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JUSTICE AND SECURITY DIAGNOSTIC

BANGUI, CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BY PATRICK VINCK, PHUONG N. PHAM,
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Justice and Security Diagnostic
Bangui Central African Republic

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the results of a detailed diagnostic study of public perceptions of the justice and security sectors in the Central African Republic (CAR) conducted in fall 2016. Based on interviews with 2,650 adult residents of the city of Bangui, the report examines citizens' experiences of violence, insecurity, conflict resolution and social cohesion, along with citizens' perceptions of specific justice sector actors, self-perceived knowledge of the justice system, and expectations with regards to police and the courts. The study was initiated by the American Bar Association's Rule of Law Initiative as a means to inform its efforts to support justice sector reforms in the country, and by the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's Peace and Human Rights Data program. The results are intended for use by any researcher or practitioner involved with the justice and security sectors in CAR.

The survey took place three years after the Séléka alliance of rebel groups seized power in a coup that exacerbated existing local-level conflicts. Despite the introduction of a transitional government and stabilization efforts since 2014, the country remains prone to political conflicts which have taken on an increasingly religious dimension. Despite optimism following the 2016 election of Faustin Archange-Touadéra, violence was resurgent both inside and outside of Bangui in the months directly preceding the survey. By September 2016, insecurity persisted nationally, though the situation had largely calmed in the capital. As the survey results confirm, the recent conflict and years of political uncertainty have taken a toll on security and the justice system. Meanwhile poverty, uncertain employment, and rudimentary access to basic services continue to define life in Bangui.

Social cohesion and sources of tension

Trust is one of the primary elements of social cohesion, and the survey explored respondents' feeling of trust toward various actors and between groups. Trust in family was by far the highest, with 83% of respondents having a high level of trust in family. In all other instances, interpersonal trust was diminished, with 47% of people indicating high levels of trust in religious leaders, 42% indicating high levels of trust in people from

their own ethnic group, and 33% indicating this level of trust in their neighbors. Aside from family, the army was the only other entity trusted by a majority of respondents (52%). Less than one third have a high degree of trust in any of the other actors mentioned, such as local or national authorities, NGOs, friends, or other neighborhood and city residents.

At the time of the survey, sectarian violence in the city had resulted in segregation and mistrust along religious lines. Overall, 90% of respondents identified themselves as Christian and most arrondissements have a majority of Christian residents, except for the 3rd arrondissement (including the PK5 neighborhood), where approximately half of the residents identified as Muslim. Less than half the respondents indicated that they were comfortable having Muslim neighbors, except in the 1st and 3rd arrondissements. More than half of self-reported Christian respondents also profess to believe in negative stereotypes about other religious groups, including ideas that other religious groups are less tolerant, more conflict seeking, more aggressive, and less intelligent than members of their own religious group. Muslim respondents, however, less frequently held negative views about other religious groups.

Security sector

Despite the post-election insecurity, almost three quarters of respondents reported that the security situation in Bangui had improved over the one year period prior to the survey. Some threats remain, however: slightly less than half said they feel safe or very safe overall, and one in four respondents said they avoid certain locations because of insecurity. Respondents in the 3rd and 5th arrondissements were least likely to feel safe and most likely to say their security had worsened. The four situations where people feel least safe are when meeting soldiers or armed groups, meeting strangers, talking about the conflict, and meeting people from another ethnic group. When asked to name the causes of insecurity, respondents most frequently cited the lack of public lighting and the fear of being robbed or attacked, but the presence of youth groups, gangs or armed groups and the lack of security forces were also raised. Burglary was the most frequent type of crime reported - 33% had experienced burglary over the previous two years - followed by physical assault, which had been experienced by 6%. The numbers of respondents had who witnessed or experienced sexual assault or

harassment since 2013 were low, but this may have been under-reported due to the stigma surrounding these incidents.

A mix of actors are providing security in Bangui's neighborhoods – approximately one fifth of respondents said that providing security is the role of the army, and fewer mentioned self-defense groups, local authorities or the police. Notably, around a fifth also said that nobody ensures security in their neighborhood. Trust in the security sector overall (including police, army and justice institutions) was low when compared to the level of trust in other actors (the community, authorities, within and across groups). The army was more trusted than the police, but quite a large majority felt that the police try to protect people and are not themselves implicated in crimes. This suggests that the lack of trust may be related to lack of capacity or presence rather than a perception that the police force itself is a security threat. Both the police and the army's contributions to security were also seen as having improved over the previous year.

Justice sector

The study assessed respondents' views on the justice sector both in terms of its handling of everyday crimes and disputes and its response to wartime violence. The average Bangui resident tends to think that family disputes and domestic violence should be primarily resolved in private, but most believe that crimes like sexual violence and murder should be pursued through the police and the national justice system. But among those who recently experienced a crime or conflict, the majority did not approach any formal authority to make a complaint. For example, among victims of burglary within the last two years, just 12% told an authority about it and that authority was most often a neighborhood leader ("chef de quartier"). When asked who they would turn to when experiencing disputes, most respondents who stated that they would not go to the national justice system said that they would not do so either because it takes too much time or because they would not want to make their problem public. Those who would go to the national justice system said that it was because it offers the best guarantee that a resolution would be enforced. Few respondents mentioned that a formal judicial solution would cost too much.

As with security, a majority of respondents felt that the justice sector had improved over the previous year. Over three quarters believe that justice is possible. An even larger majority believes that victims of sexual and gender based violence can have their cases investigated by the police and judged by the courts. The police and the courts are also the two entities that should be most often used to resolve sexual violence disputes according to Bangui residents. The trust level did not vary based on gender, education or wealth, though there were some variations between different arrondissements. Only 28% said they have a high or extremely high level of trust in the courts. Some further questions explored the causes of the low level of trust in the justice system – around half of respondents believe judicial decisions are made independently from the state, and only slightly more believe that courts treat people fairly and equally. 45% view the system as corrupt, and 24% feel that justice only works for those who can pay for it. Knowledge of the justice system is relatively poor, with 32% reporting good or very good knowledge and 41% reporting average knowledge.

Given the scale and gravity of crimes committed during the conflict following the 2013 coup, the study assessed the population's opinion of how the crimes of that period should be addressed and how people should be held accountable in such a way that it helps move the country beyond the crisis. Notably, 90% of respondents believe peace is possible, and 77% believe justice is possible. Respondents mentioned a variety of meanings of justice: for more than four fifths say that justice means applying the law; around half believe it means establishing the truth; and almost the same proportion think that it means punishing those responsible for the crimes. Opinions were divided on the question of amnesty: around one third feel that amnesty should not be given to anyone; one fifth supported a general amnesty; one fifth supported amnesty for those who did not commit serious crimes; and one fifth supported amnesty only for those who were not leaders of the conflict.

Conclusions and recommendations

Considering the findings of the study, we offer a number of concluding comments and recommendations that are outlined in more detail in the “Conclusions” section of this report:

- There is a positive perception of improvement in both security and justice over the year prior to the survey (October 2015-October 2016), but important challenges remain and specific dynamics in selected arrondissements must be considered. The increased physical division between religious groups must be addressed through inclusive security strategies.
- Greater police capacity and presence may be helpful for increasing security in Bangui and for improving levels of generalized trust in the police. There is potential to develop good community policing relations with citizens given that a majority of respondents feel safe meeting policemen in their neighborhoods and assert that the police protect rather than being implicated in crimes.
- There is a need to improve basic competencies of the police, gendarmerie, and army to provide security, noting that the army is more trusted than the police or the gendarmerie but cannot provide a long-term solution to security issues on its own.
- Few people who experience various kinds of disputes choose to seek assistance in resolving those disputes from any entity outside of the family. Efforts at strengthening the justice sector should be accompanied by awareness and outreach to the public to highlight successes in using justice mechanisms to resolve disputes. Justice needs to be seen much as it needs to be done.
- Across all nature of disputes, individuals who express a willingness to use the national justice system do so most often because of the enforceability of the judicial solution. Among those who would not use the justice system to address disputes, most suggest that they are deterred because of the time it would take to achieve a resolution. As such, measures to improve case management and court functioning, combined with the provision of community-based legal assistance to enable citizens to use courts more effectively, may prove helpful to broadening the appeal of formal justice institutions.
- Few residents have trust and confidence in the justice system or its constituent actors but in instances of serious crimes such as rape or homicide, respondents declared that they were more likely to utilize the police or the national justice system than to work through any other channels in seeking justice. A focus on improving citizen experiences with the justice system through improved accountability, efficiency, and approachability merit evaluation to broaden the circumstances when citizens elect to avail themselves of formal justice institutions.

- A majority of Bangui residents claim to have seen an improvement in the work of the justice system during the year prior to the administration of the survey, so interventions targeting citizen experiences can seize this momentum to continue positively influencing perceptions of justice services.
- Reducing corruption in the justice sector was identified by citizens as the main way to improve the sector. Finding ways to empower citizens to hold justice sector actors accountable for their actions may help to reduce these negative perceptions.
- There is a need to build bridges and address the sectarian dynamics influencing social cohesion. This is needed not only across religious lines, but also in ways that increase residents' more generalized trust in neighbors, fellow residents, and civil society. A shared focus on security may create space to rebuild a broader sense of community.
- Justice sector strengthening and legal aid are potentially useful responses that international and local aid actors can pursue to improve citizens' access to and experiences with justice.
- To increase justice for sexual and gender-based violence survivors in CAR, it is particularly important to strengthen formal national judicial institutions and police because Bangui residents say that they are most willing to rely on these entities in resolving this kind of crimes. There is a crisis-related history of SGBV that makes the resolution of these forms of violence important for peacebuilding and transitional justice.

1 ABOUT THE JUSTICE & SECURITY DIAGNOSTIC

1.1 Introduction

After a half-century of coups, rebellions and widespread violence fueled by autocratic and non-inclusive governance systems, the Central African Republic is faced with the daunting challenge of establishing public security, restoring social cohesion and building institutions that respect the rule of law and good governance principles, including the justice and security sectors, which are the focus of this research.

Efforts at reconstructing the justice and security sectors must be informed by a detailed diagnostic that goes beyond official crime and judicial statistics to include the views of the justice sector officials and civil society actors, as well as the needs and priorities of the population and their perceptions and behaviors about justice and security conditions and actors. Such diagnostics, however are rarely done.¹ Considering local perspectives enables a public dialogue and facilitates partnerships to drive successful and innovative reforms. It also provides a benchmark against which future progress can be measured.

This diagnostic was initiated as part of the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative's efforts to support justice and security sector reforms in the country and the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's Peace and Human Rights Data program. The report is based on a representative face-to-face survey of 2,650 adult residents of Bangui and key informant interviews conducted in fall 2016 to examine citizens' experiences of violence, insecurity, conflict resolution, and social cohesion, along with citizens' perceptions of justice sector actors, experiences with the formal justice sector, self-perceived knowledge of the justice system, and expectations with regards to police and the courts. The results enable both researchers and practitioners to better understand

¹ A qualitative study among justice officials and civil society actors was recently conducted in the Central African Republic – see Ahlund C, de Rooij M, Jean-Baptiste M, Kelly C, Malengule R, Péclow V. (2017). Rapport d'évaluation de l'état de droit: République centrafricaine, Sweden: International Legal Assistance Consortium.

the factors that affect the provision of public security and the functioning of justice in Central African Republic, as well as the use of formal and informal justice mechanisms by the population.

1.2 Context

The most recent wave of violence, starting in late 2012, echoed the troubled past of the country. Long-active groups of rebels in the northeast coalesced to form the Séléka and quickly seized power from François Bozizé in March 2013. The movement was fueled by grievances over broken promises of political integration and failure to implement a previous peace plan, longstanding underdevelopment of the northeastern region, competition over the exploitation of mineral resources, and recurring conflicts between Muslim pastoralists from the north and local communities, mostly Christian, during seasonal migrations.

As with previous rebel movements, power struggles and political grievances played a significant role in mobilizing and motivating combatants.² Religious identity, however, played a new and significant role in this latest wave of violence. The Séléka embraced the Islamic religious identity to coalesce otherwise diverse groups with different strategic interests. Following the coup, local conflicts increasingly took on a religious identity dimension. Anti-Balaka (anti-machetes) militias emerged at first as self-defense groups, rapidly turning against civilians, especially Muslims seen as complicit with the Séléka.³

Throughout 2013, the Séléka and anti-Balaka groups engaged in large scale sectarian violence, resulting in thousands of deaths and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. Unable to manage his alliance and under international pressure to resign, the self-proclaimed president and head of the Séléka, Michel Djotodia, relinquished power in January 2014, paving the way for an interim government and presidential elections in 2016. Since then, efforts at stabilizing the country have been

² Lombard, L, Carayannis, T (2015). « Introduction, » in Lombard L, Carayannis T, eds. (2015). *Making Sense of the Central African Republic*. Chicago: Zed Books; Kilembe, F, “Local Dynamics in the Pk5 District of Bangui,” in the same volume.

³ M. Christian Green (2017). What’s ‘Religious’ about the CAR Crisis? Centre on Religion and Geopolitics.

underway, and the United Nations deployed in 2014 a multidimensional United Nations peacekeeping operation known as MINUSCA, with the protection of civilians as its utmost priority. However, the situation remains volatile with localized violence and ongoing rebel and criminal activities facilitated by a context of widespread impunity for human rights abuses and illicit exploitation of minerals.

