies on the link between renewable resource scarcity and violent conflict can be explained by the highly deterministic

nature of this research. The aim has mostly been to establish a direct causal relationship between scarcity and violence. What is often disregarded is the way in which violence is a social product, and how scarcity can become part of larger patterns of violent contestation. Land ownership rights frequently are politicised, and can thereby become highly contentious issues (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 2016: 95). This research will take a novel approach when researching the connection between land scarcity and violence by focusing not on objective levels of land scarcity and its social results, but on the framing of this scarcity as a means to mobilise for violence.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. One, provide a review of the existing academic debate on both the general literature addressing the nexus between resource scarcity and violence as well as more specific academic work on the relationship between land scarcity and recurrence of violence in post-conflict societies (chapter one). Two, present the concept of news frames as a theoretical framework that will function as a lens through which the aforementioned relationship is addressed (chapter two). Three, provide a case study on the importance of framing of land scarcity in Burundi (chapter three). Finally, in the conclusion the answer to the research question will be provided, as well as a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the findings and recommendations for further research.

The case study of Burundi was chosen because it concerns a society in which land issues have proven a troublesome issue after the end of a long-term conflict. The previous violence in Burundi has most often been classified as ethnic, since it has heavily centred around the stark division between Hutu's and Tutsi's in the nation (Hatungimana 2011: 136). However, the high population density of the land-locked country and the accompanying scarcity of land, combined with a mostly rural population that is for a large part dependent on subsistence agriculture for its survival, has been identified as a major factor driving these ethnic tensions (van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 2016: 99; Oketch, Polser 2002: 85-85). In this research, the central research puzzle will be; "How do frames articulated in Burundian news articles create perceptions of land scarcity that discursively reinforce antagonistic inter-ethnic divides in Burundi from June 2012 until June 2015?".

Methodology

For the first part of the research, consisting out of a literature review, literature has been selected based on a method of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling. This has been done in order

to gather literature that covers all the different perspectives on the relationship between scarcity and violence that have been developed over the past decades and addresses a broad range of empirical evidence. Consequently, the literature found has been coded and assembled by key concepts identified and theoretical framework used. In this manner, a systematic analysis of competing empirical perspectives and theoretical approaches could be conducted. For the frame analysis as conducted in the case study chapter, a broad sample of news articles has been selected from which to analyse frames on land scarcity in Burundian news media. This analysis has been done based on a strategy of provisional coding, using previously established codes as the basis of the analysis. A further elaboration on the methodology used for the case study will follow in the third chapter.

1. Literature Review

1.1. From the climate change – violent conflict nexus to land scarcity in a post-conflict setting.

In the first part of this chapter, I will explain why I have chosen to focus my research not on the framing of renewable resource scarcity in general but on the scarcity of arable land specifically. After that, I will elaborate on why the post-conflict time frame that is adopted is especially relevant when researching the connection between frames of land scarcity and violent conflict.

1.1.1. The importance of arable land as a scarce renewable resource

Most of the literature on the relationship between land scarcity and violent conflict is part of the academic debate surrounding the broader nexus between renewable resources scarcity and violent conflict. In this literature, renewable resource scarcity is most commonly defined as "a situation in which the land, water, fish or forest resources in a given area are insufficient to satisfy current human demands for these resources" (Ide 2015: 62). For the clarity of the argumentation in this thesis, it is important to note that land is thus categorised as one in a wider range of renewable resources. In this research, the focus will not be on scarcity renewable resources in general, but on scarcity of land in particular. Following from Ide's definition, land scarcity can be defined as "a situation in which the land in a given area is insufficient to satisfy current human demand for this resource" (Ide 2015: 62). I have chosen to focus specifically on the scarcity of land in a post-conflict setting since land is not only crucial for the re-establishment of livelihoods after conflicts, but is, more than other types of renewable resources, known to be of significant religious, cultural and political importance (Kamungi, Oketch and Huggins 2005: 231). In Nigeria, for instance, "land is a cultural as well as a spiritual asset, usually owned by families, clans, kinship groups and villages" (Rasaq, bin Mohamed and Ahmad 2015: 501). In Timor-Leste, the population is sharply divided between sharecroppers and customary land owners. This has led to land ownership not only being a viable livelihood strategy, but also an important social status (Thu 2014: 206-207).

Many of the armed conflicts of the past century have been linked to inequity in and disputes over land. As Shipton argues in his publication *Land and Culture in Tropical Africa: Soils, Symbols, and the Metaphysics of the Mundane*: "nothing excites deeper passions or gives rise to more bloodshed than do disagreements about territory, boundaries, or access to land

resources" (Shipton 1994: 347) What makes the division of land in a society such a potentially destabilising issue is the fact that systems of land division automatically involve processes of access and exclusion (Baird 2014: 62-63). People who are not guaranteed secure land tenure rights risk lack of access to a stable income and basic services, face lives of insecurity and often suffer human rights violations. Especially when a small minority possesses disproportionately large amounts of arable land, conditions are set for instability and potential conflict (Lewis 2004: 5).

1.1.2. Land scarcity in post-conflict societies

The second decision I have taken is the specific focus on land scarcity in a post-conflict timeframe. In order to determine the selection of literature for my research, I have selected a guiding definition as established by Brown, Langer and Stewart, who have established seven criteria for a society to qualify as 'post-conflict'[1] (2011).

As shortly mentioned in the introduction, post-conflict societies often face overlapping or competing land rights and claims, an increase in the legal pluralism of land governance, lack of adequate housing, destroyed land rights documents and increased land pressure. This all contributes to the problem of land as a scarce renewable resource and poses challenges to the already highly complicated process of peacebuilding and reconciliation in post-conflict situations, and may even result in the re-ignition of violence (Elhawary, Pantuliano 2013: 115). A post-conflict timeframe is especially relevant when examining land scarcity since in post-conflict societies, this scarcity problem is often worsened by large numbers of returning refugees. Land issues become increasingly complicated when many displaced people return to their places of origin and find their houses and properties destroyed, damaged or illegally occupied by others (Todorovski, Zevenbergen and van der Molen 2012: 47-59). In the aftermath of armed conflict, and prolonged civil warfare in particular, a large proportion of the population will aim to establish access to new plots of land, or regain its abandoned property. Especially in the light of the weakening and/or disintegration of both customary and formal

---

[1] Seven criteria for a post-conflict society:
- Cessation of hostilities and violence
- Signing of political/peace agreements
- Demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration
- Refugee repatriation
- Attempts to establish a functioning state
- Reconciliation and social recovery
- Economic recovery

institutions that are crucial for land administration, these developments can present major challenges to countries and governments recovering from armed conflict (Unruh and Williams 2014: 2-3).

To illustrate the urgency and scope of the problem, I will shortly address two examples of post-conflict societies that have had to deal with large influxes of returning refugees. In Afghanistan, an estimated number of 4.6 million refugees have returned to their homeland from neighbouring countries between 2002 and 2006. (Batson 2014: 249). Environmental degradation, together with a largely absent system of land legislation has only exacerbated the enormous challenge of successful repatriation of these large numbers of refugees (Batson 2014: 248-251). In Angola, millions of refugees returned after 2002. Due to a lack of formal land legislation and livelihood alternatives, and the large numbers of landmines present throughout the country, there was believed to be a major risk for violent competition over land to erupt. However, violence remained largely absent. The remaining customary systems of land regulation proved to be sufficient to provide a peaceful alternative to settle conflicts (Clover 2007: 170-180). What can be learnt from the abovementioned examples, is that the scarcity of land can lead to significant problems in post-conflict societies, but does not always lead to violence.

To conclude, scarcity of land after a conflict can turn land rights issues into a major challenge in a short period of time and for considerable numbers of people. The post-conflict reestablishment of land ownership, land use and land access rights often turns out to be as complicated as the history of the society in question (Unruh and Williams 2014: 3). Although the scarcity of land can be a crucial threat to peace and stability in post-conflict societies, the issue has structurally suffered from a lack of attention in academic research. This thesis aims to make a contribution by filling this gap. Since so far little research has been conducted on the scarcity of land in post-conflict societies specifically, the academic debate that will be discussed in the remainder of this literature review chapter centres around the general nexus between environmental scarcity and violence.

1.2. The Toronto School: A Neo-Malthusian Perspective

In this subchapter, I will discuss the work of the Toronto school of environmental scarcity, which is generally considered the most important academic school of thought on renewable resource scarcity and violence from the 1990s. Although the Toronto School has later received extensive criticism by other scholars researching the link between environmental scarcity and

violence, a thorough examination of the literature on this topic cannot be done without examining the work of the Toronto School. Thomas Homer-Dixon, who is the most important researcher of the Toronto School, has laid the foundation of research on the relationship between scarcity of renewable resources and violence. Work by almost all other important researchers builds on this school of thought, or originates from criticism on it (Dalby 2002: 96-88) . Therefore, giving an overview of the debate on this topic can best be done by reflecting on the Toronto School of environmental scarcity and the other main schools of thought that have articulated their own criticism on the Toronto School.

In the 1990s, the link between scarcity and violent conflict first became an important subject for scientific research. In his work *Violence through Environmental Discrimination*, Günther Beachler gives a clear overview of the development of this new field of research in the '90s:

> "It was only in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the debate on war-related environmental destruction shifted away from classical military security topics. Previously 'environmental destruction' was mainly considered either as a side effect of military training, as a means of warfare, or as the catastrophic outcome of a future war waged with weapons of mass destruction. The debate moved on to 'environmental factors in strategic policy and action' focused on 'redefining security' bringing into the picture new threats such as global environmental change and results in the concept of environmental degradation as a major cause of violent conflict and war." (Beachler 1999: 24).

In the remainder of this subchapter, I will first discuss the most important contributions of the Toronto School in the 1990s, followed by an assessment of the theories and assumption underlying it. In the final subchapter, an overview will be presented of the most significant critiques to the Toronto School that have been articulated until now.

1.2.1. Main contributions

A leading school of research in the 1990s, the Toronto School finds its origin in two scientific projects on the nexus between environmental change and security; The Environmental Change and Acute Conflict Project and the Project on Environment, Conflict and Security (Klem 2003: 12). Its most important contributor is Thomas Homer-Dixon, who has substantiated the view that environmental scarcity contributes to civil violence (Homer-Dixon 1999: 177). In his book *Environment, Scarcity and Violence,* Homer-Dixon links the concept of renewable resource

scarcity to violent conflict. The fundamentals of his research are the differentiation between three types of environmental scarcity, the incorporation of interactions and social effects in the development from scarcity to violent conflict and the introduction of the concept of the 'ingenuity gap'(Klem 2003: 12-13). In the following, these fundamentals will be discussed, starting with the three types of environmental scarcity.

In order to define the concept of scarcity more clearly, Homer-Dixon differentiates between supply-induced, demand-induced and structural scarcity. To begin with, supply-induced scarcity occurs when depletion and degradation produce a decrease in the total resource supply or, in other words, a decrease in the total size of the resource (Homer-Dixon 1999: 15). Secondly, demand-induced scarcity is the result of a growing demand for a certain resource, in the case of this research arable land. This growing demand can be caused by population growth and changes in consumption patterns of this population (Homer-Dixon 1999: 15) . Finally, structural scarcity refers to the unequal distribution of the available resources in a society. When there is a severe imbalance in the distribution of wealth and power between different groups, this can lead to a situation in which some groups in a society own a disproportionately large amount of the resource pie, leaving others with too little to be able to sustain their livelihoods (Homer-Dixon 1999: 15). This final type of resource scarcity is a particularly important contribution Homer-Dixon has made to the literature. It is used to point out that it is most often not the entire society that is challenged by economic degradation, but only certain segments of it (Klem 2003: 12).