Bangui, the capital city of the Central African Republic, brutally experienced the coup and subsequent political and sectarian violence. About half the population fled the city, which has significantly altered social dynamics in the neighborhoods in and around Bangui. During the transition period from 2014 to 2016, the Bangui mayor, Catherine Samba-Panza, served as country's first female president. Following a constitutional referendum that passed in December 2015, Faustin-Archange Touadéra was elected president in February 2016.

It is in this context that this diagnostic was conceived and implemented. Its geographic scope was limited to Bangui in order to achieve a highly detailed and scientifically sound snapshot of people's experiences with security and justice actors, institutions, and processes during and after the February 2016 presidential elections that brought Faustin-Archange Touadéra to power.

1.3 Survey instrument

The survey instrument used for this study was developed by the authors building on their prior research on peace, justice and reconstruction in the region.⁴ The instrument used the peace and human rights survey framework developed by Vinck and Pham, with additional original survey questions on justice developed by ABA ROLI. Consultation with experts in Bangui generated additional questions and ensured that the instrument was locally relevant and appropriate. The questionnaire was developed in French and translated into Sangho to ensure that interviewers asked questions in the preferred language of respondents. Back translation and expert reviews were used to

⁴ See for example Vinck, P. and Pham, P., 2010. Building Peace, Seeking Justice: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes About Accountability and Social Reconstruction in the Central African Republic.

ensure the quality of the translation. Table 1 below provides an overview and general description of the different sections included in the questionnaire.

Table 1: Overview of different sections of questionnaires

Section of Questionnaire		Focus
Section A	Demographics	Basic demographics, household composition, wealth
Section B	General context, services and priorities	Perception of key issues and priorities, and experience with services and outcomes, including government general performance
Section C	Security context	Perception of security, security behaviors, and general causes of insecurity
Section D	Security actors	Perception of and interaction with security actors
Section E	Criminality	Incidence of selected crimes and associated security and justice-seeking behaviors, and exposure to war-related violence
Section F	Disputes and resolutions	Self-reported disputes and conflict resolution behaviors.
Section G	Dispute experiences	Perception of justice and justice actors
Section H	Justice	Perception of relationships, and level of trust toward select actors across ecological context, and engagement in civic and public activities
Section I	Trust, belonging and social engagement	Social-cohesion related measures focused on trusting behaviors, prejudices and sense of belonging

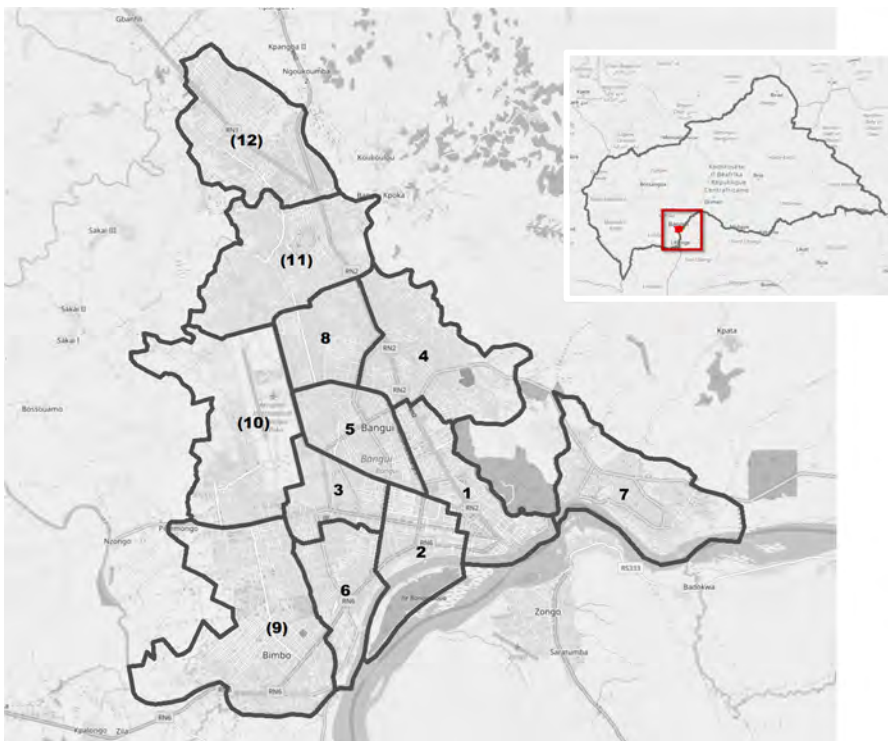
The questionnaire used a structured format including open-ended questions and close-ended questions such as Likert scales (e.g. using rankings ranging from very bad to very good). For open-ended questions, pre-coded answers were available based on the pilot interviews but were never read to participants or shared with them, and blank fields enabled interviewers to record exact answers. The questionnaire was piloted prior to deployment to test their feasibility. Once finalized, the questionnaires were programmed into Android Nexus 7 Tablets running KoBoToolbox, our custom data collection package. The use of the tablets allowed interviewers to enter the data directly as the interviews were conducted. Built-in verification systems reduced the risk of skipping questions or entering erroneous values, resulting in data of high quality.

An additional arrondissement profile template was developed to gather in-depth insights on the security context of each arrondissement among 25 key informants.

1.4 Geographic representation and sampling

The survey was designed to provide a detailed diagnostic of the state of security and access to justice in the city of Bangui. The surrounding areas of Bimbo and Bégoua in Bangui's neighboring prefecture of Ombella-M'poko were included because they are extension of the capital city. In total, 12 strata were defined, corresponding to the city's eight *arrondissements* and four strata for Bimbo, numbered (9) and (10) and Bégoua, numbered as (11) and (12), as illustrated in Map 1. Parentheses were used to note the unofficial character of these strata compared to the formal *arrondissements* of Bangui.

Map 1: Bangui and survey strata



The sampling strategy was designed to represent the adult population in each stratum. The sample size was determined using a 0.5 proportion formula at 7.5% precision and

90% confidence interval. The required sample size was adjusted to account for the complex design and further increased to account for non-response, for a target sample size of 220 interviews per strata, and a total of 2,640 interviews.

A multi-stage cluster sampling approach was used to target respondents. First, seven neighborhoods were randomly selected per strata from a list of all neighborhoods. Second, 22 avenues per strata were randomly selected from a list of all avenues in the randomly selected neighborhoods. Third, teams of two interviewers (one male and one female) randomly selected five dwellings each to interview. Male interviewers were assigned to male respondents at one of every two selected dwellings, and female interviewers were assigned to female respondents at the other selected dwelling. Finally, in each selected dwelling, interviewers randomly selected one adult resident of age 18 or above to be interviewed from a list of all eligible respondents. Three attempts were made to contact a household or individual before replacing them with another.

Interviewers approached a total of 3,021 dwellings. Households refused to participate in 245 cases (8%), were away in 104 cases (3%), or were dismissed for other reasons in 72 cases (2%). In total 2,650 (88%) dwellings were included in the sample. In these dwellings, a total of 3,070 respondents were identified; 314 selected adults were away and could not be located (10%), 46 refused to participate (1%), and 60 were dismissed for other reasons (2%). Interviews were conducted with 2,650 adults out of the 3,070 approached (86%), with one interview conducted per selected dwelling. Figure 1 below illustrates the sample recruitment steps. Table 2 outlines the distribution of the interviews by arrondissements.

Figure 1: Sample recruitment

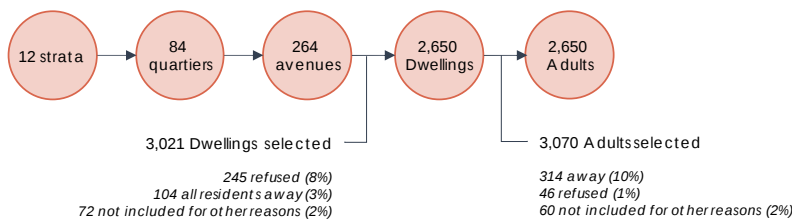


Table 2: Interview distribution by arrondissement

Arrondissement	Sample	Arrondissement	Sample
1 - 1 st Arrondissement	221	7 - 7 th Arrondissement	220
2 - 2 nd Arrondissement	220	8 - 8 th Arrondissement	223
3 - 3 rd Arrondissement	222	9 - Bimbo (Sud)	220
4 - 4 th Arrondissement	220	10 - Bimbo (Nord)	220
5 - 5 th Arrondissement	224	11 - Bégoua (Sud)	220
6 - 6 th Arrondissement	220	12 - Bégoua (Nord)	220
		Total	2,650

In addition to the quantitative survey, qualitative data was collected from key informants in each arrondissement to provide in-depth localized context to the current security situation and inform arrondissement profiles developed in this report.

1.5 Survey administration

Interviews were conducted by trained interviewers recruited in partnership with Echelle, a local non-governmental organization. All the interviewers had previous experience conducting one-on-one interviews. A five-day training was organized to cover the study aims and questionnaire content, household and participant selection protocol, including replacement (see sampling and recruitment), interview techniques including neutral probes and protocols to address security, and ethical or protection concerns. The training also included manipulating and troubleshooting the data collection equipment, conducting mock interviews, and pilot-testing the survey instrument with randomly selected individuals at non-sampled sites.

A total of twelve teams of two interviewers deployed for data collection. The teams were composed of one woman and one man, who were each assigned to same-sex respondents due to the sensitivity of some questions. Three field supervisors verified adherence to protocol and provided support in the field.

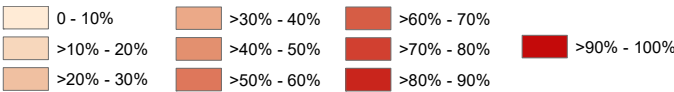
The research protocol required each team to collect data in one avenue per day. Interviews were conducted one-on-one, anonymously, and in confidential settings. Each interviewer was responsible for conducting five interviews per day. Each interview lasted an average of one hour. When possible, data were synchronized with a central computer, enabling the lead researchers to check data for completion, consistency, and

outliers. The lead researchers and supervisors discussed any issues that arose with the team prior to the next round of data collection.

Prior to the data collection, an outreach team visited selected communities. The purposes of the visits were to explain the study to community authorities, announce the arrival of the data collection teams, and maximize the possibility that targeted groups would be present at the time of data collection.

1.6 Data analysis

Once the survey was completed, the survey database was imported into standard software for analysis - the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS), version 21. Data cleaning was conducted to identify outliers and correct errors that had been reported in the field (e.g. assigning the wrong avenue). When possible, manual entries in response to open ended questions were recoded for analysis. Basic frequencies and descriptive statistics were computed. In addition, bivariate analysis was done to compare survey results by arrondissements. All analyses and tests of significance were carried out with weighted data. The weights were assigned to reflect differences in population sizes at the arrondissement level. After analysis, results were imported to an interactive, online map platform to enable users to browse detailed results stratified by zones and age groups.⁵ Additional maps were produced using ArcGIS. For all maps, lighter red colors indicate lower levels of the factor being mapped and darker colors indicate higher levels of the factor. The legend is as follow:



1.7 Ethical considerations and limitations

This research adhered to basic ethical principles and guidelines for research with human subjects, especially children. The protocol and questionnaire were reviewed by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at Partners Healthcare in Boston,

⁵ The interactive map is available at www.peacebuildingdata.org

Massachusetts and received an equivalent review from an ad-hoc committee in Bangui. Approval to conduct interviews was also obtained from national (ministry) and local authorities at survey sites.

Consent for participating in the research was obtained verbally. Among other information, respondents were told about the aims of the study, organizations involved, sources of funding, and the voluntary, confidential, and anonymous nature of the interviews. Neither monetary nor material incentives were offered for participation.

The consent form and overall protocol were further designed to establish rapport, build trust, and elicit candid participation from the respondents, with the objective of accurately representing the views of the population. However, face-to-face interviews are not without limitations. A key concern is the risk of social desirability bias – the tendency to respond in a manner that makes the respondent ‘look good’ and avoid controversial answers. Similarly, recall biases can impact the data collection. However, the survey instrument and probes were designed to enhance respondents ‘comfort, gain their trust, and encourage them to talk openly and truthfully. The questionnaire was designed to gradually introduce challenging and personal questions, but started with simpler items. The survey questions were tested to ensure that respondents could easily remember their security and justice experiences within the recall periods requested.

The aim of the survey was to collect representative data among adults. Although response rates are relatively high by social science standards, about 14% of the individuals selected for participation could not be interviewed. It is uncertain how responses from individuals who could not be interviewed would have differed from those of the sampled individuals. However, the sampling approach was designed to reduce any potential for selection biases, and the non-response rate is minimal.

2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

This chapter outlines the general demographic and socio-economic characteristics for the surveyed areas. It presents the study population, education, diversity, access to services, wealth and multiple dimensions of social cohesion among key indicators.

Bangui, the capital city of the Central African Republic, is in the South of the country, on the banks of the Ubangi River marking the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is a relatively small city with less than one million inhabitants based on 2015 estimates. The city, an autonomous administrative entity, is divided into eight arrondissements and 205 neighborhoods although it has expanded into the surrounding prefecture of Ombella-M'Poko.

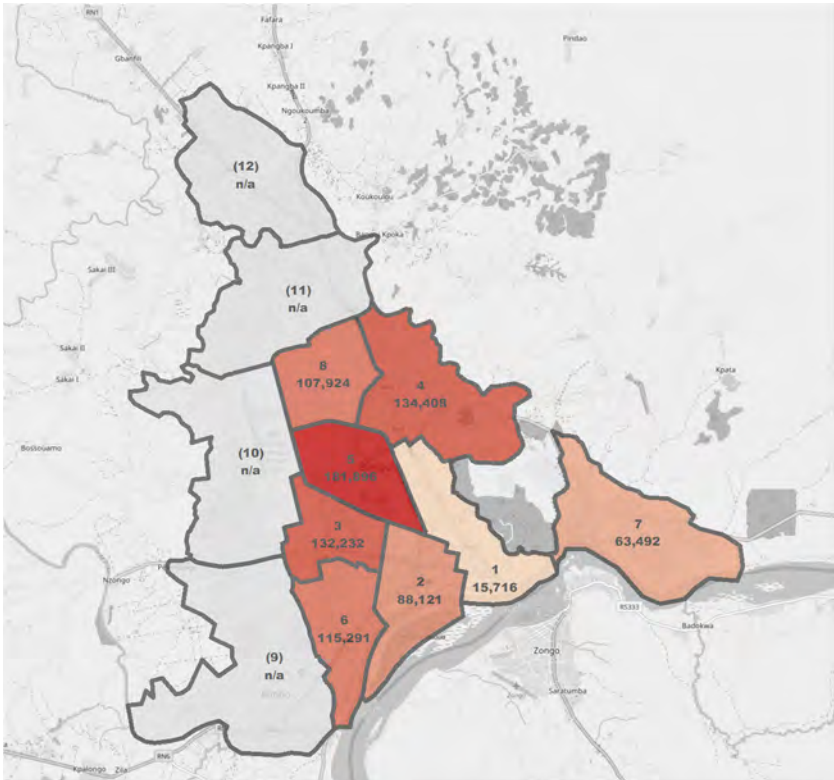
2.1 Demographic characteristics

Existing demographic data for Bangui are outdated despite some projection attempts putting the overall population at 839,081.⁶ Based on these estimates, the population is very young, with children and youth 0 to 18 years old accounting for 50% of the population, and with just 3% aged 60 years old or more. The 5th arrondissement is the most populated (181,896 individuals) and the 1st arrondissement is the least populated (15,716).

Only adults aged 18 or above were interviewed for this study. By design, women accounted for 50% of the sample, reflecting population estimates. The mean age of respondents was 34.5 years; 62% of the randomly selected respondents were between 18 and 35 years old.

⁶ Data come from the country office of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

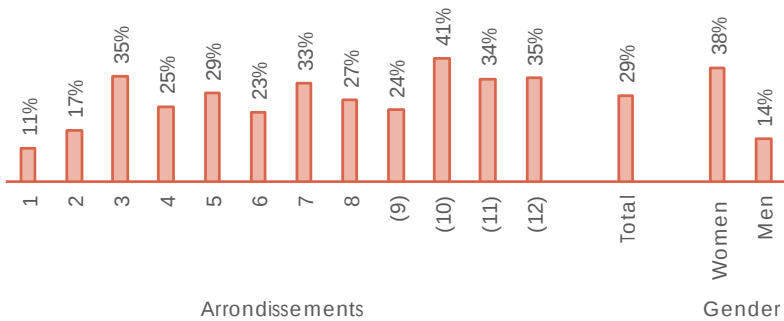
Map 2: Population estimate*



* For all maps, lighter red colors indicate lower levels of the factor being mapped and darker colors indicate higher levels of the factor.

With regards to education, 29% of the respondents had only primary education or less, whereas 36% had some level of secondary education, and 35% had post-secondary education. There were some important geographic differences, with the percentage of respondents with education through the primary level ranging from 11% (1st arrondissement) to 41% (Bimbo). Three out of the four areas with the highest percentage of uneducated respondents were in Bimbo and Bégoua, in the city's periphery. Gender inequalities in education are important. Women are more than twice as likely as men to have only primary education levels or less (38% of women, 17% of men).

Figure 2: Education level by arrondissement and gender
(% primary education or less)



At the time of the survey, sectarian violence in the city furthered segregation along religious lines. Overall, 90% of respondents identified themselves as Christian. The percentage ranged from 88% to 98% across arrondissements, except in the 3rd arrondissement (which includes the Pk5 neighborhood), where just 50% described themselves as Christians and 45% identified themselves as Muslim.

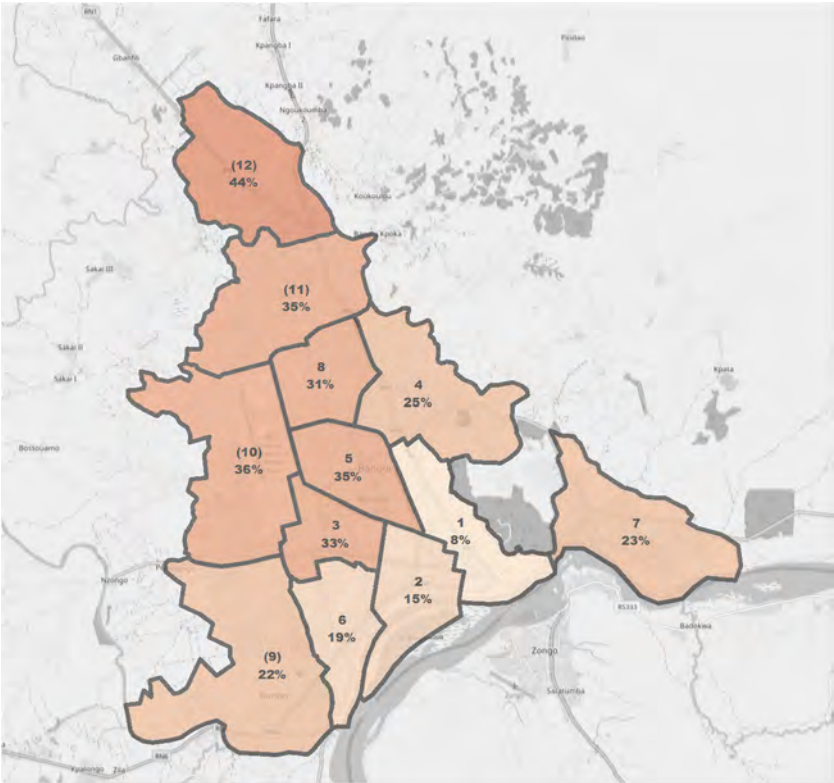
2.2 Economic characteristics

Overall, 30% of respondents were employed and 27% described themselves as housewives / domestic workers; another 19% were students and 18% were unemployed, looking for a job. Those who described having work were primarily self-employed, including in small trade.

The wealth of households was estimated by assessing ownership of 10 non-productive assets such as tables, chairs, or mobile phones. A factor analysis was used to compute a weighted, overall wealth score. To facilitate the analysis, households were then assigned to wealth quartiles corresponding to four levels of asset poverty: the very poor, poor, rich, and very rich. The results suggest important differences in the distribution of wealth across arrondissements. Just 8% of respondents in the 1st arrondissement were ranked as very poor, compared to more than one in three respondents in the 3rd arrondissement (43%), 5th arrondissement (35%), and in the surrounding areas of Bimbo and Bégoua. Respondents in the poorest wealth quintile

were twice as likely to report an income of 10,000 francs per month or less (approximately \$18) compared to the other groups (36%, vs. 18% or less).

Map 3: Wealth

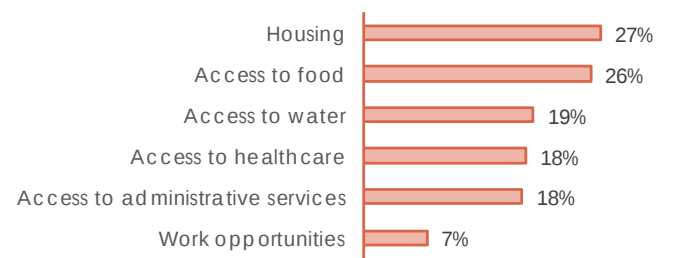


2.3 Basic needs and services

Bangui’s infrastructure, service sector, and public assistance are rudimentary at best. A series of questions was asked to assess satisfaction with social services and basic needs. Few respondents ranked their access to services as being good or very good. Respondents were most positive about their access to housing (27%), followed by access to food (26%), drinkable water (19%), health care (18%), and the state’s administrative services (18%). They were least positive about employment

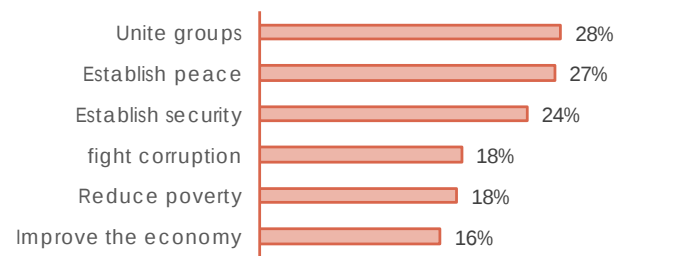
opportunities (7%). The perception of services varied across the city and was more frequently positive in the 1st arrondissements.

*Figure 3: Perception of access to basic needs and services
(% good – very good)*



Respondents were also asked to rank the performance of the government on common post-conflict development goals. Overall, government performance was not frequently perceived positively; efforts at uniting religious and ethnic groups and efforts at establishing peace and security were ranked relatively highly, but were only judged positively by approximately one in four respondents (28%, 27%, and 24% respectively). Although there were differences across arrondissements, there were no clear trends across items.

*Figure 4: Perception of government performance
(% good – very good)*



In comparison, efforts by international and national NGOs at improving the situation in Bangui were more frequently viewed positively (34% and 31% respectively) compared to the efforts of the government (24%). The efforts of the United Nations at improving the situation in Bangui were not as frequently viewed positively (17%).

2.4 Social cohesion

The survey included a section focused on social cohesion, defined for the purposes of this diagnostic as “the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other to survive and prosper.”⁷ This notion of social cohesion encompasses that of social capital – the strength of social relations, interactions, and ties within a society.⁸ More broadly, measures of social cohesion build a better understanding of the societal relationships that could be re-established in the aftermath of mass violence.

The first dimension of social cohesion explored in the survey is trust. Trusting behaviors are associated with higher levels of social connection, and are a good proxy measure of social cohesion. The survey assessed generalized trust by examining the level of trust among respondents toward a large range of actors. Trust toward relatives (in which respondents have a lot to extreme trust) was frequent (83%). Outside of immediate familial connections, the percentages of trusting respondents decreased. 52% of respondents indicated that they had a lot to extreme trust in the national army, the second most frequently trusted actor. Less than half the respondents indicated a lot to extreme trust in the other actors explored. For example, 36% reported trust in the police and 29% in the courts. One in three respondents trusted their neighbors (34%). More respondents trusted people from their own ethnic or religious group (42%) than people from other ethnic or religious groups (31%). They were less trusting of people in Bangui in general (26%). Similarly, more people trusted religious leaders from their own religion (47%) compared to religious leaders from other religions (30%). Trust in certain government authorities is not high, with just one in three trusting the city authorities (33%), neighborhood authorities (32%), and national authorities (30%).⁹ This may explain why just 13% of respondents indicated that they had sought help from

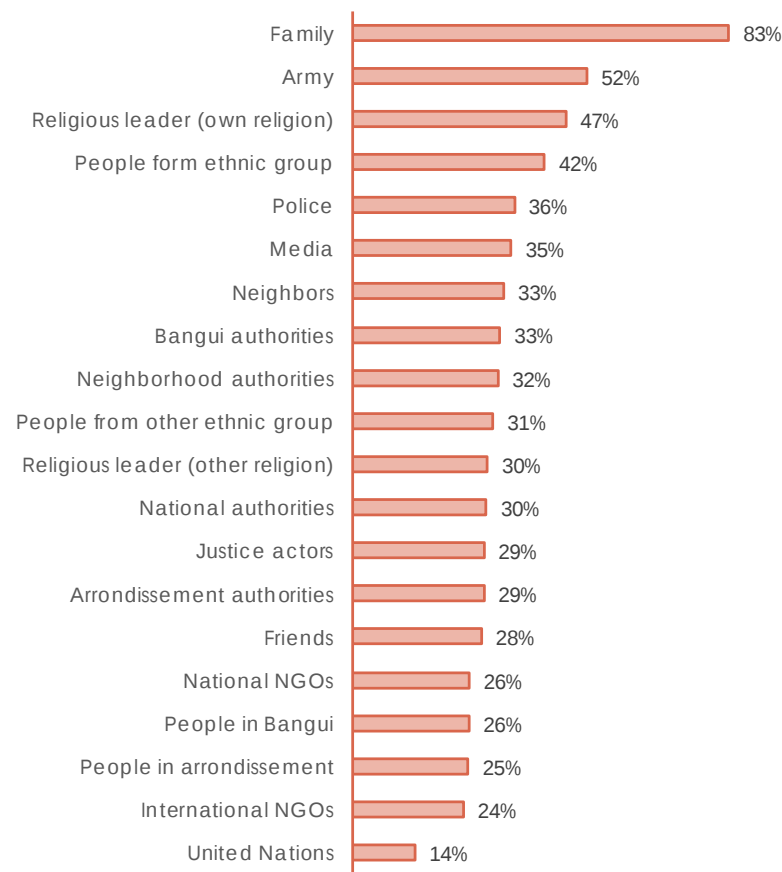
⁷ Stanley D. What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 2003: 28(1), 5-17.