Taking these three types of scarcity as point of departure, Homer-Dixon identifies social effects that connect renewable resource scarcity to violent conflict (See figure 1 below). Scarcity causes constrained agricultural productivity, constrained economic productivity, migration of people affected by scarcity in search of better lives, a greater segmentation of society and disruption of institutions (Homer-Dixon 1999: 80). If and to what extent these so-called social effects will impact a society is determined by a final important contribution that Homer-Dixon has made. The concept of the 'ingenuity gap' is used to assess the capacity of a society to adapt to resource scarcity. Ingenuity in this context is defined as 'ideas applied to solve practical, technical and social problems' (Homer-Dixon 1999: 108).

To sum up, the Toronto school differentiates between supply-induced, demand-induced and structural scarcity. These types of scarcity produce social effects that, in combination with an 'ingenuity gap' can lead to violent conflict. The work of the Toronto school is relatively old in

the field of research concerning resource scarcity and violent conflict and has received ample of critiques. In the next subchapter, the most important critiques will be discussed. However, first a short examination of the underlying theories behind the work of the Toronto School and Homer-Dixon in particular will be conducted. This will function to better understand the differences between Homer-Dixon's work and other scholars, and illustrate how the approach taken in this thesis will differentiate from those previously used.

Figure 1: Homer-Dixon's Model of Environmental Scarcity and Violence.
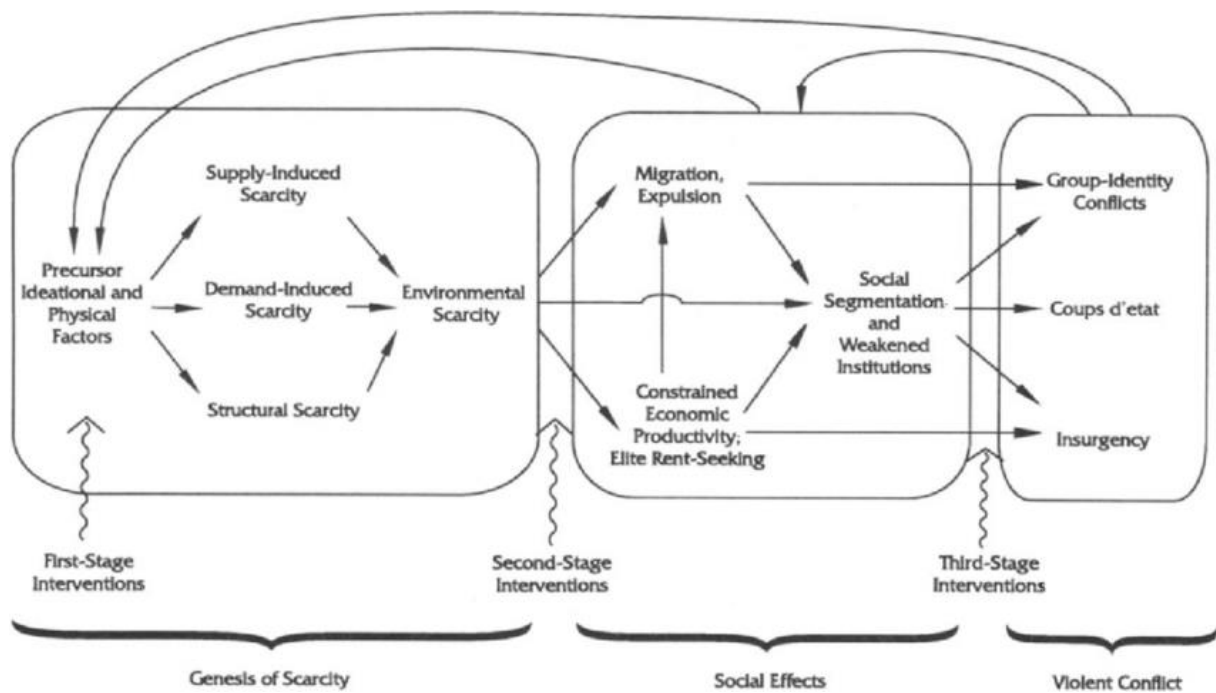
1.2.2. Underlying theories and assumptions

Underlying Homer-Dixon's work is a Neo-Malthusian, environmental security approach (Schubert 2005: 12-13; Van Leeuwen and Ter Haar 2016: 96). In his 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*, Malthus has argued that, as human population consistently grows faster than subsistence production, cycles of resource scarcity and wars over these resources are inevitable (Malthus 2007) Presently, so-called Neo-Malthusians claim that increasing environmental stress will eventually cause economic and ecological collapse. They argue that today, the world faces an unprecedented, worsening ecological crisis and that, especially in developing countries, scarcity-induced violent conflict is spreading at an alarming rate (Verhoeven 2011: 681). This Neo-Malthusian thinking connects to the greed-based, rational-actor approach to violent conflict that was most prevalent in the 1990s (Demmers 2017: 108). The greed-based approach can be traced back to Paul Collier's work, in which it is established

that greed is the most important motivation for civil warfare. As he argues, 'rebellions may arise because rebels aspire to wealth by capturing resources extra-legally' (Collier 2000: 91). Underlying this theory of greed is the rational choice theory of conflict, which starts from the proposition that individuals will conduct civil war if the perceived benefits outweigh the costs of rebellion (Demmers 2017: 108). Going back to Homer-Dixon's work, this can be found in the notion that individuals will resort to violence if scarcity is so severe that the costs of doing nothing will be greater than the costs of using violence to compete over scarce resources. Although Homer-Dixon does incorporate some nuance in his research when shortly touching upon the role of grievances, this part remains underexplored and his research remains mostly Neo-Malthusian and greed-based (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 96; Verhoeven 2011: 681; Schubert 2005: 12-13). As will be extensively discussed in the next subchapter, the Neo-Malthusian nature of Homer-Dixon's research has become the most important source of critique on his work.

1.3. Critiques on the Toronto School: Political Ecology and Legal Anthropology

After the Neo-Malthusian thinking of the 1990s, theories of political ecology and legal anthropology have brought forward severe criticisms on the Toronto School and Neo-Malthusianism in general. These two perspectives offer quite different interpretations of the relationship between environmental scarcity and violence. The basis of the political ecology perspective is the idea that objective levels of scarcity do not directly cause violence, but that scarcity is socially constructed, and is produced by actors with an underlying reason (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 96). In legal anthropology, conflicts over scarce resources are seen as conflicts over the governance of these resources. (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 96). Together with the Toronto School, these three schools of thought offer an overview of the most important competing perspectives on the relationship between environmental scarcity and violence. In the following, both the critiques from the perspective of political ecology and legal anthropology will be examined, to begin with political ecology in the first subchapter.

1.3.1. The importance of perception in political ecology: politicisation and framing of land scarcity.

As discussed above, the work by the Toronto school takes a rational actor approach, and is based on the underlying notion that people are rational actors and will use violence if the costs of doing nothing will outweigh the costs of using violence to solve a problem. This perspective

has, however, become the source for much of the most important critiques that have been articulated on the Toronto School. The field of political ecology has emerged in the 1980s, and aims to take a more structural approach to the link between environmental scarcity and violence (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 96). Peluso and Watts are important scholars that have taken on this political ecology perspective. In their work, they aim to "provide accounts of the way in which specific environments, environmental processes, and webs of social relations are central parts of the ways in which violence is expressed and made expressive" (Peluso and Watts 2001: 25). They argue that environmental scarcity connects to violent conflict not through this scarcity on itself, but through processes of inclusion and exclusion that come with the division of scarce resources (Peluso and Watts 2001: 25-27). These processes of inclusion and exclusion can produce grievances and feelings of injustice. This can play into already existing divisions within society and thereby provide a reasoning for violent conflict (Peters 2004: 270-271).

 In the most recent research, political ecology literature has started to acknowledge the role of agency in the development of conflict over scarcity. A discursive approach to conflict is taken, which can be illustrated by the argument that "while environmental change is a physical reality, with the capacity for causality that this entails, there is an emerging consensus that our interpretation of such change is socially constructed, dependent on a range of variables that characterise the complex social contexts in which we perceive the environment" (Martin 2005: 334). When grievances and feelings of injustice created by land scarcity are successfully presented by actors in such a way that they fit their own agendas, they can be used as valuable ammunition and, depending on the intentions of the actors involved, destabilise the fragile peace in a society (Baird 2014: 62).

In Uganda, for instance, connections between commercial livestock keepers and the political establishment have turned local disputes about a shortage of pastoral lands into a national conflict. By appealing to ethnic identity and branding other groups as ethnic strangers, various politicians have mobilised support in order to legitimise the violent expulsion of these groups off their lands (RLP 2009; Mamdani 2001). Similarly, in South Sudan "a personal dispute about land has turned into town-wide ethnic mobilisation and the burning of many houses, when the dispute was re-interpreted in terms of ongoing contestation between original residents of the town and migrants of another ethnic community that are now in charge" (Van Leeuwen and Ter Haar 2016: 99).

1.3.2. Legal anthropology: the politics of land legislation

Other research, mostly from a legal anthropological perspective, has pointed out the relative importance of the political nature of legislation dividing scarce resources in a society. This has also been the main conclusion of the Peace and Research Institute in Oslo, which has become one of the most important institutes critiquing the work of Homer-Dixon. Nils Petter Gleditsch as their key researcher has emphasized the determining role of governance in shaping the connection between scarcity and violence (Gleditsch 1998: 381-400). Conflicts arise from contradictions between, and contested application of, different bodies of legislation. Especially when resources are governed by a diversity of institutions, this is an important factor giving rise to competition over what authority prevails under which circumstances and which regulations (Van Leeuwen and Ter Haar 97). A situation of legal pluralism opens up a window of opportunity for contested parties to partake in 'forum shopping' (approaching the institution most likely to support a certain claim). In addition, local and state institutions end up competing with each other to consolidate their authority through validating competing property claims (Sikor and Lund 2009).

In Mali, six different types of land rights can be identified. At times, unclear boundaries between these different land tenure forms lead to confusion and conflicts over ownership rights. Especially frequent are conflicts between agriculturists and pastoralists. Due to their different styles of land use, these groups fall under different sorts of land laws, which often clash with each other (Benjaminsen and Ba 2009; LANDAC 2016). In Burundi, a similar situation has developed after the establishment of the Arusha peace agreements in 2000. While the agreement has placed a heavy emphasis on the importance of land reforms and the right of returning refugees to regain their former pieces of land, problems have arisen due to clashes between different land rights systems. In 1986, a formal land tenure regime has been implemented by the state. However, this regime has been imposed on top of the three different systems of land rights that already existed to address different types of land. As a result, it has become possible for multiple actors to legitimately claim the same piece of land through one of the four tenure systems (Bigirimana 2013: 12).

To conclude, the academic debate on the relationship between scarcity of renewable resource and violence is extensive and highly divided. This divided nature can be explained through the way that objective levels of scarcity are mostly taken for granted as the most important factors determining this relationship. The field of legal anthropology has emphasized the importance of legislation dividing scarce resources, while political ecologists have mainly researched the

social consequences of scarcity. In most recent research, increasing attention has been attributed to the subjective nature of scarcity levels. It is not scarcity on itself that can cause violence to erupt, but the way that this phenomenon is actively being presented and politicised. It is not argued that factors such as legislation and social consequences should be disregarded when researching the link between scarce renewable resources and violence. However, this focus should be complemented with attention for the presentation of scarcity to a society.