⁸ Berger-Schmitt R. Considering Social Cohesion in Quality of Life Assessments: Concepts and Measurement, *Social Indicators Research*, 58(3), 2002, 403–428.

⁹ The survey used terms such as ‘Bangui authorities’ or ‘neighborhood authorities’ and did not specifically identify who these authorities were. However, trust in cultural and religious authorities were explored separately.

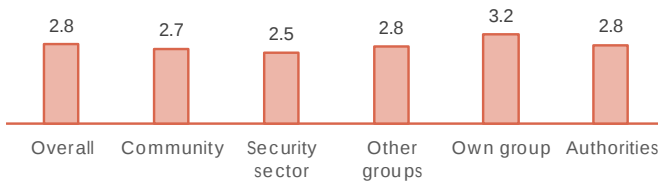
local authorities for community issues. International NGOs (24%) and the United Nations (14%) are the least trusted actors among the 20 explored in the survey.

Figure 5: Trust
(% responding “a lot” or “extremely”)



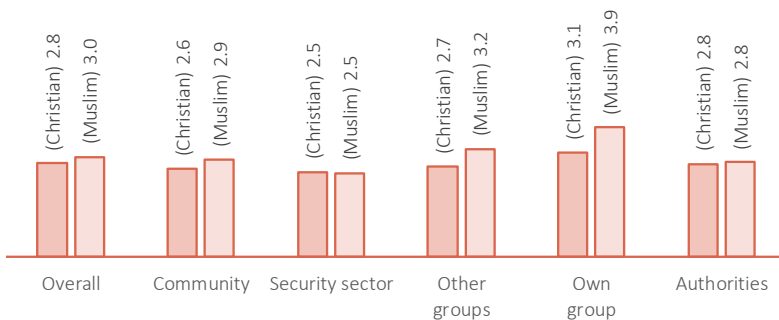
To facilitate comparison across groups, we computed a total trust score ranging from 1 (no trust) to 5 (trust), and subscales ranging from 1 to 5 for trust in the community (friends, people in arrondissement, people in Bangui), trust in authorities (neighborhood, arrondissement, city, national), trust within and across groups (ethnic groups, religious leaders), and trust in the security sector (police, army, justice).

*Figure 6: Trust average score
(scale from 1-no trust to 5-complete trust)*



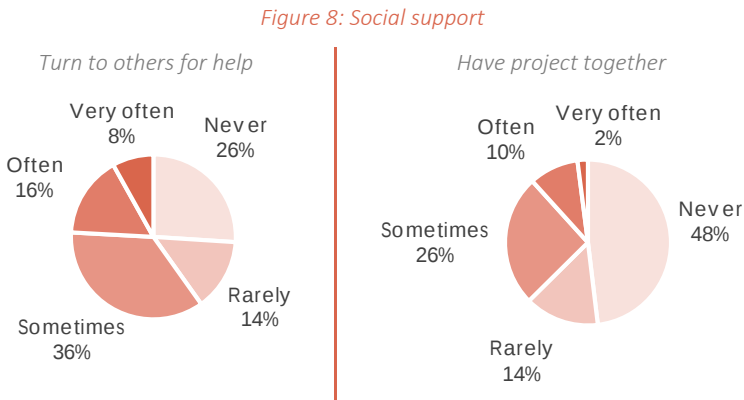
The scores show that, on average, trust is highest in members of one's own ethnic and religious group and is lowest toward the security sector. Across all sub-scales, women were significantly less trusting than men. There were no differences based on education level and trust in the community differed significantly by wealth level. Respondents from poorer households were less frequently trusting of their community compared to wealthier respondents. Analysis by the arrondissement of respondents shows that overall levels of trust in others was highest in the 3rd arrondissement, which also has the highest percentage of Muslim residents. Analysis by religion of respondents shows that trust was generally higher among Muslims.

*Figure 7: Trust average score by religion
(scale from 1-no trust to 5-complete trust)*



Considering the low level of trust toward community members (like neighbors and friends), it may not be surprising that the level of social support within the community is relatively low. For example, just 12% indicated that people in the community frequently have projects together, and 28% indicated turning frequently to others in the community for help. Consistent with the distribution of trust, the results show that

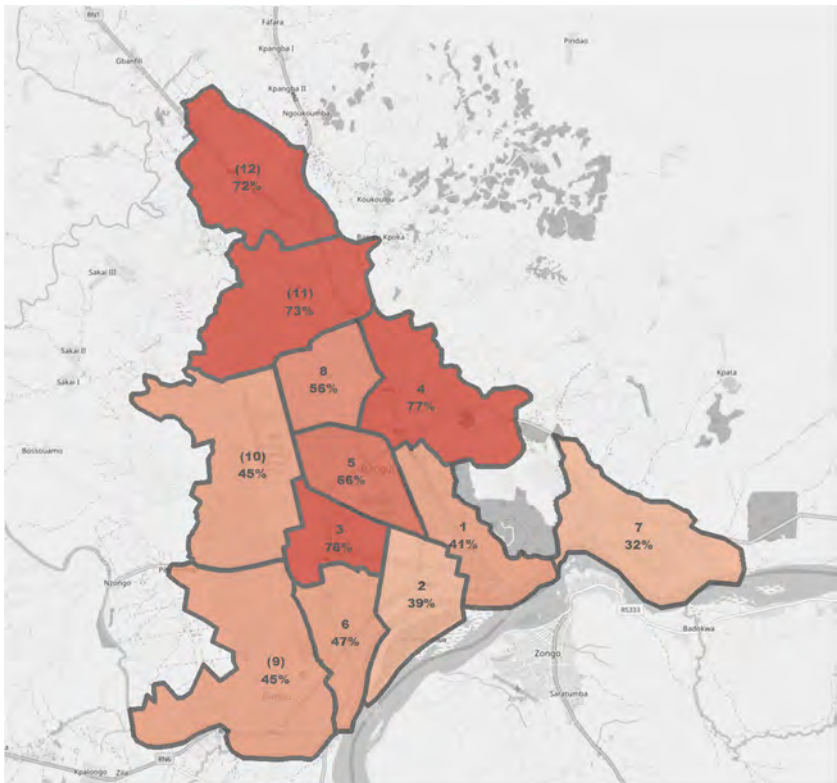
social support is most frequently reported in the 3rd arrondissement compared to the rest of the city.



Given the sectarian violence that has affected all residents of Bangui, the survey explored the notion of ‘belonging’ to various groups. Overall, 84% of all the respondents felt a strong sense of belonging to their family, compared to 67% who felt a strong sense of belonging to the country, 60% who felt a strong sense of belonging to their religious group, 48% who felt a strong sense of belonging to their neighborhood, and 46% who felt a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic group.

When asked whether they felt a stronger sense of belonging to their religious group, ethnic group, or the Central African nation, 49% felt that they belonged most to their religious group, compared to 36% who said the Central African nation, and 9% who said they belonged most to their ethnic group. 6% had no response. Among Muslim respondents, 58% felt they belonged most to their religious group of the three options, compared to 48% of Christians.

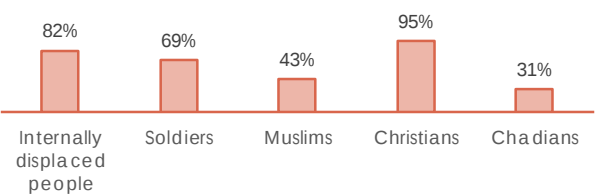
*Map 4: Religious identity
(% reporting a strong sense of belonging to their religious group)*



As these results suggest, religious beliefs appear to be a strong component of the average respondent's sense of personal identity. There were important differences across gender. For example, 64% of women were more strongly aligned with their religious identity as compared with their ethnic or national identity. Only 33% of men expressed the same belief. Wealth was also associated with how respondents self-identified, with wealthier respondents more likely than poorer ones to identify most strongly with belonging to the Central African nation. Inversely, poorer respondents were more likely to identify strongly with their religious identity rather than their ethnic identity or the nation.

In addition, the survey explored group distance and stereotypes. The survey asked whether respondents would be comfortable having members of various groups as neighbors. The results show that respondents are least comfortable with the idea of having Chadians and Muslims as neighbors. Less than half of the respondents in all arrondissements except the 1st (57%) and the 3rd (79%) indicated that they were comfortable having Muslim neighbors.

Figure 9: Comfort with selected groups as neighbors
(% comfortable)



The relatively low level of comfort with Muslims is reflected in a range of stereotypes held by respondents. Half of the self-reported Christian respondents thought that members of other religious groups were less tolerant (57%), more conflict-seeking (55%), more aggressive (54%), and less intelligent (50%) than members of their own religious group. In contrast, Muslim respondents less frequently held negative views about other religious groups, most frequently seeing them as less tolerant (29%) and less intelligent (30%).

Map 5: Comfort with Muslims as neighbors (% comfortable)

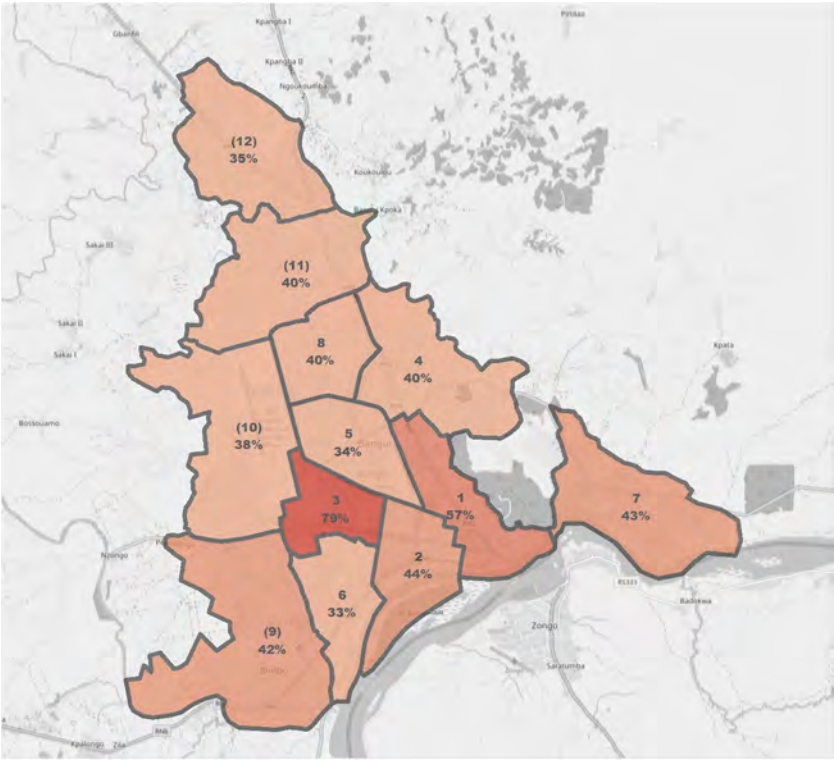
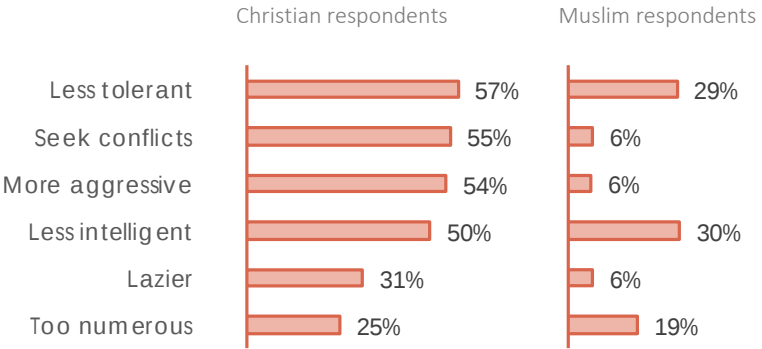


Figure 10: Negative stereotypes about other religious groups



3 SECURITY

Establishing and strengthening basic safety and security is an essential component of peacebuilding. The results presented in this section are meant to provide a general understanding of the security situation and its evolution. This chapter provides data on the perceived role and contribution of security actors.

3.1 Sense of security

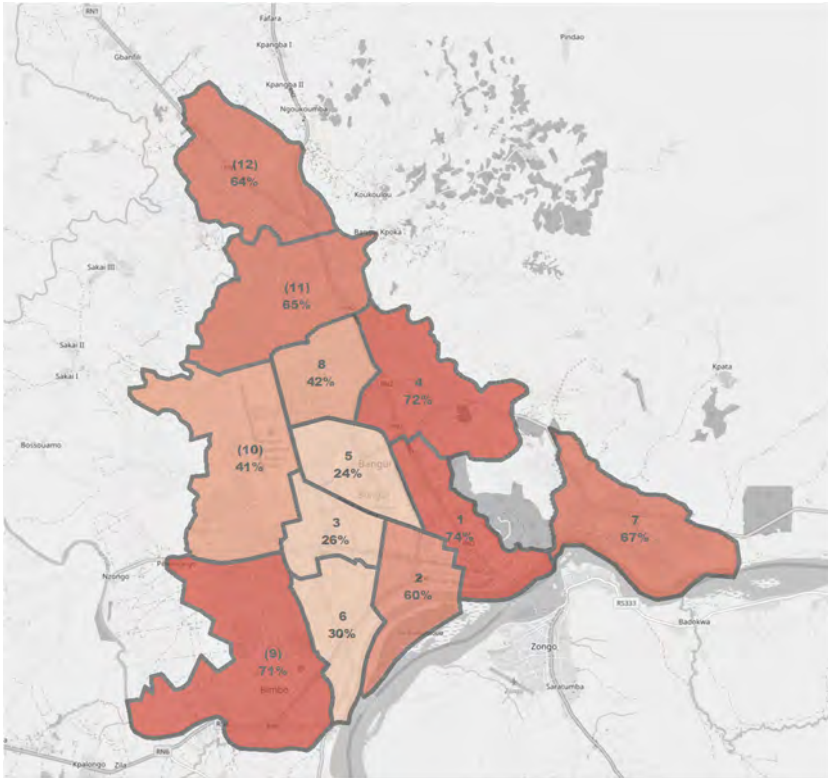
The respondents' sense of security was assessed across 12 common situations using a scale ranging from 1 (not at all safe) to 5 (very safe). Respondents felt most secure in daily events such as going to work (with 65% indicating that they felt safe or very safe), to the market (72%), or walking alone in their neighborhood during the day (77%). Respondents also felt safe meeting policemen (78%). Respondents felt the least frequently safe when meeting soldiers or members of armed groups (35%), meeting strangers (37%), talking openly about their experience during the war (39%), and meeting anyone from a different ethnic group (45%). Taken together, these situations suggest that people are insecure in the presence of someone unknown, armed, or from a different ethnic group.

Figure 11: Sense of security (% safe – very safe)



One item in the questionnaire measured the general sense of safety of respondents in their daily lives. About half (47%) said they generally felt safe or very safe. Across the various arrondissements of Bangui, the sense of security varied significantly. Respondents least often felt safe in the 3rd and 5th arrondissements (26% and 24%, respectively). These arrondissements also had among the highest reported rates of burglaries and physical assaults.

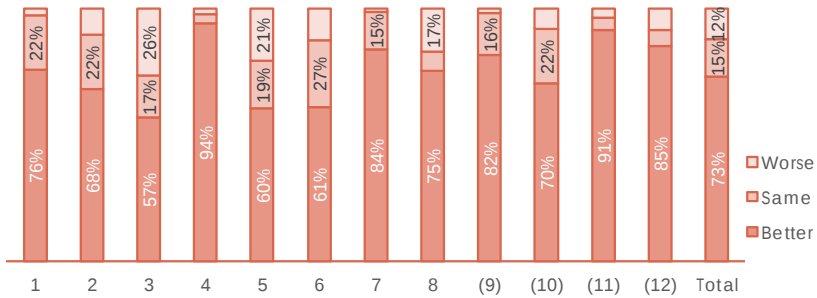
*Map 6: General sense of security
(% safe – very safe)*



Although many respondents felt safe during their daily activities, one in four respondents (26%) indicated avoiding specific areas during the day because of insecurity. This was most frequently the case in the 3rd and 5th arrondissements, where 45% of the respondents indicated avoiding areas due to insecurity. At night, 41% of respondents avoided areas due to insecurity, with more than half the respondents doing so in the 3rd, 5th, and 6th arrondissements.

Positively, most respondents (73%) indicated that the security situation had improved over the one-year period prior to the survey. However, 12% noted a worsening security situation, most frequently in the 3rd, 5th, and 8th arrondissements.

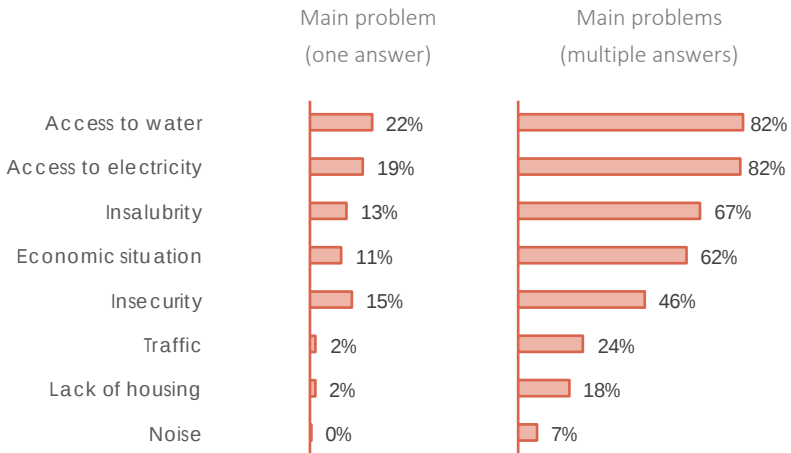
Figure 12: Perceived change in security over last year



3.2 Insecurity in context

Despite the relatively low sense of security in some situations, most respondents felt safe in their common daily activities. This may explain why security is not frequently the main concern of residents of Bangui. When asked to identify the main concerns or problems they have in their arrondissement, respondents most frequently identified basic needs and services as among their main concerns, including access to water and electricity (82%). 22% of respondents named water and 19% named electricity as their single main concern. In contrast, insecurity is the single main concern of 15% of respondents. However, 46% mention insecurity among their main concerns when allowed to provide multiple answers to the question.

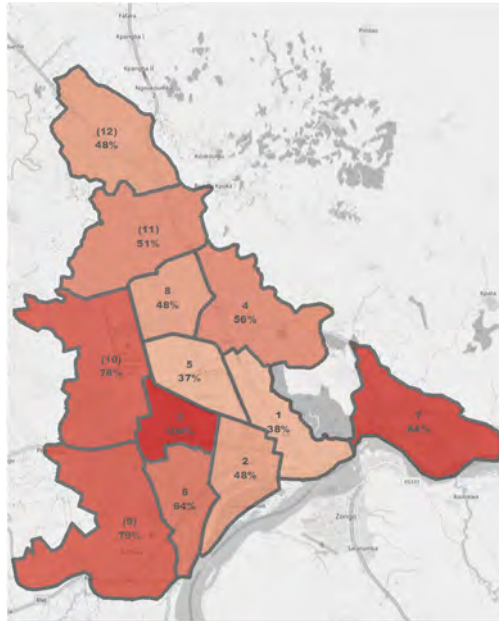
Figure 13: Main problems



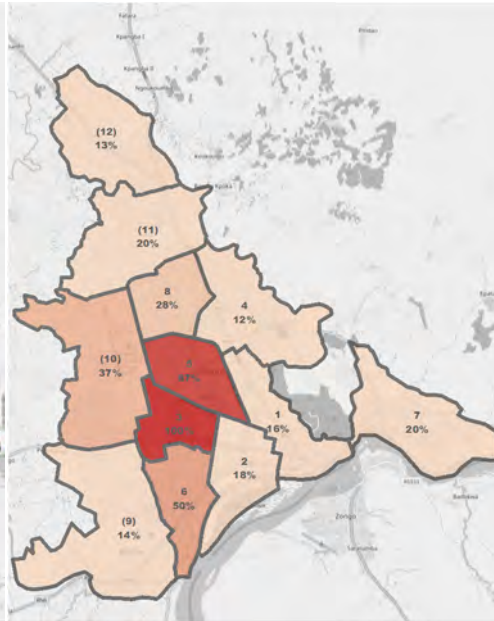
There were differences across socio-demographic groups. Men emphasized the economic situation as a main challenge more frequently than women, as did Muslims in comparison to Christians. Perhaps counter-intuitively, respondents from wealthier households also mentioned the economy as their main concern more frequently than respondents from poorer households. Respondents from poorer households named access to water and insecurity more frequently than wealthier respondents. Across arrondissements, insecurity was most frequently identified among the main concerns in the 3rd, 5th, and 6th arrondissements, which corresponds to areas with the lowest percentages of respondents who reported feeling safe.

Map 7: Main problems (% of respondents, selected responses - multiple responses possible)

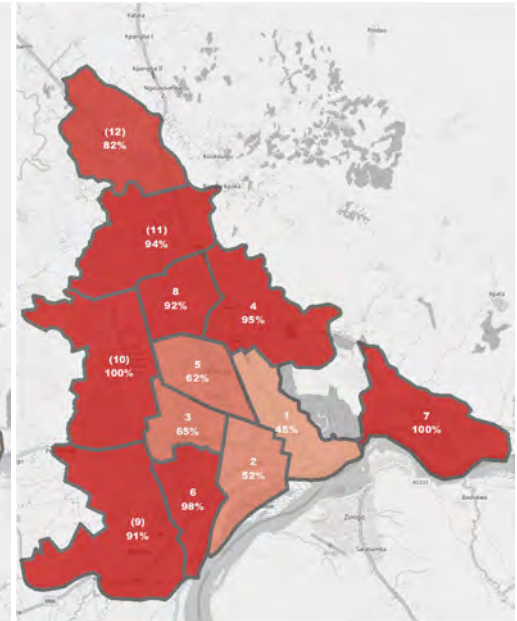
Economic conditions



Insecurity

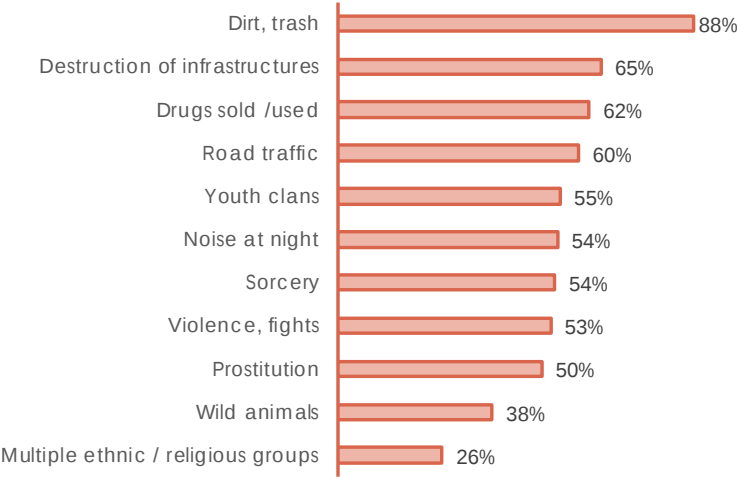


Access to water



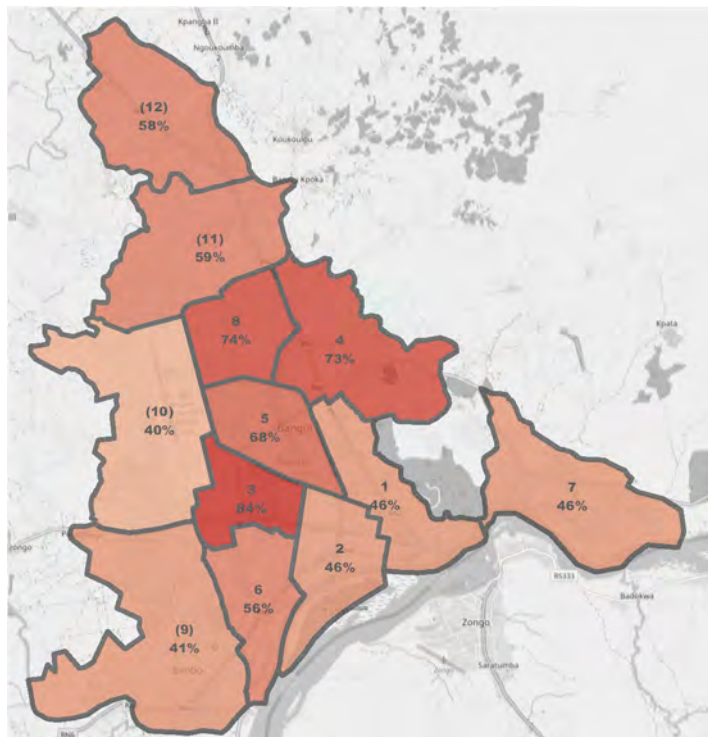
More specific questions were asked to judge the degree of importance of problems that are common in urban areas. A list was proposed, and respondents indicated whether they thought each issue was a large problem, a small problem, or not a problem in their arrondissement. The presence of dirt and trash (88%) and the voluntary destruction of infrastructure (65%) were most frequently mentioned as large problems, as well as the consumption or selling of drugs (62%).