When linking environmental scarcity to violence through researching social effects and institutional problems, the question remains unanswered why , in the majority of cases, conflicts over environmental scarcity are managed in peaceful ways (Martin 2005: 330). This question could be answered by taking a discursive approach to violent conflict, in which the relationship between environmental scarcity and violence ultimately comes down to the way in which scarcity, and consequences of this scarcity, are framed (Van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 2016).

While legislation of scarce resources and factors such as environmental degradation and population growth have been extensively researched in the context of violence over scarcity, the social construction of scarcity through processes of active representation has remained consistently under-researched until very recently. A more qualitative approach of research is necessary to provide with a better understanding of these dynamics, and to understand why the social effects produced by environmental scarcity do not always lead to violence (Ide 2016: 69-72). This research aims to make a contribution to the academic debate in researching this under-examined topic of social construction of scarcity specifically. It will hereby provide with new insights into the complex dynamics that are involved in the relationship between renewable resource scarcity and violence.

2. Theoretical Framework

As concluded from the literature review above, acknowledging the way that environmental scarcity is socially constructed in a society is crucial to understand how scarcity can lead to violence. This work will take an approach that moves away from previous perspectives that, through the use of qualitative data analysis, aim to connect objective levels of scarcity to violence. On the contrary, a discursive approach to violent conflict will be taken on, which places the story at the core of the analysis. The focus will be on the formation and contestation of 'collective narratives' and 'shared stories' of scarcity. In a discursive approach to violent conflict, the stories that people tell about themselves and the situation, who they are and who they are not, are the foundations on which collective violence is built (Demmers 2017: 126). Emphasis is hereby placed on the 'simultaneity of symbolic and material struggles' over scarce resources and the capability of actors to actively construct a reality of scarcity that fits their own (political) agendas (Peluso and Watts 2001: 30; Murtinho et al. 2013: 667-668). In this chapter, the concept of collective action frames as developed by Entman will be proposed as an appropriate analytical framework to research the link between land scarcity and violence.

Throughout the literature on framing, no consensus exists on the exact definition of the terms "frame" and "framing". Two broad categories of definitions can be identified, of which the first category defines framing in very general terms (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano 2009: 175). The most prominent articulation in this category is the definition used by Gamson and Modigliani of framing as the "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (1987: 143). The most significant problem with this definition is that it is too broad to function as a sufficient basis for research on the concept on framing. Therefore, this research will use a definition stemming from the second category of definitions, in which it is specified more clearly what frames exactly do (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano 2009: 175). Entman has established one such definition when defining framing as "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (2003: 417). This definition has been chosen both for its analytic clarity and its utility for researching framing in news media specifically, and will be used as the basis for analysis in this work. In the remainder of this chapter, the importance of framing in post-conflict societies and framing in news media will be discussed, followed by the operationalisation of the concept of framing in order to guide this research.

2.1. Framing in Post-Conflict Societies

Frames are crucial in the process of mobilisation: they diagnose problems, provide prognoses, articulate grievances and order pathways for particular solutions (McGrattan 2014: 392).

In the aftermath of conflict, framing is also a crucial part of rebuilding peace and stability. The way in which the past and the present are represented by the newly established state and other important actors can make or break the fragile peace (McGrattan 2014: 395-396). When focussing on framing of land issues in particular, new land laws and re-division of existing properties are prominent parts of peace settlements. Processes of re-division involve debates about victimisation, truth and justice. These debates can be used by important political figures and citizens at an everyday level and can be framed in order to either attempt to gain political power or just to make sense of the aftermath of trauma (McGrattan 2014: 402-404). Division of scarce land in the aftermath of conflict automatically involves systems of access and exclusion. In combination with political memories of the violent past, these processes offer valuable ammunition for actors who have an interest in re-igniting past violence (Baird 2014: 62).

Framing has a crucial role in establishing group identities since identity constructions are an inherent part of the framing process (Snow and McAdam 2000). Hunt et al. have argued that framing processes ideologically link individuals to groups and "proffer, buttress and embellish identities that range from collaborative to conflictual" (1994: 185). When, through framing, boundaries are drawn or emphasised between different groups in a society, this can become a basis for conflictual identities (Wimmer 2008). The academic debate on the practice of boundary drawing in social identity theory is extensive, focusing mostly on ethnic boundaries. Wimmer has defined a 'boundary' as follows:

> "A boundary displays both a categorical and a social or behavioural dimension. The former refers to acts of social classification and collective representation; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of connecting and distancing. On the individual level, the categorical and the behavioural aspects appear as two cognitive schemes. One divides the social world into social groups – into "us" and "them" – and the other offers scripts of action – how to relate to individuals classified as "us" and "them" under given circumstances. Only when the two schemes coincide, when ways of seeing the world correspond to ways of acting in the world, shall I speak of a social boundary".

Mistrust, in combination with old grievances and a present-day reality of scarcity can be the basis for boundary drawing and consequent renewed mobilisation of interantagonistic collective identities. Only when a relatively small factor such as land scarcity is actively linked to pre-existing social divides or larger patterns of injustice, successful mobilisation is possible (Orjuela 2014).

In Homer-Dixon's original model, environmental scarcity is presented as a cause of social effects, which in their turn can lead to violence. However, even though groups of people deal with the same problems of scarcity, this does not necessarily mean that they are willing to engage in collective violence. Scarcity and scarcity-related social problems are a reason for conflict to break out, but not necessarily a reason for organised violence. As Schröder and Schmidt have argued: "violence needs to be imagined in order to be carried out" (2001:9). The discursive approach can help to understand the step to violence in a conflict by studying the narratives and stories that work to legitimise violence (Demmers 2017: 139-140). Schröder and Schmidt claim that "wars are made by those individuals, groups or classes that have the power successfully to present violence as the appropriate course of action in a given situation" (2001: 9). As articulated by Benford and Snow, a successful frame presents an issue as problematic, articulates blame and responsibility, a proposed solution to this problem deriving from this blame, and consequently provides with a motive to engage in collective violence. (2000: 615-616). When these components of a frame are successfully carried out, it can convince people to accept and support the violent course of action as proposed by their leaders as legitimate and justified (Schröder and Schmidt 2001: 9).

2.2. Framing in News Media

As millions of citizens turn to the news media daily to gather information, these media are increasingly recognised as institutions that have broad powers to shape public opinion. The way in which media sources present and define specific issues is one influential way in which the media is capable of doing so (de Vreese 2005: 51). Deriving from approaches of social constructivism, it is argued that "media have a strong impact by constructing social reality, that is by framing images of reality in a predictable and patterned way" (McQuail 1994: 331). Through framing, media have the power to set the frames of reference from which readers or viewers interpret and discuss public events (Scheufele 1999: 105). As observers have understood for centuries: communicators can select from a wide range of interpretations when telling a story. The storyteller's preferred meanings are shaped by the predispositions of the

audience, which, in turn, guide their judgments and decisions (Nisbet 2010: 46). According to Entman, "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation" (1993: 52). The framing and presentation of events and news in the media can thus systematically effect how recipients of the news come to understand these events Therefore, news media are crucial sources that can be researched in order to analyse framing of specific issues in a society (Scheufele 1999: 107).

It is important, however, to recognise that this framing does not necessarily have to be intentional. Communicators such as reporters and news editors normally engage in framing without intending to push any particular goal or policy (Entman, Matthes and Pellicano 2009: 176). Entman has established four crucial functions of substantive news frames that will become the basis of frame analysis in this research that have been based on the components of a successful frame as articulated by Benford and Snow (2000):

- Defining effects or conditions as problematic
- Identifying causes
- Conveying a moral judgement of those involved in the framing matter
- Endorsing remedies or improvements to the problematic situation (2003: 417)

After the identification of a news frame, it is crucial to look for the existence of counter frames. A definition of counter frames that is articulated by Benford will be used, as "attempts to rebut, undermine, or neutralize a person's or a group's myths, versions of reality, or interpretative framework" (1987: 75). The framing of a specific issue in a defined period of time, as will be the subject of this research, can be arrayed along a continuum from total dominance by one frame to a completely even-handed standoff between competing frames (Entman 2013: 418). As is argued by Entman, "to reach frame parity, a news must offer a counter frame that puts together a complete alternative narrative, a tale of problem, cause, remedy and moral judgment possessing as much magnitude and resonance [as the other existing frames]".

While studying the scope and resonance of news media framing goes beyond the scope of this research, identifying frames and counter frames is central to it. The absence of counter frames in news media discourage dissenting actors from voicing their opinion, significantly strengthening the impact of the dominant frame. It is therefore important to identify possible counter frames when researching the framing of land scarcity in Burundian news media (Entman 2013: 418). To analyse the interplay between frames and counter frames, Charles

Tilly's concept of 'blame game' will be used. The blame game is essentially a combination of the identification of causes and moral judgment in which credit and blame are attributed through simplified stories of cause and effect (Tilly 2010: 384). As Tilly argues: "Giving credit and blame uses the universal human tendency to perceive, describe, and remember social experiences as stories: simplified cause-effect accounts in which A does X to B, with outcome Y" (2010: 383). When articulating frames and counter frames in the news, expressing different narratives that identify causes and convey a moral judgment on certain problems, news articles become central parts of this blame game. Assigning blame and credit creates narratives of both past and present. It frames those actions, behaviour and people in the past- and present day society that should be condemned, and connects these truths to present realities (Tilly 2010: 388). As Tilly has argued:

> " Credit and blame are no mere game (…). Who gets credit and blame matters. It matters retroactively and prospectively. It matters retroactively because it becomes part of the stories we tell about good and bad people (including presidents), good and bad behaviour (including political behaviour), and where we came from (including the fundamentals of our political tradition). It matters prospectively because it indicates whom we can trust, and whom we should mistrust." (2010: 388).

In this 'blame game', as this quotes illustrate, boundaries are constantly drawn. Assigning blame and credit regularly involves the identification of different groups, assigning blame and credit to these groups. Not only is the social world divided into 'us and them', value is assigned to these groups and. Furthermore, when successfully bringing forward moral judgments and remedies in a frame, it is also articulated how to relate to individuals from the 'other group' under different circumstances. Therefore, effectively playing a blame game centres all around boundary drawing.

To conclude, the framing of land scarcity can become a part in the dynamics between scarcity and conflict in two ways. First, framing involves the identification of a problem and assigning causes and moral judgment to this problem. When competing frames articulate different types of causes and moral judgment to the same problem, assigning credit and blame, this can be called a 'blame game'. This blame game often entails the creation or emphasis of different conflictual identities, which can be the basis for mobilisation for collective action. Second, if violence is successfully brought forward as a remedy necessary to solve the scarcity problem, frames of scarcity can convince people to use violence to solve this problem. It is therefore

important to identify and analyse the way in which land scarcity is framed in post-conflict societies in order to be able to understand how these frames can in some cases reinforce ethnic tensions and provide with a legitimation for violence (Orjuela 2014: 756-757).

3. The Burundi Case

In the following chapter, a case study of frames of land scarcity in Burundi will be conducted in order to illustrate the relevance of framing when researching the relationship between land scarcity and violence. A case study is defined by Seawright and Gerring as "the intensive analysis (qualitative or quantitative) of a single unit or a small number of units (the cases), where the researcher's goal is to understand a larger class of similar units (a population of cases)" (2008: 296). In the following, first the methodology that has been used for the frame analysis of the case study will be discussed. This subchapter will be divided in a short explanation of the case selection, followed by a more elaborate discussion of the research design. In the final two subchapters, an overview of the research findings will be given, as well as a reflection on these findings and the role of framing in the connection of land scarcity to violence.

3.1. Case selection

As argued by Seawright and Gerring, there are two important considerations when it comes to case selection. First, there are pragmatic, logistical issues including the prominence of the case in the literature on a topic. And secondly, the within-case characteristics of a case (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 296). In this research, the primary objective of incorporating a case study is illustrating how an analytic framework of news frame analysis could function to better understand the relationship between land scarcity and violence. In order to examine the dynamics suggested by a theoretical frame, a typical or representative case is the best option. A typical case provides the best insights in the dynamics at work in a general, cross-case relationship such as land scarcity (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 299). A typical case here is one of a post-conflict society that shows both high levels of land scarcity and evidence of violence that has erupted over this scarcity. Following this argumentation, Burundi has been chosen as the case study, since this country has received ample attention in literature addressing the nexus between land scarcity and violence, land scarcity levels are high in the country and preliminary evidence of framing of this scarcity has been found during the literature review. In the remainder of this subchapter, some essential background information will be provided in order to understand the conflict dynamics and characteristics of land scarcity in Burundi.

Since Burundi's independence from Belgium and its separation from Ruanda-Burundi in 1962, the country has been plagued by recurring episodes of violent conflict. The post-independence ethnic violence towards Hutu's in 1963, the massacre of 120.000 Hutu's as a response to Hutu-

uprisings in the South of Burundi in 1972 and the ethnic civil conflict between 1992 and 1996 together have caused millions of deaths. Furthermore, it has led to even more refugees fleeing from the country's repeated cycles of violence (Chrétien 2008: 26-59). The violence in Burundi has most often been classified as ethnic, since it has heavily centred around the stark division between Hutu's and Tutsi's in the nation (Hatungimana 2011: 136). However, the high population density of the land-locked country and the accompanying scarcity of land, combined with a mostly rural population that is for a large part dependent on subsistence agriculture for its survival, has increasingly been identified as a major factor driving these ethnic tensions (van Leeuwen, Ter Haar 2016: 99; Oketch, Polser 2002: 85-85).

The large numbers of refugees being generated by the violent episodes has led Burundian society to face enormous challenges in the post-conflict repatriation of these groups, both in the past and in the present (Oketch, Polser 2002: 140-141). The Arusha Accords that were signed in 2000 have addressed the land issues that returning refugees face by stating that "All refugees and/or sinistrés must be able to recover their property, especially land" (Theron 2009: 4-5). However, this has not prevented the rise of a fierce competition over post-conflict land tenure. The body that was established to deal with land disputes related to the return of refugees by the government party CNDD-FDD, the Comission Nationale de Terre et autres Biens (CNTB), has had to solve almost 40.000 disputes over land up until 2013, making it the most important institution in Burundi to fight the problems of scarcity. (Bangerezako 2015: 20; Bigirimana 2013: 19).

During the time frame within this research has been conducted, two of the most crucial developments concerning land scarcity in Burundi were the adoption of a new law increasing the mandate of the CNTB in 2013 and large-scale protests that were held against the CNTB in the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015. More specifically, the new law adopted in 2013 established a special court on land disputes that has the capacity to overrule decision taken in other courts or through traditional methods of dispute resolution (ICG 2014).

3.2. Methodology

In the following subchapter, the methodology of the case study research will be discussed. This will be done by first explaining the research design, followed by the criteria for selection of an appropriate news medium to gather data from. Consequently, the method used for selection of articles incorporated into this research will be laid out. Finally, the process of coding and analysis of the data gathered is addressed in the last subchapter.

3.2.1. Research Design

In this research, I aim to come to understand if and how the land scarcity in Burundi is framed by news media in such a way that it reinforces interethnic divides between Hutu's and Tutsi's. The research will be concerned with understanding the articulated frames involved rather than explaining them. From this perspective, I will aim to empathically understand human action. Therefore, my epistemological stance will be interpretivist (Bryman 2015: 28-30). Ontologically, I will take on a structurationist perspective, taking into account the agency of the actors involved in constructing the social world around us (Bryman 2015: 33-34). The structurationist approach fits into the ontological and epistemological nature since it aims to understand the behaviour of the actors involved, and grants them agency in constructing the world around them. In line with the ontological, epistemological and theoretical perspective, my research will be conducted through qualitative methods. The focus will not be on finding large amounts of data, which will in the end be used to produce generalizable findings. In contrast, I will focus on in-depth research analysis of smaller amounts of open-access data, in my goal to understand the way in which land scarcity is framed in post-conflict Burundi, and see if it is framed in a way that reinforces conflicting identities.

3.2.2. Source Selection

The selection of an appropriate news source from which to distract relevant articles has been based on the guidelines as set by John Scott, who defined four criteria for source credibility in qualitative content analysis. These four criteria established are *authenticity, credibility, representativeness* and *meaning* (Scott 1990: 6). Since this research focuses on the representation of land scarcity, and not scarcity on itself, priority is not to find accurate and objective news on land scarcity. Therefore, the criteria of authenticity and credibility are less relevant here. Representativeness and meaning have been the leading criteria for selection a news medium for analysis.

As is mostly the case in (post-) conflict societies, press freedom in Burundi is highly limited. As articulated by the Freedom House report on Freedom of the Press Burundi 2016, Burundian press is ranked as "not free" (Freedom House 2016). Additional problems are caused by a very low internet penetration rate of 4,9% and the limited availability of TV broadcasts in rural areas (Freedom House 2016). Therefore, radio is the most commonly used news source in the country. Most of the media are owned or controlled by the state and therefore generally perceived as a mouthpiece of the government (Freedom House 2016). *IWACU* (literally translated 'at home' in Kirundi), the news medium selected for this research, has been called

the last newspaper in Burundi, reportedly being the only news medium left "covering the African country's descent into chaos" (McCormick 2016). *IWACU* is therefore generally perceived as the most representative news outlet in the Burundian society, since it is the only one that is not completely controlled by the government. By carrying the slogan 'les voix the Burundi', literally translated as the voices of Burundi, IWACU claims to represent all Burundian citizens (IWACU 2017). The articulation of different, competing perceptions on land scarcity make *IWACU* a particularly appropriate source of news articles for analysis. In addition, *IWACU* publishes articles online, but also spreads its news messages in the form of newspapers and radio broadcasts in Kirundi. Therefore, I could access articles online published in French which was necessary for me to be able to understand the articles. At the same time, *IWACU* reaches large parts of the Burundian population without access to internet or knowledge of the French language. It must, however, be emphasized that the scope of this research, being limited to only one news medium, makes it too narrow to make any claim of representativeness and is therefore mostly exploratory in nature. Its aim is to research how land scarcity is framed in a Burundian news medium which is particularly influential for creating perceptions in Burundian society, without making any claims to generalise the findings to news framing in Burundi in general.

3.2.3. Article Selection

111 news articles published on *IWACU* have been selected for analysis. This selection has been conducted by the use of three key terms that were entered into the search function of the *IWACU* website. Since the goal is to research the framing of land scarcity in Burundi, the first two key terms selected are *terre* (literally translated as earth/land) and *foncier/foncière* (adjective used for earth/land). The reasoning behind selecting these two terms is that they lead to articles discussing land or land-related questions, without adding any pre-existing value to these issues by risking a distorted view of news coverage. As a result, I did however have to exclude some of the articles found from the analysis since they covered for instance reports on international land issues or merely included one of the key search terms without land being the main focus of the article. The term *CNTB* (Commission Nationale de Terre et Autre Biens) has been used as the third search term. This choice was made on the basis of the literature review done before conducting this research. As discussed in the case selection chapter, many of the problems that have arisen over land in Burundi have surrounded decisions that were made by the CNTB. It is therefore a very relevant search term to look into the framing of land scarcity.

Additionally, a strict time frame has been incorporated into the article selection. As a starting point, the 1st of June 2013 has been selected. This decision has been made on the basis of information gathered in the literature review. In this review, the December 2013 revision of a new law granting more power to the CNTB has been established as a decisive moment from which disputes surrounding land scarcity in Burundi have heavily increased (Johnson 2017). A six month period before this moment has been added, since this provides with valuable insight into the framing activities during the run-up to this moment. The end date of this research is two years later; the 21st of July 2015. This is the date of the presidential elections after which renewed violence has erupted in Burundi. This date has been selected as a cut-off point since, due to upsurge of violence, media coverage of land issues in Burundi has been very limited.

3.2.4. Codifying Data

In order to analyse the data gathered from all the articles, an appropriate method to qualitative content analysis had to be selected. Research using this qualitative approach to content analysis "focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1278). A widely-known technique in qualitative data analysis, coding "goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings" (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1278). Since this research is conducted through a previously selected analytical lens, a method of directed content analysis has been used. Through this method, a set of initial codes that were expected to be used in the texts has been articulated based on the literature review. As used here, codes are words or short phrases that summarise the content of a portion of the analysed text, and/or reflect the essence of the text body. As Saldana has stated: "Just as a title represents or captures a book or film or poem's primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence" (2009: 3). While going through the process of coding, these codes could be adapted and/or extended.

The electronic software program for qualitative data analysis 'Nvivo' has been used in order to ensure a systematic process of coding and offer a quick and easy overview of the use of the selected codes. Consequently, the codes were regrouped in categories representing the most important narratives articulated in the studied texts. This has been done in order to identify what Van Gorp has called a *Frame Package,* which is an "integrated structure of framing devices and a logical chain of reasoning devices that demonstrates how the frame functions to represent a certain issue" (2010: 91). Although a frame analysis can never be completely objective, the

establishment of frame packages is instrumental in representing the frames within the context that they occur in the news. By doings so, different frames are connected to each other into one dominant narrative, thereby decreasing the level of interpretation by the researcher (Van Gorp 2010: 91). Finally, these narratives have been analysed through the lens of the analytic frame selected, in this case Entman's concept of News Frames and Tilly's concept of 'blame game' (Hsieh and Shannon 2005: 1281-1282). Below, a list of provisional codes and sub-codes used as the basis for analysis can be found in table 1.

Table 1: Provisional Codes and Sub-Codes

Problem	Causes	Moral Judgment	Remedies
Land Scarcity	Climate Change	Structural Inequality	Violence
(Violent) land disputes: • Intra-familial • Refugee-Returnee • Ethnic	Institutional failure (CNTB)	Duty to reconciliation and restitution	Protests
		Politicisation and fraud CNTB	Legal battles
		Ethnicity-based discrimination CNTB	International support
		Unconstitutionality	Politics
	Lack of funding		
	Gender-based discrimination		
	Agricultural dependence		
	Population growth		
	Heritage of war		

3.2.5. Limitations

In this subchapter I will reflect upon the most significant methodological limitations to this research. The first limitation encountered is the unavoidable risk of translation errors and a reflection of my own biases on the research when interpreting frames. Although my knowledge of French is more than sufficient to be able to translate and interpret articles in French, it is not my native language. Additionally, the use of French as found in the articles published on *IWACU* is often not the same as the type of language I have been used to. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that the unavoidable risk of translation errors is one of the most important limitations of this research. All of the quotes that are used throughout this case study chapter are translated from French, and are therefore subject to my own interpretations. Furthermore,

when researching news frames, some level of interpretation by the researcher is always present despite the techniques used to limit this room for own interpretation as much as possible.