*Figure 14: Large problems in the neighborhood
(% indicating that this is a large problem)*

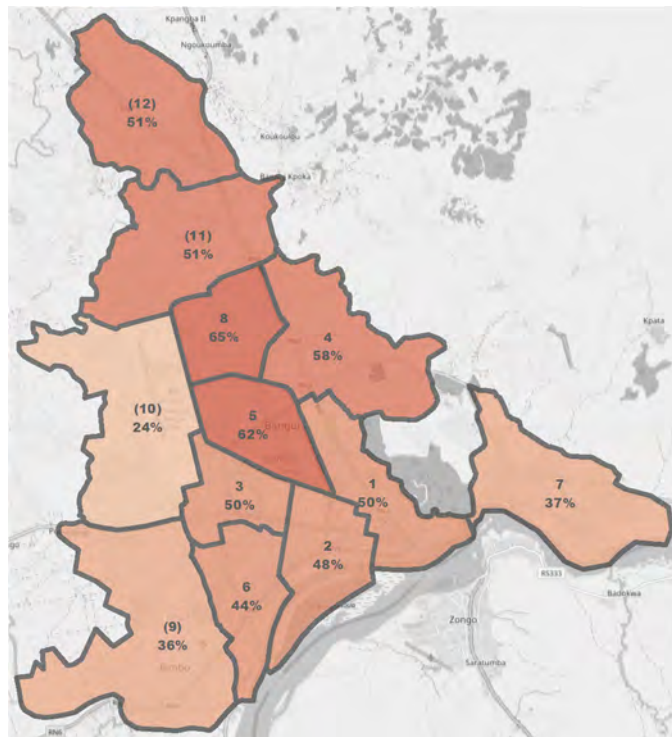


Map 8: Perception of issues as major problems in the arrondissement

Drugs



Prostitution



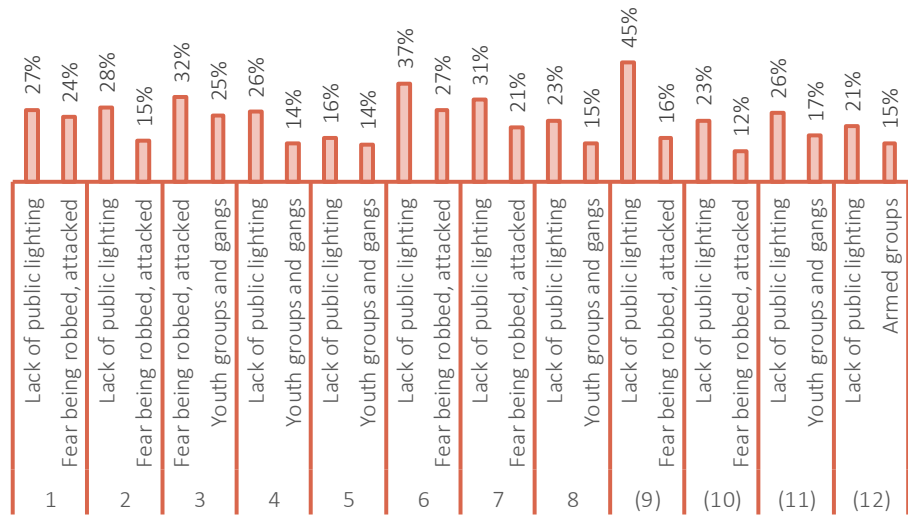
Among the range of problems expressed by the population, insecurity remains an important concern. When asked openly what specifically contributes to their sense of insecurity, respondents provided a range of answers, with the most frequent being the lack of public lighting (23%), fear of being robbed or attacked (16%), presence of youth groups and gangs (13%), lack of security forces (8%), and the presence of armed groups (5%).

Figure 15: Most commonly identified causes of insecurity



Causes of insecurity varied by arrondissement. Figure 16 lists the two leading causes of insecurity per arrondissement. Youth groups and gangs were frequently mentioned as a source of insecurity in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 8th arrondissements, as well as in area (11) in Bégoua. Armed groups were a main source of insecurity in area (12) of Bégoua.

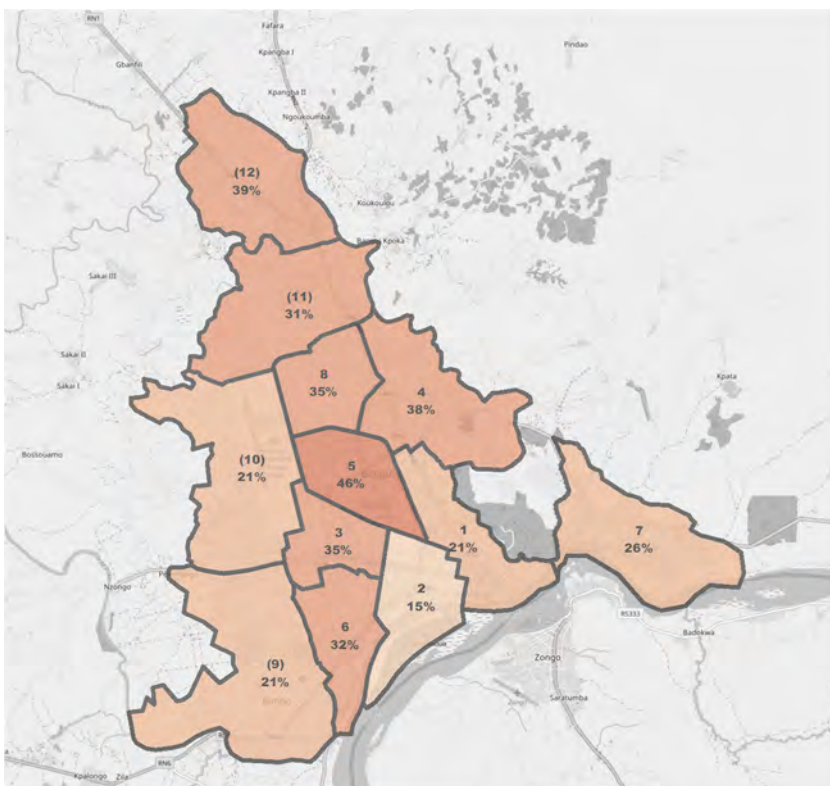
Figure 16: Most commonly identified causes of insecurity by arrondissement



3.3 Criminology and conflicts

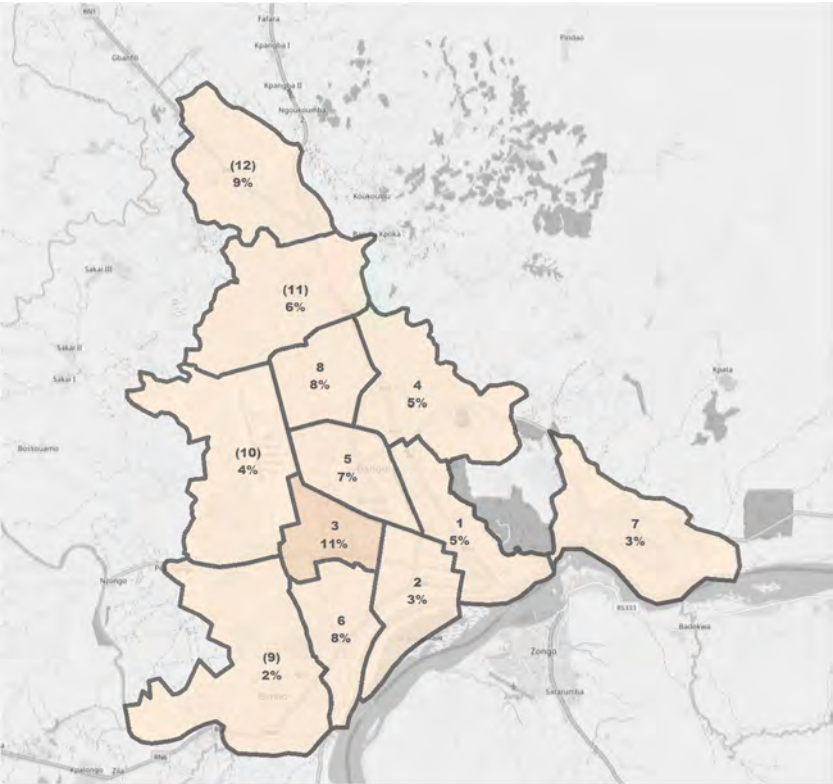
Criminology – or fear of crimes – was also perceived as a cause of insecurity. This section presents the prevalence of specific forms of violence throughout Bangui: burglaries, physical violence, and sexual aggressions. The overall incidence of burglary over a two-year period was 33%. There were important differences across arrondissements, with the lowest incidence found in the 2nd arrondissement (15%), and the highest in the 5th arrondissement (46%) as represented in Map 19. Burglary was also frequently recurring: 68% of those affected experienced more than one burglary over the two year period prior to the interview for this survey.

Map 9: Burglary incidence (last 2 years)



Physical aggressions were less frequent than burglaries. The two-year incidence rate for physical aggression was 6% - ranging from 3% to 11% by arrondissement as illustrated in the map below. Re-occurrence was frequent, as 48% of those who experienced physical violence reported more than one event over the two-year period. Firearms were used in 62% of the cases, 17% involved blade weapons, 18% involved no weapons, and 3% involved unspecified weapons.

Map 10: Physical aggression incidence (last 2 years)



Sexual harassment – including verbal and physical aggression - was rarely reported, with just 1% of respondents indicating that they had experienced it within the two years prior to the interview. There is no statistically significant difference in the mean number of men versus the number of women reporting sexual harassment, nor are there major differences across arrondissements. However, the number of people reporting sexual

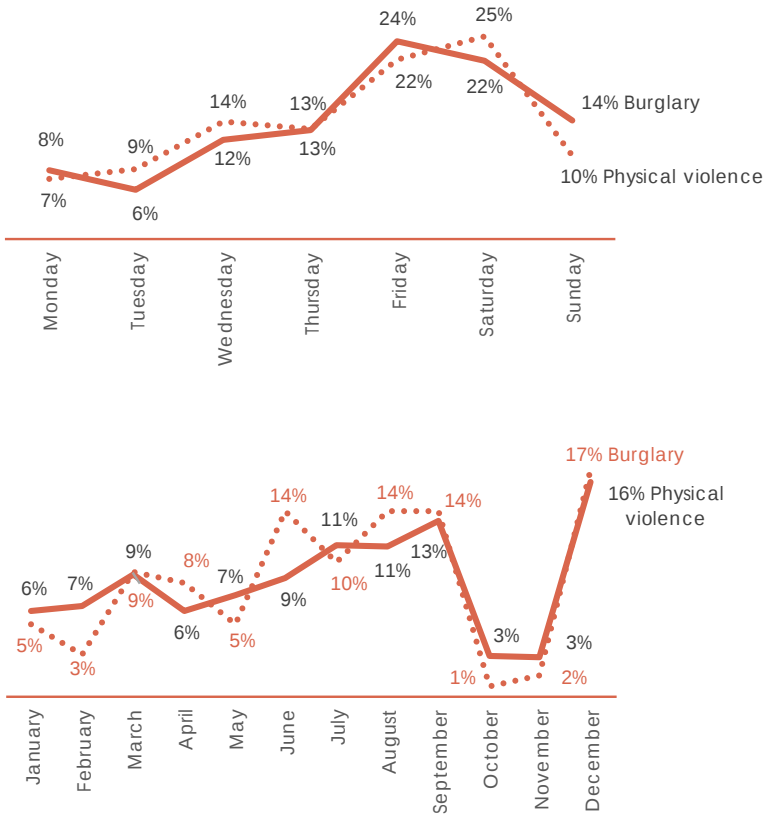
harassment is so low that these results are not statistically robust. It is possible that these events were under-reported because of the high risk of stigmatization associated with sexual harassment, even though respondents were informed multiple times that the survey was anonymous and confidential, no identifiable information was recorded, and the questionnaire was designed to approach sensitive questions carefully. Nevertheless, these statistics are useful as minimum estimates of the occurrence of sexual harassment in Bangui.

When asked about wartime experiences with sexual violence and abuse, 6% of the Bangui survey respondents reported having witnessed the sexual abuse of others by armed groups since 2013 and 2% indicated that they had been victims of sexual violence committed by armed groups since 2013.

It also appears that Bangui residents have considerable confidence in the ability of sexual and gender-based violence victims to seek recourse through the police and the national justice system. 84% of Bangui residents think that victims of sexual and gender-based violence can have their cases investigated by the police and 90% believe that victims can have their cases judged by the courts. This faith in the ability to seek recourse may also be related to the fact that police and courts are the two entities that are most often used to resolve sexual violence disputes according to Bangui residents. 61% indicated that one should go to the national justice system to resolve such disputes, and 38% reported that one should go to the police.

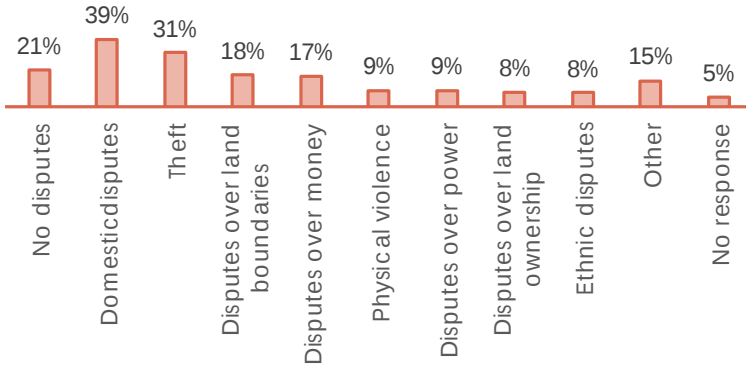
For the crimes experienced by respondents, data about the occurrence enabled an analysis of the seasonality of crimes, suggesting that both burglary and physical violence peak toward the end of the week, and possibly toward the end of the year.

Figure 17: Seasonality of crimes



Beyond crimes, respondents were asked what conflicts and disputes, if any, are most common in their neighborhood. Domestic disputes were reported to be the most common (39%), followed by disputes over theft (31%), land boundaries (18%), and money (7%). 21% said that there were no disputes. In terms of neighborhood-specific patterns, conflicts over money were more common in the 3rd arrondissement than elsewhere.