The second limitation is the risk of sampling bias through the selection of articles and search terms. Although I have aimed to pick search terms as neutral as possible and thoroughly based on my literature review, the selection of specific search terms and articles unavoidably influences the results of this research in some way. Finally, it must be acknowledged that the findings of this research are in no way generalizable for Burundian news media in general. *IWACU* has been selected as a source for news articles since it can be perceived as a representative news medium for Burundi. However, this representativeness does not mean that the findings are generalizable. Furthermore, since the research conducted has solely focused on understanding the framing of land scarcity in Burundi news media, nothing can be said about the impact that these frames have had on the Burundian society. As will be discussed later, this is something that should be researched in a more elaborate and in-field research.

3.3. Research Findings

"An inexorable fragmentation, an unequal division of land, a rampant population growth, problematic land laws, a non-existent agricultural industry… These are the major challenges to be met at a time in which land is the main source of income for Burundians"[2].

In this chapter, the data gathered from the news articles selected will be presented and analysed. Although *IWACU* cannot be considered a completely independent media source, the articles selected have given a diverse and broad overview of news framing of land scarcity. Perspectives from the Burundian government, opposition parties, -external actors such as NGO's and interviews with Burundian citizens were presented. In the following, first an overview of the two most distinctive narratives that could be identified in the news articles will be provided. Consequently, these narratives will be analysed through the analytic framework as articulated in the previous chapter. This will be done by deconstructing the narratives and frames guided by the analytic frame of 'news frames'. The articulation of problems, causes, moral judgments and remedies will be identified in or to enhance understanding of the articulated frames. In the subsequent discussion, it will be argued that (components of) these frames actively engage in

---

[2] Mbazumutima, Abbas, and Ngabire Elyse. "Terre … comme peau de chagrin" *IWACU,* 13 Sept. 2013, http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/terre-comme-peau-de-chagrin/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

boundary drawing and identity politics. By doing so, antagonistic divides are created and emphasized that could possibly contribute to mobilisation for renewed violence in a post-conflict environment such as Burundi.

3.3.1. Narratives expressed in news articles

As a result of the codification process through Nvivo, a list with the different codes and the frequency of their appearance in the selected news articles has been established. This list is presented in table two, ranking the codes from most- to least frequently used.

Table 2: Codes ranked by frequency and article selection

Code	Frequency	Tèrre (28)	Foncier/Foncière (16)	CNTB (67)
Politicisation land rights	44	7	11	26
Reconciliation	39	9	7	23
Ethnicity	32	9	12	11
Political debates on land scarcity	30	5	8	17
Anti-CNTB protests	15	2	2	11
Unconstitutionality CNTB	15	2	0	13
Success CNTB	12	3	1	8
Unjust rulings CNTB	12	0	1	11
Use of violence to settle dispute	11	2	6	3
Refugee-Returnee Conflicts	10	1	0	9
Landlessness of Returnees	9	7	0	2
Intra-familial disputes	8	5	2	1
Lack of funding CNTB	8	3	2	3
Heritage of war	7	6	1	0
Gender inequality	6	1	4	1
Population growth	6	3	2	1

Agricultural dependence	6	2	3	1
Sociocultural value of land	5	1	4	0
Climate change	4	3	1	0
Unequal division of land	3	0	3	0

The identification of main narratives has been guided by the results of the codification process as shown in table two. Since this research is qualitative in nature, the analysis has not been based solely on the frequency of the codes occurred, but mostly on the salience of the specific codes brought forward as interpreted by the researcher. The table as provided above has functioned as a guidance for this process. In many of the articles, specific sets of codes were combined. These combinations of codes that occurred especially frequently together have functioned as the basis of the establishment of two contending stories surrounding the scarcity of land in Burundi. I do not want to claim that the narratives identified and described below are exhaustive, and/or reflect the nature of every single one of the articles analysed. Some of the articles offered perspectives that were different from the dominant narratives, and in some cases arguments were combined in a way that diverted from the main narratives. Furthermore, in a number of articles aspects of both narratives were combined. However, the narratives are based on the systematic coding done prior to the analysis, which identified the main frames used and the combinations in which they predominantly occurred. The analysis does, therefore, represent the dominant stories articulated through the news articles analysed.

What stands out immediately is that in the closely-ranged top four articulated frames, political debates take up two spots. This framing of land scarcity as a political problem has been especially salient in the articles analysed. As has shortly been reflected on in the case selection subchapter, the most important news stories about land scarcity that have been reported on in the chosen time period are the political discussion on increasing the mandate of the CNTB, and large protests against the strategies of the CNDD-FDD and CNTB in handling land disputes. The articles consistently focused on the way that scarcity is dealt with in the political domain, mostly reporting on discussion between the government and opposition parties. Critiques on the government's strategies to deal with scarcity were widely articulated, and it has consistently been established that scarcity is used as political leverage both by government- and opposition parties. From two of the articles that were particularly representative of the dominant views on

scarcity articulated throughout the analysed news stories, the following quotes have been selected to illustrate this claim:

A focus on politicisation of land disputes:

> *"Politicians start to exploit land disputes between returnees and residents for electoral leverage, which risks complicating an already fragile situation". [3]*

The political debate on the handling of land scarcity-related disputes by the government and the CNTB when covering an expulsion by the CNTB:

> *"While UPRONA [the largest Burundian opposition party] argues that the mandate of the CNTB should be withdrawn for the expulsion of Justin Nyakabeto, its spokesperson is categorical: only the law and president Nkurunziza could end the mission of the CNTB".[4]*

From the above, the first preliminary conclusion can be drawn that the dominant frame of land scarcity in *IWACU* articles is mainly one of political scarcity. The concept of political scarcity is used by Scoones et al. to refer to the idea of political manufacturing of scarcity. What is emphasized throughout the texts is the way in which scarcity is 'manufactured' to serve particular political interests; how narratives of scarcity are used in political contests; how historical patterns of inequality have affected resource patterns and control and how such patterns are, through political decisions, distributed between different groups of people. Through this process, winners and losers in the struggle over scarce resources are created (Scoones et al. 2014: 7). Deriving from this dominant frame of political scarcity, the most important division between the two narratives expressed is therefore also a political one: between pro-government and anti-government sentiments. Although many of the IWACU-journalists can been described as critical of the Burundian government, a pro-government sentiment can also be identified in the IWACU articles.

Pro-Government: Victimisation and Reconciliation

Codes: Reconciliation, Ethnicity, Political Debates, Success CNTB, Use of Violence to Settle Disputes, Refugee-Returnee Conflicts, Heritage of War, Population Growth, Climate Change.

---

[3] Nzorubonanya, Félix. " En attendant la Cour spéciale des terres et autres biens à Rumonge : déni de justice ou respect de la loi ?". *IWACU*, 27 feb. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/cntb-cour-speciale-terres-biens-rumonge-justice/ Accessed 5 june 2017.

[4] Elyse, Ngabire. "Dieudonné Mbonimpa, porte-parole de la CNTB: <Qui peut défier le president de la République? >" *IWACU* 07 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/dieudonne-mbonimpa-porte-parole-de-la-cntb-qui-peut-defier-le-president-de-la-republique/ Accessed 03 June 2017.

"In all its decisions, the CNTB refers to the constitution and the Arusha Accords. Article 4 of protocol 8 of this accord is clear: 'all repatriates and returnees have a right to land. They should be able to recapture their land'. Are we in the wrong when applying what is written in black and white? The mistake would be for us not to restore the rights of all returnees".[5]

The first narrative that could be identified is one that centres around a pro-government sentiment. In this narrative, the CNTB is portrayed as one of the many successes of the Nkurunziza regime in its fight to make Burundi a stable nation again. Central in this narrative is the heritage of war, which has left a highly difficult task for the ruling party in re-establishing peace and order. During the war, many *stayees*[6] have illegally occupied properties of (mainly Hutu) refugees. In addition, climate change and population growth have worsened competition over scarce arable land. Violence over scarce land has erupted mainly between stayees and returnees. In this narrative, much emphasis is put on the crucial role of the CNTB to contribute to the reconciliation and justice-setting that is necessary after the decades of violence in the Burundian past. Consequently, the CNTB actively aims to follow up on promises made in the Arusha accords. Especially Hutu returnees are identified as victims here, emphasizing that they had to flee for large-scale violence while stayees illegally occupied their properties.

Anti-Government: Intra-familial disputes and ethnic framing

Codes: Politicisation land rights, anti-CNTB protests, unconstitutionality CNTB, unjust rulings CNTB, Intra-Familial Disputes, Lack of Funding CNTB, Agricultural Dependence, Unequal Division of Land.

"Ethnical issues do not even exist. Only the CNTB wants to divide us and set up repatriates against residents"[7]

From this perspective, the main reason for conflict over land scarcity lies in intra-familial disputes. To illustrate, in one of the articles it was claimed that "a large majority of the conflicts

---

[5] Elyse, Ngabire. "Dieudonné Mbonimpa, porte-parole de la CNTB: <Qui peut défier le president de la République? >" *IWACU* 07 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/dieudonne-mbonimpa-porte-parole-de-la-cntb-qui-peut-defier-le-president-de-la-republique/ Accessed 03 June 2017.

[6] Term used throughout literature on refugee return to refer to the part of the population that has remained in a country during violent episodes, as opposed to 'refugees' or, in a case of refugee return, the word 'returnees'.

[7] Bigirimana, Christian, and Dieudonné Hakizimana. "Makamba : la Cntb, source d'insécurité ?" *IWACU*. 11 Mar. 2015. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/makamba-la-cntb-source-dinsecurite/ 03 June 2017.

over land are between persons from the same family and the same ethnicity".[8] However, political issues are again presented as central since the failure of the government to address land scarcity and scarcity-related violence is dominant in this narrative. Furthermore, in the articles articulating this narrative, the CNTB and the CNDD-FDD are accused of politicising and ethicising the violence. Additionally, an interesting and important aspect of this framing is the frequency by which the unconstitutionality of the CNTB has been linked with the unconstitutionality of the strive for a third ruling term by president Nkurunziza. This illustrates the importance of land scarcity, and the way the government has dealt with this scarcity, as a political tool.

3.3.2. Analysing narratives through analytic framework: constituting news frames, counter frames and the blame game.

Table 3: Codes sorted based on theoretical framework, divided between pro- and anti-government narratives. Pro-government is coloured red, anti-government blue and codes that are represented in both narratives are presented in black.

Problem	Causes	Moral Judgment	Remedies
Land Scarcity • Agricultural dependence	Climate Change	Structural Inequality	Violence
(Violent) land disputes: • Intra-familial • Refugee-Returnee • Ethnic	Institutional failure (CNTB)	Gender-based discrimination	Protests
		Politicisation and fraud CNTB	Legal battles
		Ethnicity-based discrimination CNTB	International support
		Unconstitutionality	Politics
	Lack of funding		
	Population growth	Duty to reconciliation and restitution	
	Heritage of war		

---

[8] Urakeza, Cédric-Soledad. "Le Focode appelle à un débat ouvert et inclusif sur le travail de la CNTB". *IWACU*. 24 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/le-focode-appelle-a-un-debat-ouvert-et-inclusif-sur-le-travail-de-la-cntb-2/ Accessed on 5 June 2017.

Problem definition and identification of causes.

In the news articles analysed, land scarcity was consistently named as a significant challenge to Burundian society. Despite the use of search terms that did not pre-define problems around land, hardly any of the sources diminished the relevance of this problem. A sense of urgency around land scarcity has mostly been created by emphasizing the heavy dependence of Burundians on agriculture. This frame has most often been used in combination with pointing out the heavy growth of the Burundian population over the last decade, which will be elaborated on when discussing the causes identified. This reasoning has been expressed in both the pro- and anti-government narrative. This can be illustrated by the following quotes:

> *"The more the population grows, the mores space it needs. Above all, indicated Mr. Ngayimpenda, within the context in which 90% of the population lives off agriculture."*[9]

> *"In Burundi, it is recognised that between 1885 and 2013, within the same area, the population has tripled from 3 million to approximately 10 million inhabitants. Even worse, this population relies for 90% on agriculture, living exclusively from the land"*[10]

In addition, reports about land disputes that have turned violent strengthen the narrative of urgency since this violence is interpreted as a threat to the fragile peace in Burundi. However, the framing of this violence diverged from classifying the violence as mostly inter-ethnic, stayee-returnee or intra-familial. In one of the articles, this concerned was expressed by stating "the land question is at the root of a general panic: < it risks bringing the country back into political violence of an inter-ethnic nature>".[11] Whereas in the pro-government narrative the problem is portrayed mostly as one between Hutu returnees and Tutsi stayees, in the anti-government narrative the frequency of the occurrence of interfamilial disputes is emphasized. By emphasizing these different types of conflicts, divisions are created between different groups within the Burundian population. To illustrate the sense of urgency, some of the headings used in articles addressing violence over land:

---

[9] Mbazumutima, Abbas, and Ngabire Elyse. "Terre … comme peau de chagrin" *IWACU,* 13 Sept. 2013, http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/terre-comme-peau-de-chagrin/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[10] Ndabashinze, Rénovat. "Le dérèglement climatique est un multiplicateur de menaces" *IWACU*, 02 Nov. 2015, http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/le-dereglement-climatique-est-un-multiplicateur-de-menaces/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[11] Ndabashinze, Rénovat. "Peur et vérité, un couple antinomique". *IWACU*, 23 Nov. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/peur-et-verite-un-couple-antinomique/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

"Land disputes: increasing violence and fear in Butaganzwa (Ruyigi)"[12]

"Cibitoke: 5 victims of land disputes in Bukinanyana"[13]

When analysing the causes behind this land scarcity and (violent) disputes over land, a greater variety of frames can be identified. What happens here can be analysed from Charles Tilly's concept of 'the blame game'. Frames and counter frames can be identified that provide competing narratives of causality and moral judgment. These narratives are part of the universal human tendency to perceive, describe and remember social experiences as stories. In these stories, simplified cause-and effect accounts assign credit and blame of a problem by diminishing complex situation with many causes and effects such as land scarcity to the simple logic of A does X to B, with outcome Y (Tilly 2010: 383).

The first step in this blame game is identifying causes for the previously established problem of land scarcity and violence resulting from this scarcity. Within the anti-government narrative, the dominant cause that has been put forward is the failure of the government to effectively address the scarcity issues. Most emphasized is the failure of the CNTB, which was originally established to amicably solve land disputes and re-divide land in such a way that both stayees and returnees have access to land in order to sustain their own livelihoods[14]. In addition, the absence of clear succession laws is brought forward as another government failure leading to intra-familial land disputes that at times turn violent.[15] It are thus not factors such as refugee return, population growth and environmental degradation on themselves that are consistently presented as the main cause of land scarcity, but the failure of the government to address these problems. In particular, the CNTB is said to actively favour returnees when settling land disputes between returnees and stayees. Within the anti-government narrative, it is claimed that this favouring has led to inefficiency in handling land scarcity problems by the CNTB. To illustrate, in one of the articles it is argued that "concerning the land disputes between refugees and returnees, it is a shame that there is no political will to put into place the compensation fund

---

[12] Manirakiza, Fabrice. "Conflits fonciers: de plus en plus de violence et de peur à Butaganzwa (Ruyigi)" *IWACU*, 23 Jan. 2014, http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/de-plus-en-plus-conflits-fonciers-meutriers-ruyigi/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[13] Bahati, Jackson. "Cibitoke: 5 victimes de conflits fonciers à Bukinanyana" *IWACU,* 27 Nov. 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/cibitoke-5-victimes-de-conflits-fonciers-a-bukinanyana/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[14] Bigirimana, Chirstian and Edouard Madirisha. "Polémiques autour de la nouvelle loi sur la CNTB". *IWAU*, 6 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/polemiques-autour-de-la-nouvelle-loi-sur-la-cntb/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[15] Nshimirimana, Dieudonné. "Absence de la loi sur les successions au Burundi: le vide juridique met les juges dans une situation inconfortable" *IWACU,* 5 Oct. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/absence-de-la-loi-sur-les-successions-au-burundi-le-vide-juridique-met-les-juges-dans-une-situation-inconfortable/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

put in place to compensate for the illegal land occupations like promised in the Arusha Accords". [16]

The competing, pro-government narrative that is articulated throughout the other part of the articles analysed does not share this perspective. In this narrative, the main cause of scarcity is logically not put on government actions, but on external factors such as climate change and population growth and, most importantly, the heritage of many years of civil war. The large number of returning refugees is identified as the main cause for violence over land scarcity. For instance, in an article addressing problems due to land scarcity in the province of Rumonge, a highly simplified causal relationship is portrayed in the claim that "due to the repatriation of Burundian refugees, arable land is scarce in Rumonge"[17]. The CNTB and the Burundian government in this narrative are portrayed as working hard resolving the chaos that has been the result of multiple longer episodes of violence, especially having to fight against the illegal occupation of land previously owned by refugees.

To illustrate:

"At the CNTB, we face multiple conflicts over land of which many are related to the war. Repatriates find their previous land taken at the moment that new occupants (with good or bad intentions) refuse to give back the land that repatriates had legally acquired".[18]

"The president of the Republic has congratulated the CNTB on its merits: <We have organised meetings to receive different opinions on the plan to adapt the law governing the CNTB, which we also thank extensively for their work in 2013: 3259 conflicts are resolved of which 1446 amicably>".[19]

Moral judgment and remedies

Moving on to the articulation of moral judgment and remedies, narratives increasingly start to differentiate from each other and stronger language is used. While in the pro-government

---

[16] Nzorubonanya, Félix. "Léonce Ngendakumana mobilise ses militants « pour un changement par les urnes en 2015 »". *IWACU,* 29 Apr. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/rumonge-leonce-ngendakumana-mobilise-ses-militants-pour-un-changement/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[17] Nzorubonanya, Félix. "Rumonge: Ubwari attire davantage les Burundais". *IWACU*, 16 March 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/rumonge-ubwari-attire-davantage-les-burundais/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[18] Service Annonces. "Propriété foncière, quand tu nous tiens!". *IWACU*, 23 may 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/propriete-fonciere-quand-tu-nous-tiens/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[19] Bigirimana, Christian and Edouard Madirisha. "Polémiques autour de la nouvelle loi sur la CNTB". *IWACU*, 6 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/polemiques-autour-de-la-nouvelle-loi-sur-la-cntb/2/. Accessed 5 June 2017.

narrative, moral judgment is mostly conveyed in the form of a frame of victimisation of returnees and condemnation of illegal occupation of their land, -the anti-government's judgment falls on the active politicisation and ethnicisation of land scarcity by the CNTB.

Pro-government

In this narrative, moral judgment is conveyed on the many cases of occupation of refugees' land by people who did not have to flee from Burundi during the periods of civil warfare. In a reported speech by president Nkurunziza, he congratulates the CNTB "with its role in the battle against injustice and helping those that have been stolen from in retrieving their properties"[20]. Returnees are portrayed as an economically weak group of the population that needs to be protected against exploitation by stronger stayees.[21]

> *"The cohabitation between residents and repatriates of the villages is not without problems: tensions are observed between the different groups due to conflicts over land. Government officials indicate that it is very regrettable that repatriates return to exile, since the Burundian government and its technical and financial partners have invested heavily in their repatriation."[22]*

In some of the articles, this division between returnees and stayees that is brought forward is expanded to a division over ethnic lines. A large part of the returnees that has trouble retrieving their former slots of land has fled from the 1972 violence, or are the offspring of people who have fled during this period. This group consists mainly of Hutu's, and therefore the occupation of the land of refugees is presented as the occupation of land of Hutu's. The narrative of conflicts over scarce land consequently transforms into one of conflict between Tutsi stayees and Hutu returnees, in which injustice is done by the Tutsi to Hutu's by illegally occupying their land and refusing restitution. However, this narrative is very sparsely directly articulated throughout the news articles published by *IWACU*. Interestingly, framing of ethnicity is most prominently brought forward as an accusation to the government and the CNTB, but little articles can be found in which this framing is done directly.

---

[20] Urakeza, Cédric-Soledad. "Pierre Nkurunziza se réjouit des trois premières années de son second mandate". *IWACU*, 27 Aug. 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/pierre-nkurunziza-se-rejouit-des-trois-premieres-annees-de-son-second-mandat/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[21] Ngendakumana, Philippe. "Uprona : décrié, il reste quand même dans les institutions". *IWACU*, 21 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/uprona-decrie-il-reste-quand-meme-dans-les-institutions/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[22] Nzorubonanya. Félix. "Provinces de Bururi et Makamba: ils retournent en exil suite aux pénibles conditions de vie". *IWACU*, 2 Sept. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/provinces-de-bururi-et-makamba-ils-retournent-en-exil-suite-aux-penibles-conditions-de-vie/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

"The president of the Republic has argued that the CNTB does not have to solve problems between Hutu, but problems of persons who have illegally occupied the property of others"[23]

Remedies as articulated in the pro-government narrative focus on the expansion of the mandate of the CNTB, which is brought forward as an institution capable of dealing with the scarcity problems. The establishment of a special court under the mandate of the CNTB is presented as a solution to the illegal occupation of the land of refugees by stayees. In an article discussing the adoption of a new law increasing the legal powers of the CNTB and establishing the special court, a government official announced that this new law would allow "the CNTB to work on the repatriation of all the refugees whose land had been stolen"[24]. In order to reach this goal, political support is necessary. Ultimately, the remedy presented here is twofold. Firstly, political support to the CNDD-FDD in order to ensure the continuation of the good work of the CNTB and the expansion of its mandate. Secondly, as a consequence of the work of the government and the CNTB, legal battles are presented as an adequate solution available to the Burundian population to solve problems of scarce land.

Anti-government

The anti-government narrative, which is much more prominently used throughout the articles, puts moral judgment on the CNTB and the Burundian government. The CNTB is held accountable for the mismanagement of land issues, and the CNDD-FDD is accused of actively politicising and ethicising the land scarcity in the country. The CNTB is hereby used as a political tool to win (Hutu) votes for the 2015 election. When reporting on a conference discussing problems of land scarcity and refugee return, this narrative is clearly put forward when two of the action points articulated are "not to ethicise the land question", and "not to use the CNTB as a political propaganda tool".[25] In another article, Charles Nditije, president of opposition party UPRONA argues against a law increasing the mandate of the CNTB proposed by the CNDD-FDD. In this article, he accuses the CNTB of presenting the land issues between

---

[23] Madirisha, Edouard. "L'Uprona veut mettre le holà à la nouvelle loi sur la CNTB, la Présidence se dit <prête à gérer>. *IWACU*, 8 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/uprona-contre-nouvelle-loi-cntb-presidence/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[24] Bigirimana, Christian and Edouard Madirisha. "Polémiques autour de la nouvelle loi sur la CNTB". *IWACU*, 6 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/polemiques-autour-de-la-nouvelle-loi-sur-la-cntb/2/. Accessed 5 June 2017.