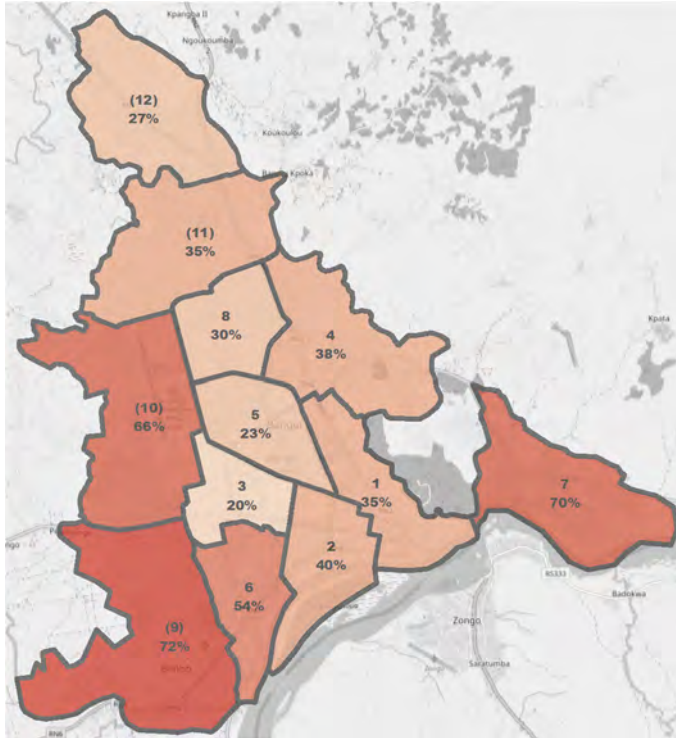
Figure 18: Most common disputes



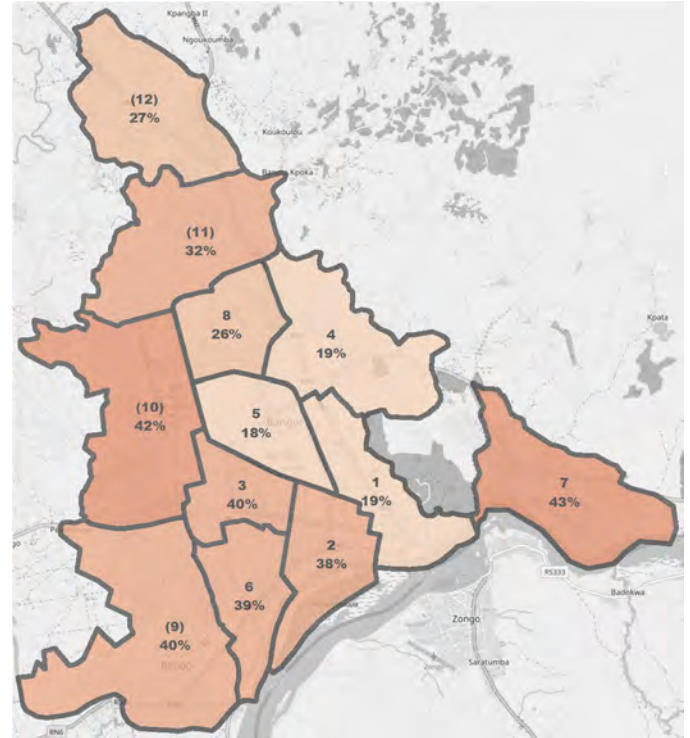
Just 11% of respondents reported having experienced conflicts themselves over the previous year. Of those who reported having a conflict, 20% indicated that they had experienced domestic disputes (28%), conflicts over money or payment (17%), and conflicts over land boundaries (17%). However, 37% expressed that they had experienced another type of dispute that was not on the list.

Map 11: Geographic distribution of common disputes

Domestic disputes



Theft



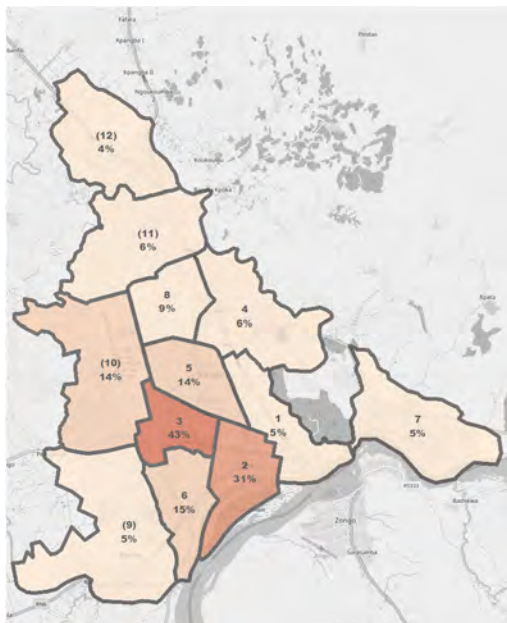
3.4 Presence and perception of security actors

When asked who, if anyone, is the main actor or group that ensures security in their neighborhoods, one in five respondents identified the national army FACA (Forces Armées Centrafricaines, 20%). Almost the same percentage noted that nobody provides security (18%); 15% mentioned self-defense groups, and 11% mentioned local authorities. A total of 13% of respondents selected the national police or the gendarmerie, two entities that have parallel functions (with national police serving in urban areas and gendarmerie serving in rural areas). Few respondents had specific security measures to protect their dwelling (22%). There were important differences across arrondissements with 43% of respondents in the 3rd arrondissement and 31% in the 2nd arrondissement indicating that self-defense groups provide security, compared to 15% or less reporting the same in all other neighborhoods.

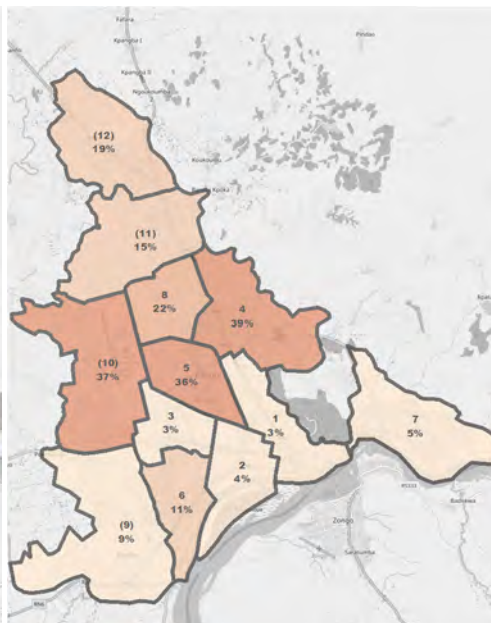
The survey further explored specific security actors: the police, gendarmerie, and the army. Functionally, the gendarmerie and police are responsible for maintaining law and order within the country and the army is responsible for defending the territorial integrity of the country. However, in practice, roles can be blurred between these institutions. As noted in the previous chapter, Bangui residents do not express a great deal of trust in many institutions that influence the city's everyday dynamics, including security actors: 83% indicate a lot or extreme trust in their family and 52% express trust in the national army. However, just 36% express trust in the police.

Map 12: Actors providing security (% of respondents indicating that the following actors provide it)

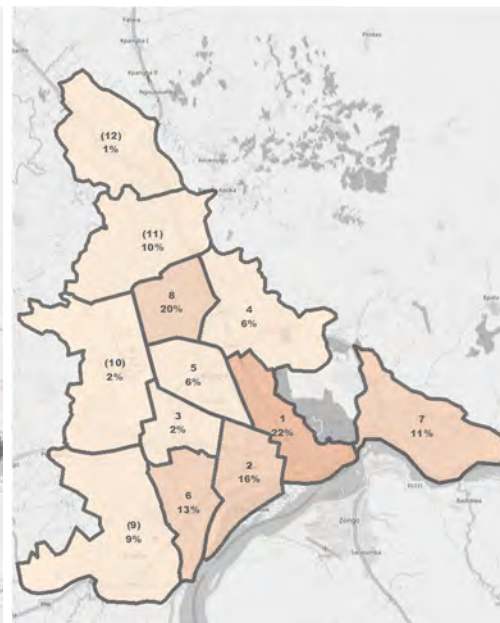
Self-defense groups



National army (Forces Armées Centrafricaines)

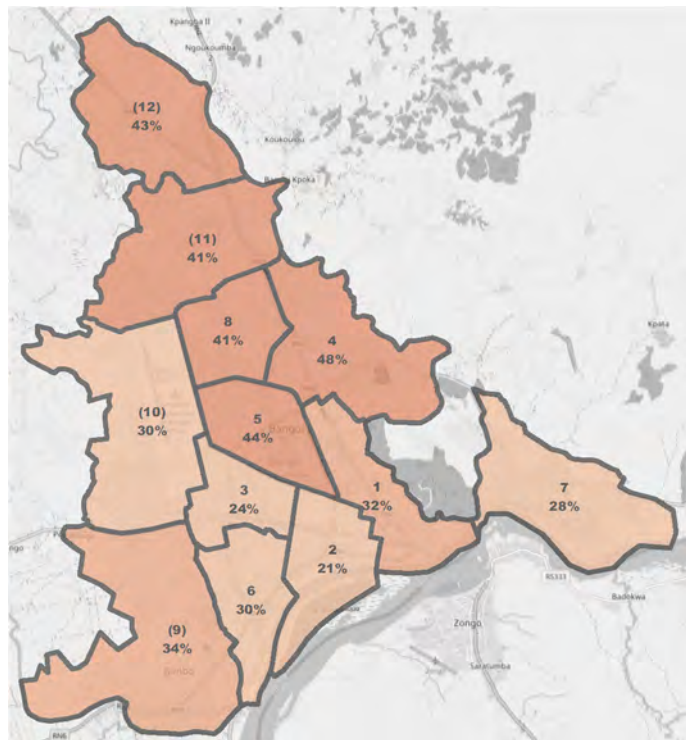


Police

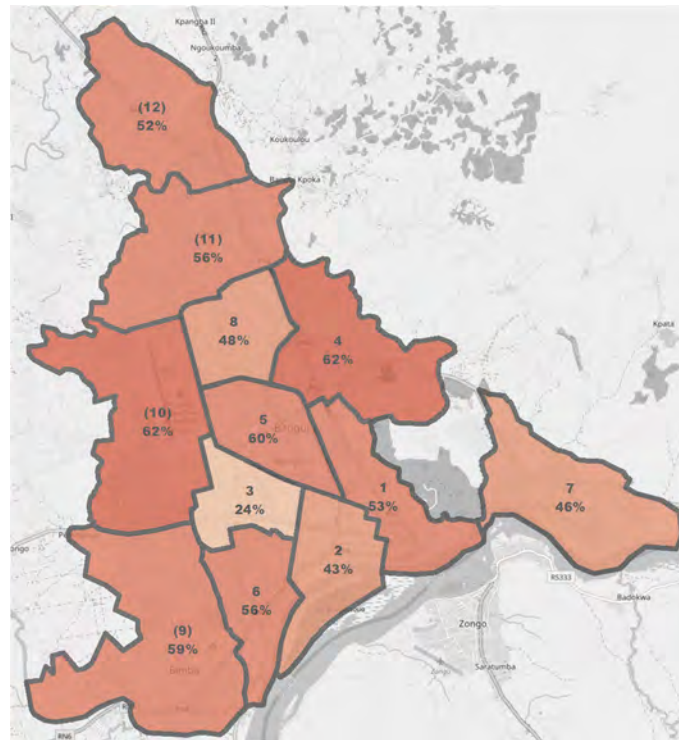


Map 13: Trust in security actors (% responding “a lot” or “extremely”)

Police



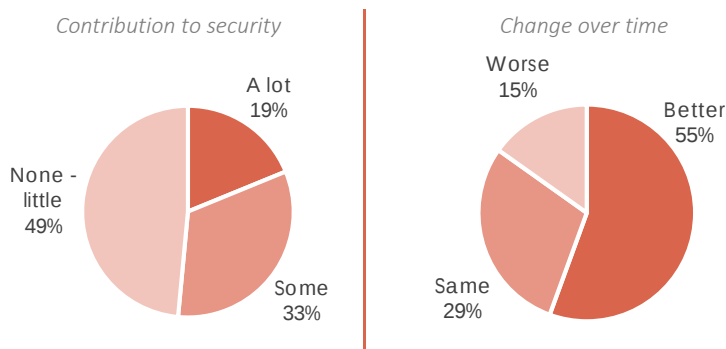
National army (Forces Armées Centrafricaines)



Perception of the police

The police’s contribution to security is not highly regarded by the population, with just 19% of survey respondents judging the contributions of the police to their security as great or extreme. Respondents were most favorable in the 1st (34%), 4th (36%), and 8th arrondissements (30%). Despite these weaknesses, the police are more trusted than a number of other notable social actors, including national authorities (30%), friends (28%), and people in Bangui (26%). There is also a widespread perception that the police protect people and are rarely implicated in crimes, with 75% of residents asserting that the police protect, and an additional 21% saying that the police neither protect nor are they involved in crimes. Just 4% claim that police are both engaged in criminal activities and fail to protect. Furthermore, 55% judged that the work of the police had improved in the one-year period before the survey (although numbers in the 3rd arrondissement and Bégoua (zone 11) were much lower (24% and 27%, respectively). When asked what would help to improve police work in their neighborhoods, Bangui residents’ top four priorities were improving police training (57%), increasing the number of police (56%), increasing the mobility of the police (53%), and paying the police better (52%). Intensifying discipline and recruitment were significant but lesser priorities (37% and 42% respectively).