[25] Roulette, Damien. "Que faudra-t-il donc retenir de cet atelier sur la CNTB ?". *IWACU*, 4 July 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/que-faudra-t-il-donc-retenir-de-cet-atelier-sur-la-cntb/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

returnees and stayees as a Hutu-Tutsi problem, while the problems just as frequently occur among Hutu's.[26]

Throughout the articles, concerns are expressed that by ethicising and politicising land issues the CNDD-FDD and the CNTB are endangering the process of peace and reconciliation in Burundi, risking a relapse into ethnic violence. In the beginning of the research period (2013-2014) this frame mostly centres around a political discussion about the adoption of a new law increasing the mandate of the CNTB. Articles from the end of 2014 and 2015 that have been analysed frequently connect this narrative to anti-CNTB protests that were reported in this time period. In one article, residents from villages in the Southern province of Makamba that are engaged in large-scale protests against the CNTB express that "the CNTB has a plan to remove all inhabitants from their land in favour of returnees, and that both Hutu and Tutsi have stood up against the CNTB since they do not act to reconcile, but divide people from different ethnic groups".[27]

Furthermore, in this narrative it is repeatedly argued that the CNTB is unconstitutional, an argument that is often articulated in the context of discussions over the unconstitutionality of president Nkurunziza aiming for a third term against the Arusha Accords.[28] Discussions centre around the question if a special court for the CNTB is unconstitutional, since this special court would become the single legal institute dealing with land disputes, leaving no option for appeal.[29] The work of the CNTB is also reported to go against the promises made in the Arusha Peace Accords, in which it was established that the government would set up a fund to help returnees settle on a piece of land without excessively harming others.[30] Additionally, the

---

[26] Madirisha, Edouard. "L'Uprona veut mettre le holà à la nouvelle loi sur la CNTB, la Présidence se dit « prête à gérer »". *IWACU*, 8 Jan. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/uprona-contre-nouvelle-loi-cntb-presidence/ Accessed 5 june 2017.

[27] Birgimana, Christian and Dieudonné Hakizimana. "Makamba : la Cntb, source d'insécurité ?". *IWACU*, 11 March 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/makamba-la-cntb-source-dinsecurite/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[28] Ngendakumana, Philippe. "Colère du barreau contre la Commission Nationale de Terre et Autres Biens". *IWACU*, 2 April 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/colere-du-barreau-contre-cntb-commission-nationale-des-terres-et-autres-biens/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[29] Ngendakumana, Philippe. "Cour spéciale des Terres et autres Biens : députés, hâtez-vous lentement !". *IWACU*, 9 April 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/la-cour-speciale-des-terres-et-autres-biens-deputes-hatez-vous-lentement/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[30] Soledad-Urakeza, Cédric. " Pacifique Nininahazwe (Focode) : « Acquéreurs de bonne foi, rapatriés, spoliateurs, une distinction claire s'impose »". *IWACU*, 4 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/pacifique-nininahazwe-focode-acquereurs-de-bonne-foi-rapatries-spoliateurs-une-distinction-claire-simpose-2/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

government is accused of allowing for excessive violence to be used when implementing the decisions of the CNTB, and even using its militant youth wing to execute judgments[31].

Remedies put forward in this narratives are, again, mostly political ones. Central here is the need to go against the work of the CNTB. Multiple strategies are brought forward to do so. While in the pro-government narratives legal battles are presented as the most viable strategy to acquire a piece of land, in the anti-government the opposite is claimed. Legal battles are presented to have very little chance of success due to the establishment of a special court under the mandate of the CNTB. Going even further, in one article it is claimed that "lawyers are not even allowed to defend their clients against judgments of the CNBT".[32] Finally, it is reported that for many Burundians, fighting a legal battle against the CNBT to get access to scarce lands is not a viable options due to the high costs of trials and long distance to the courts[33].

As an alternative course of action, large-scale protests against the CNTB are reported. Stories are articulated of both violent and non-violent protests. For example, citizens of the district of Makamba are reported to have engaged in large-scale protest actions against the CNTB by blocking the access to CNTB offices.[34] In another article, youngsters are reported to "have gone to all the corners of Bujumbura [the Burundian capital] to express their support for a family that was extradited from its land by the CNTB".[35] In one of the articles, it is even stated that the violent protests 'are the only remedy left for youngsters affected by land scarcity'[36]. Other options articulated are in the political domain, as opposition parties offer competing perspectives on dealing with land scarcity that do not support the work of the CNTB. Voting for a party different from the CNDD-FDD would therefore also be part of a solution[37].

---

[31] Madirisha, Edouard. "Rumonge: la CNTB tranche, les Imbonerakure commencent l'execution". *IWACU*, 15 Sept. 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/la-cntb-tranche-les-imbonerakure-commencent-lexecution/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[32] Ngendakumana, Philippe. "Colère du barreau contre la Commission Nationale des Terres et Autres Biens". *IWACU*, 2 April 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/colere-du-barreau-contre-cntb-commission-nationale-des-terres-et-autres-biens/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[33] Soledad-Urakeza, Cédric. "Enregistrement des parcelles : pas encore dans les mœurs des Burundais" *IWACU*, 15 Aug. 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/enregistrement-des-parcelles-pas-encore-dans-les-moeurs-des-burundais/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[34] Birgimana, Christian and Dieudonné Hakizimana. "Makamba : la Cntb, source d'insécurité ?". *IWACU*, 11 March 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/makamba-la-cntb-source-dinsecurite/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

[35] Ngabire, Elyse. "Burundi : risque de résurgence des vieux demons". *IWACU*, 27 March 2014. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/burundi-risque-de-resurgence-des-vieux-demons/. Accessed 5 June 2017.

[36] Madirisha, Edouard. "Expulsion des Nyakabeto : après les arrestations, un jugement…" *IWACU*, 2 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/expulsion-des-nyakabeto-apres-les-arrestations-un-jugement-2/ . Accessed 5 June 2017.

[37] Elyse, Ngabire. "Dieudonné Mbonimpa, porte-parole de la CNTB : « Qui peut défier le président de la République ? »" *IWACU*, 7 June 2013. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/dieudonne-mbonimpa-porte-parole-de-la-cntb-qui-peut-defier-le-president-de-la-republique/ Accessed 5 June 2017.

3.4. Discussion of findings: enforcing antagonistic identities through frames of land scarcity

In the previous subchapter, an overview has been given of the frames and counter frames on land scarcity that have been found when analysing articles on land scarcity published through the Burundian news medium *IWACU*. In this final subchapter these findings will be discussed and interpreted through the theoretical lens of identity politics and boundary making.

As established in the theoretical framework chapter, frames on problems such as land scarcity can contribute to violence in two ways. Firstly, by legitimising violence as a means to solve the problem and, secondly, by engaging in boundary drawing that can lead to the establishment of conflictual identities. This second contribution is particularly relevant in post-conflict societies where such conflictual identities have often been the cause of the previous conflict, and people can therefore be extra susceptible to these frames (McGrattan 2014: 395-396). When reviewing the remedies to land scarcity that have been established in the articles analysed, the legitimation of violence has not come forward as a particularly strong or well-articulated solution. Although some reports were made of incidents in which individuals have used violence to settle disputes over scarce land, together with reports of (sometimes violent) protests against the CNTB, no significant call for violence or legitimisation of these actions could be found in the frames expressed. However, the analysis of the news articles in this research only represent a very small part of the framing of land scarcity in Burundi in general. Therefore, the passive reference to violence as a remedy for disputes over scarce land could be a signal of more widespread legitimisation of violence over land scarcity in Burundi. More research is necessary in order to create a more complete picture of framing of land scarcity in Burundi, and the legitimisation of violence that is expressed in these frames.

On the contrary, throughout the articles, boundary drawing has consistently occurred. Throughout the blame game that has been identified in reports on land scarcity in *IWACU*, placing blame on different groups resulted in the emphasis on boundaries. When discussing the causes of- and moral judgment on problems of land scarcity, intergroup distinctions have been emphasised between refugees and returnees, Hutu's and Tutsi's and people with varying political views. Although many of the articles did not explicitly focus on divides between these different groups, boundaries between groups were consistently drawn. While in the literature most emphasis is put on boundary drawing over ethnic differences, these were not the only boundaries drawn throughout the articles. In the pro-government narrative, most emphasis was indeed put on contradictions and conflicts between Hutu refugees and Tutsi stayees. Although

this reasoning was only sparsely articulated throughout the analysed news articles, within the anti-government narrative this divide has continuously, and probably unwillingly, been reiterated when criticising the CNTB for favouring returnees over stayees and aiming to construct ethnic divisions for political motives. In addition, the anti-government narrative brought forward a third type of boundary drawing which was more political in nature. Through its heavy criticism of president Nkurunziza and the regime of the CNDD-FDD, blaming their malfunctioning for the scarcity problems and extensively reporting on large-scale protests against the government, a boundary is drawn between the government and population, and within the population between people with different political views.

Little can be said about the consequences of this boundary drawing for the Burundian society. Although there have been reports of interethnic violence over land scarcity, and violent anti-government protests led by dissatisfaction over government policy in handling this land scarcity, these incidents cannot be specifically connected to frames of scarcity through this research. Since the scope of this research was limited to one type of (news) frames, and only examined articles from one source, findings are not generalizable for the entire Burundian society. Findings can, to a limited extent, be called representative for frames articulated in Burundian news media, since *IWACU* is chosen as the source for analysis because it can be seen as the most representative news medium in Burundi. However, no research has been done on the resonance of these frames. Although boundaries are drawn in the news articles analysed, it is not clear if these boundaries resonate with the Burundian population to such an extent that they can function as a basis for renewed violence.

Conclusion

In the Burundian society, memories of conflict are still fresh. Since the establishment of the Arusha Peace Accords ending the latest episode of violent conflict in 2000, the established peace has remained a fragile one. Previous research has emphasised the disruptive capacities of land scarcity in post-conflict societies such as Burundi, but has often failed to take a qualitative approach to truly come to understand the complex dynamics that relate land scarcity to violence. The role of social effects such as migration, weakened institutions and economic production, as well as disruptive capacities of competing systems of land legislation are important factors and should therefore not be disregarded when researching the link between land scarcity and violence. However, framing is crucial in mobilisation for violence over these conditions. In the explorative case study that has been conducted through this research, findings have illustrated how, through news articles, frames of land scarcity can be used to create boundaries within a society, or emphasise existing ones. In the introduction the question has been raised "how do frames articulated in Burundian news articles create perceptions of land scarcity that discursively reinforce antagonistic inter-ethnic divides in Burundi from June 2012 until June 2015?"

Throughout the articles analysed, contending narratives that have defined the problem of land scarcity, placed blame and moral judgments, and articulated remedies, brought forward different identity boundaries. Throughout the frames, not only the inter-ethnic divides that were found to lay at the foundation of previous cycles of ethnic violence have been reinforced. Boundaries have been drawn between Hutu's and Tutsi's, returnees and stayees, and the government and Burundian population. Especially in post-conflict societies, boundary drawing is a contentious issue and can easily be used to reignite previous violence. However, since this research has not incorporated findings on the resonance of the frames found in this research within the population, nothing can be said of the effects of this boundary drawing in the particular case of Burundi. Therefore, further research should be conducted on the resonance of the frames found in this research, which would grant deeper insight in the relationship between frames of land scarcity and violence. Furthermore, the scope of this case study was limited, making the findings of this research ungeneralizable for the entire Burundian news media or other, similar cases. In order to come up with generalizable findings, more elaborate research is needed in the future.

The most important conclusion that can be drawn from this research is the need for more large-scale qualitative studies on the relationship between land scarcity and violence in post-conflict societies. Land scarcity poses significant challenges to the process of peace and reconciliation, and can function as the basis for renewed violence. Within the context of climate change, it is also a problem that can be expected to become increasingly urgent in the coming decades. It is therefore crucial to create a better understanding of the dynamics connecting land scarcity to violence. More specifically, the framing of land scarcity is a very important factor in these dynamics that has remained largely under-researched. This research has taken a first step by conducting a small case study on the framing of land scarcity in Burundian news media. Although the findings are non-generalizable due to the small scope of the research, they do indicate that scarcity can be framed in such a way that it becomes a central part of political debates, and can be used as a way to emphasize existing boundaries within a society, or create new ones. In post-conflict societies, boundary drawing is a specifically contentious issue. Therefore, boundary drawing over land scarcity in post-conflict societies is a phenomenon that is truly important to research more in-depth in the future.

Bibliography

Work cited:

Baird, Ian G. 2014. "Political memories of conflict, economic land concessions, and political landscapes in the Lao People's Democratic Republic." *Geoforum* 52: 61-69.

Bangerezako, Haydee. 2015. "Politics of Indigeneity: Land Restitution in Burundi". *Markere Institute of Social Research*, Working paper 25.

Batson, Douglas E. 2013. "Snow leopards and cadastres: Rare sightings in post-conflict Afghanistan", in *Land and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding,* Edited by Jon Unruh and Rhodri Williams, 245-265. New York: Routledge.

Bauhaug, Halvard. 2010. "Climate not to blame for African civil wars." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107 (38): 16477-6482.

Beachler, Gunther. 1999. *Violence through environmental discrimination*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers

Benford, Robert D. 1997. "An insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective. *Sociological Inquiry.* 67: 409-430.

Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow. 2000. "Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment." *Annual review of sociology* 26 (1): 611-639.

Benjaminsen, Tor A. and Boubacar Ba. 2009. "Farmer-herder conflicts, pastoral marginalisation and corruption: a case study from the inland Niger delta of Mali". *The Geographical Journal* 175 (1):71-81.

Bigirimana, G. 2013. "Étude sur la problématique foncière au Burundi." *RCN Justice Democratie. Bujumbura*.

Brown, Graham., Arnim Langer and Francis Stewart. 2011. "A Typology of Post-Conflict Environments". *Centre for Research on Peace and Development* Working Paper, University of Leuven.

Bryman, Alan. 2015. *Social research methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chrétien, Jean-Pierre. 2008. " The Recurring Great Lakes Crisis: Identity, Violence and Power*"*. London: Hurst.

Clover, Jeannette Lee. 2007. "Framing issues of environmental security in Angola & Mozambique – The Nexus of Land, Conflicts and Sustainable Livelihoods in Post-Conflict Situations". *University of the Witwaterstrand, Johannesburg*, Dissertation.

Collier, Paul. "Doing well out of war." 1999. In *Conference on Economic Agendas in Civil Wars.* 26. London

Dalby, Simon. 2002. "Security and Ecology in the Age of Globalization." *Environmental Change and Security Project Report* 8 (101): 4.

Demmers, Jolle. 2017. *Theories of Violent Conflict: An Introduction.* Vol. 2. London: Routledge.

Elhawary, Samir, and Sara Pantuliano. 2013. "Land issues in post-conflict return and recovery." *Land and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, edited by John Unruh and Rhodri Williams, 115-120. Oxon: Earthscan.

Entman, Robert M. 2003. "Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11." *Political Communication* 20 (4): 415-432.

Entman, Robert M., Jörg Matthes, and Lynn Pellicano. 2009. "Nature, sources, and effects of news framing." *The handbook of journalism studies*: 175-190.

Freedom House. 2016. "Burundi Freedom of the Press 2016" *Freedom House Report.* https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/burundi

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. 1987. "The changing culture of affirmative action". *Research in political sociology*, edited by R.G. Braungart and M.M. Braungart. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Gleditsch, Nils Petter. 1998. "Armed conflict and the environment: A critique of the literature." *Journal of peace research* 35 (3): 381-400.

Hatugimana, A. 2009. "Political crisis and social reconfigurations: the problem of the 'disaster victims' in Burundi." In *The recurring great lakes crisis: Identity violence and power,* edited by Jan-Pierre Chrétien and Richard Banegas, 136-167. New York: Ofxord University Press.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. 1999. *Environment, Scarcity and Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hunt, Scott A., Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow. 1994. "Identity fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities." In *New social movements: From Ideology to Identity*, edited by Enrique Larana, 185-208. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. 2015. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative health research* 15 (9):1277-1288.

ICG. 2014. "Les terres de la discorde (II): restitution et reconciliation au Burunid". *International Crisis Group* Rapport Afrique 214. Print.

Ide, Tobias. 2016. "Toward a constructivist understanding of socio-environmental conflicts." *Civil Wars,* 18 (1): 69-90 .

IWACU. "Les voix du Burundi – Le groupe IWACU" www.IWACU-Burundi.org. Accessed 7 July 2017. http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/le-groupe-iwacu/

Johnson, Constance. 2017. "Burundi: New Land Law Raises Controversy" *Global Legal Monitor*. Library of Congress, 27 Jan.

Kamungi, Prisca Mbura, Johnstone Summit Oketch, and Chris Huggins. 2005. "Land access and the return and resettlement of IDPs and refugees in Burundi." In *From the Ground Up: land rights, conflict and peace in Sub-Sahara Africa.* 195-267 Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Klare, Michael T. 2012. *Resource Wars.* New York: Henry Holt and Company

Klem, Bart. 2013. "Dealing with scarcity and violent conflict." *Netherlands Institute of International Relations.* Working Paper Series 24.

LANDAC. 2016. "Food Security and Land Governance Factsheet Mali". *Netherlands Academy on Land Governance for Equitable and Sustainable Development.*

Lewis, Daniel. 2014. "Challenges to Sustainable Peace: Land Disputes Following Conflict" *UNHABITAT Symposium on Land Administration in Post Conflict Areas* Geneva, April 29-30.

Malthus, Thomas Robert. 2007. *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Impoverishment of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*. Clark: The Lawbook Exchange.

Mamdani, M. 2001. *When victims become killers: Colonialism, nativism and the genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Martin, Adrian. 2005. "Environmental Conflict Between Refugee and Host Communities" *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (3): 329-346.

McCormick, Ty. 2016. "The Last Newspaper in Burundi" *Foreign Policy.* January 15. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/01/15/the-last-paper-in-burundi-press-freedom-iwacu/

McGrattan, Cillian. 2014. "Policing Politics: Framing the Past in Post-Conflict Divided Societies." *Democratization* 21 (3): 389-410.

McQuail, Denis. 1994. "Mass communication". In *The International Encyclopedia of Poltical Communication,* edited by Gianpietro Mazzoleni et al. Amsterdam: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Murtinho, Felipe, et al. 2013."Water scarcity in the Andes: a comparison of local perceptions and observed climate, land use and socioeconomic changes." *Human ecology* 41(5): 667-681.

Nisbet, Matthew C. 2010. "Knowledge Into Action. Framing the Debates Over Climate Change and Poverty" *Doing News Frame Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives.* New York: Routlegde.

Oketch, Johnstone Summit, and Tara Polzer. 2002. "Conflict and coffee in Burundi." In *Scarcity and Surfeit: The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, edited by Jeremy Lind and Kathrin Sturman, 85-156. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Orjuela, Camilla. 2014. "Corruption and identity politics in divided societies." *Third World Quarterly* 35(5): 753-769.

Peluso, Nancy Lee and Michael Watts. 2001. *Violent Environments,* New York: Cornell University Press.

Peters, P.E. 2004. "Inequality and Social Conflict Over Land in Africa", *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4 (3): 269-314.

Rasaq, Adisa M., Rosli bin Mohammed, and Mohd Khairie Ahmad. 2015. "News Framing and Ethnic Conflicts Vulnerability in Multiethnic Societies." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6 (6): 496.

RLP. 2009. "Breeding fragmentation? Issues in the policy and practice of decentralisation in Uganda". Issue paper 1. *Kampala: Refugee Law Project, Human Rights & Peace Centre, Faculty of Law, Makerere University*. (2009).

Saldana, Johnny. 2009. *The Coding Manual For Qualitative Researchers,* London: SAGE
    Publications.

Scheufele, Dietram A. 1999. "Framing as a theory of media effects." *Journal of communication* 49 (1):
    103-122.

Schubert, Jon. 2005. "Political ecology in development research. An Introductory Overview and
    Annotated Bibliography. *NCCR North-South Dialogue* (13).

Scoones, Ian, et al. 2014. "Narratives of scarcity: understanding the 'global resource grab'." *Future
    Agricultures* Working Paper. Brighton: Future Agricultures Consortium.

Scott, John. 1990. *A matter of record*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Seawright, Jason, and John Gerring. 2008. "Case selection techniques in case study research: A menu
    of qualitative and quantitative options." *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (2): 294-308.

Shipton, Parker. 1994. "Land and Culture in Tropical Africa: Soils, Symbols and the Metaphysics of
    the Mundane". *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 23 (1): 347-377.

Sikor, Thomas, and Christian Lund. 2009. "Access and property: a question of power and
    authority." *Development and change* 40 (1): 1-22.

Snow, David A., and Doug McAdam. 2000. "Identity work processes in the context of social
    movements: Clarifying the identity/movement nexus." *Self, identity, and social movements* 13:
    41-67.

Theron, Jenny. 2009. "Resolving land disputes in Burundi." *Conflict Trends* 1: 3-10.

Thu, Pyone Myat. 2012. "Access to land and livelihoods in post-conflict Timor-Leste." *Australian
    Geographer* 43 (2): 197-214.

Tilly, Charles. 2010. "The Blame Game." *The American Sociologist* 41 (4): 382-389.

Todorovski, Dimo, Jaap Zevenbergen, and Paul van der Molen. 2012. "Land administration in post-
    conflict environment–aspects relevant for South-East Europe." *South-Eastern European
    Journal of Earth Observation and Geomatics* 1 (25): 47-59.

UN Interagency Framework Team for Preventive Action. 2012. "Renewable Resources and Conflict".
    Guidance Note.

Unruh, John, and Rhodri Williams. 2013. *Land and post-conflict peacebuilding*. New York:
    Routledge.

Van Gorp, Baldwin. 2010. "Strategies to Take Subjectivity Out of Framing Analysis" in *Doing News
    Frame Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*. 84-110 New York: Routlegde.

Van Leeuwen, Mathijs, and Gemma Van Der Haar. 2016. "Theorizing the land–violent conflict
    nexus." *World Development* 78: 94-104

Verhoeven, Harry. 2011. "Climate Change, Conflict and Development in Sudan: Global Neo-
    Malthusian Narratives and Local Power Struggles." *Development and Change* 42 (3): 679-
    707.

Vreese, de. Claes H. 2005. "News framing: Theory and typology." *Information Design Journal & Document Design* 13 (1): 51-62.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Pocess Theory". *American Journal of Sociology.* 113 (4): 970-1022.

Source of News Articles Analysed:

IWACU – Les Voix de Burundi. Retrieved from: http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/