Figure 19: Perceptions of the police



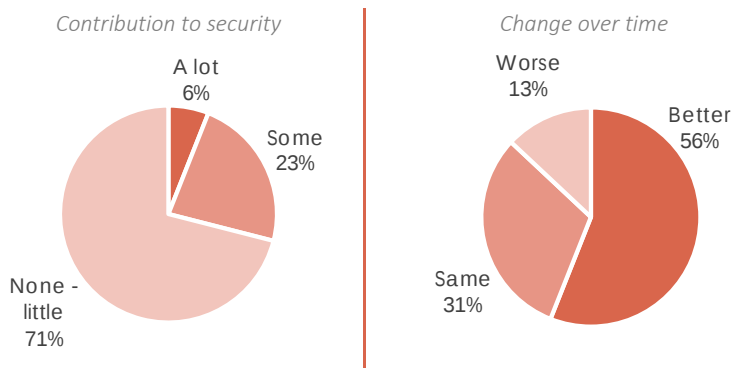
These contrasting sets of perceptions may be explained by the fact that the police do not have great capacity to ensure security, but they generate positive attitudes from citizens when they do in fact interact with them. For instance, only 9% of residents said that the police had helped them over the last year, but on the other hand, just 3%

reported that they were badly treated by the police within the same timeframe. A minority of the population thinks that there is impunity for the police (38%) or that people are able to avoid arrest if they pay off the police (33%). A majority believes that the police treat all ethnic groups equally (60%). Thus, while police do not appear to have a high degree of control of security in Bangui neighborhoods, residents are not predominantly disappointed in their interactions with the police when they have them.

Perception of the gendarmerie

Trust in the gendarmerie was not explored in the survey, largely because a majority of the Bangui population is urban and is therefore served by the national police. However, respondents were asked about the gendarmerie’s contribution to their security and about changes over time. Few respondents judged that the contribution of the gendarmerie to their security was great or extreme (6%), whereas 19% said the equivalent about the national police. However, as was the case for the police, a majority judged that the gendarmerie’s contribution has improved over the past year (56%).

Figure 20: Perception of the gendarmerie



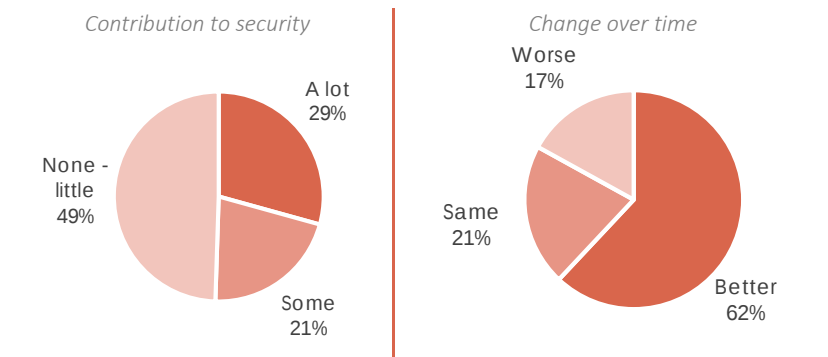
Only in the 1st arrondissement did more than one in five respondents positively assess the gendarmerie’s contribution to their security (21%). As with the police, a majority of citizens believes that the gendarmerie protects (78%) rather than being implicated in crimes, and that improving the gendarmerie’s contributions to security requires better salaries and training as well as more gendarmes with better mobility. A small proportion of respondents reported that they had been personally helped by gendarmes (9%). An

even smaller proportion claimed to have been subject to bad treatment by gendarmes (2%).

Perception of the national army

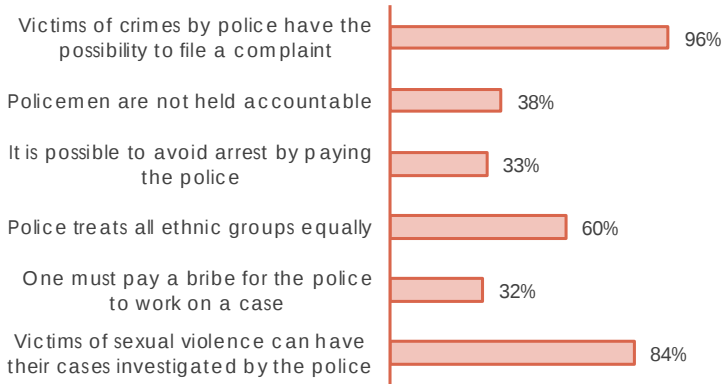
The national army is trusted by 52% of respondents, and its contribution to security in Bangui is more positively perceived than those of the police and the gendarmerie. 29% judge that the national army makes a great or extreme contribution to security, compared to 54% who said it made little to no contribution. 62% in Bangui judged that this contribution had improved in the year prior to the survey. In the 4th and 5th arrondissements, numbers were slightly lower, with just over half of respondents judging the contribution of the army positively (52% and 51%, respectively.)

Figure 21: Perception of the army



Due to a greater police presence in Bangui, additional questions were asked about the police. Even though few people take their complaints to any actor for dispute resolution when they are the victim of a crime (see the following chapter), there is widespread agreement that victims of crimes by police have the possibility to file a complaint (96%). A majority of people perceived that victims of sexual violence can have their cases investigated by the police (84%), and an even greater number thought that sexual violence victims could have their cases judged in formal courts (90%). 60% believed the police treat every ethnic group equally. About one in three respondents agreed that it is possible to avoid arrest by paying bribes to the police (33%) and that bribes are necessary to have the police work on a case (32%). A slightly higher percentage believed that policemen are not held accountable (38%).

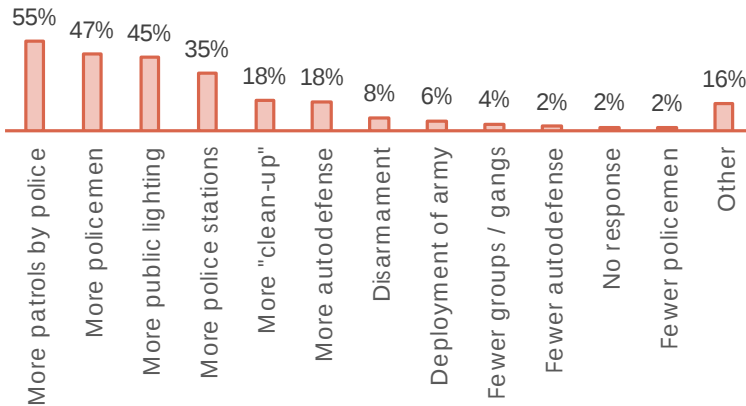
*Figure 22: Perception of the police
(% agree)*



Considering the state of security and the perception of security actors, respondents were asked their opinion about what could be done to improve security and the work of security actors.

In general, respondents focused on the presence of security actors on the ground, identifying the need for a greater presence of the police through increased deployment and recruitment. The lack of public lighting was perceived as exacerbating insecurity (see Chapter 2). It is not surprising that increased public lighting is among the measures proposed. While the relative importance of some options differed across arrondissements, the set of most popular proposed solutions did not vary a great deal by neighborhood.

Figure 23: General measures to improve security



According to respondents, the police should play a prominent role in improving security in the future, which they are not seen as achieving at moment. Just 19% judged that the police contributed a lot to their security. To improve their performance, respondents proposed to better train the police (57%), increase the number of police (56%), improve police mobility (53%), pay police better (52%), improve the quality of recruitment (42%), and improve discipline (36%).

A similar set of propositions was made about the gendarmerie, including to train them better (61%), increase the number of gendarmes (58%), increase gendarme mobility (56%), and pay them better (54%). Finally, considering the army, the emphasis was again on training (63%), recruitment (60%), payment (58%), and mobility (55%).

4 JUSTICE

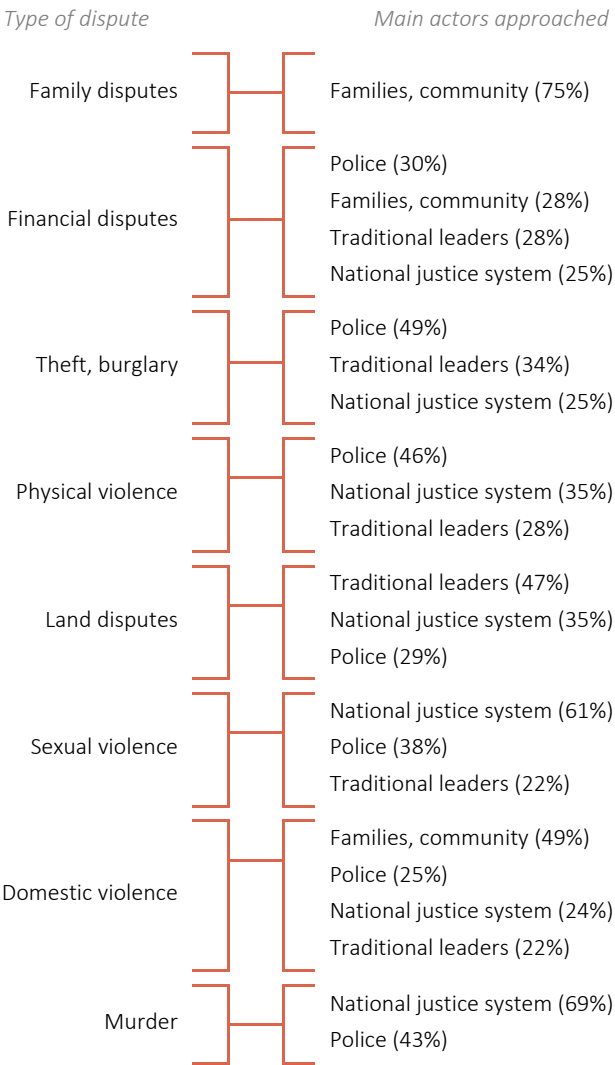
Reconstructing the justice sector is a key element of peacebuilding, with the specific goal of ending impunity and increasing people's access to justice mechanisms that are seen as affordable and fair. The survey examined these elements through several dimensions: (1) attitudes about hypothetical dispute resolution, (2) incidence of crimes / violence and dispute resolution, (3) perceptions of the formal justice system, and (4) attitudes about transitional justice and peace.

4.1 Attitudes about hypothetical dispute resolution

Few respondents experienced crimes and violence directly. As such, the survey included hypothetical questions about whom, if anyone, respondents would contact if they were victims of different forms of violence, including family disputes, financial disputes, theft/burglary, physical violence, land disputes, sexual violence, domestic violence, and murder. The responses show that the type of actor that people think should be contacted to resolve a dispute differs by type of dispute. Bangui residents tended to think that family disputes and domestic violence should be primarily resolved in private. In contrast, they most often believed that crimes like sexual violence and murder should be pursued through the police and the national justice system. For most crimes, traditional leaders, police, and the national justice system were considered relevant dispute resolution actors by a significant percentage of the population.

For each type of dispute, the survey asked respondents why they did or did not list the national justice system as a principal dispute resolution actor. Of those who indicated that they would not go to the national justice system for the type of dispute in question, most said that they would not do so either because it takes too much time to use the system to resolve disputes or because using the system requires making their problem public. Those who would go to the national justice system often said that they would do so because the system offers the best guarantee that a resolution would be enforced. Overall respondents in the 3rd arrondissement and zones 11 and 12 (Bégoua) were more likely to say that the community itself most often resolves disputes.

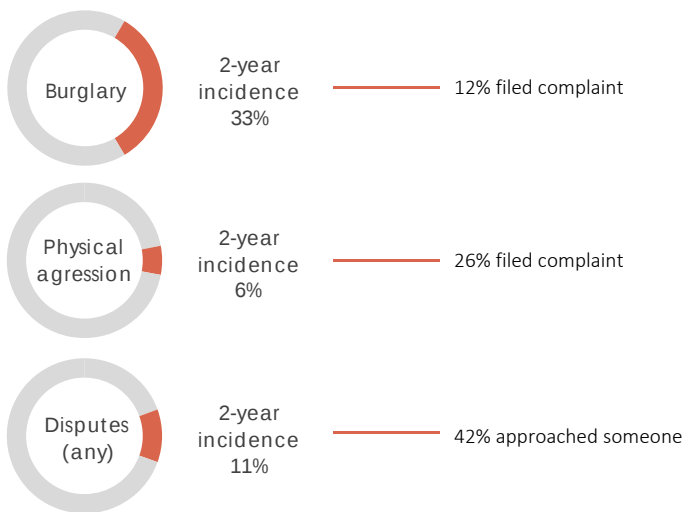
Figure 24: Most common avenues for resolution of crimes and disputes



4.2 Incidence of crimes, violence, and dispute resolution

The survey inquired about residents’ personal experiences with a variety of criminal and violent acts, including burglary, physical aggression, and sexual harassment. Respondents who had experienced one of these crimes in the two years preceding the survey were also asked whether they complained about these incidents to an authority, specifically the police, the gendarmerie, the courts, the head of the neighborhood, the neighborhood imam or priest, or an elder. In Bangui, few respondents said that they complained to any authorities these incidents in the two years before the survey. Among those who experienced a burglary in the two-year period prior to the survey (33% of all respondents), just 12% made a complaint, most frequently with the head of the neighborhood (“chef de quartier”). Of the 1% who report having been sexually harassed, 63% complained to an authority, most often to the head of the neighborhood. Among the 11% of respondents who reported experiencing any type of dispute in the year prior to the survey, just 42% sought the help of others to resolve the dispute. Help was most frequently sought from community and family (10%), the police (9%), customary chiefs (7%), and the national justice system (6%).

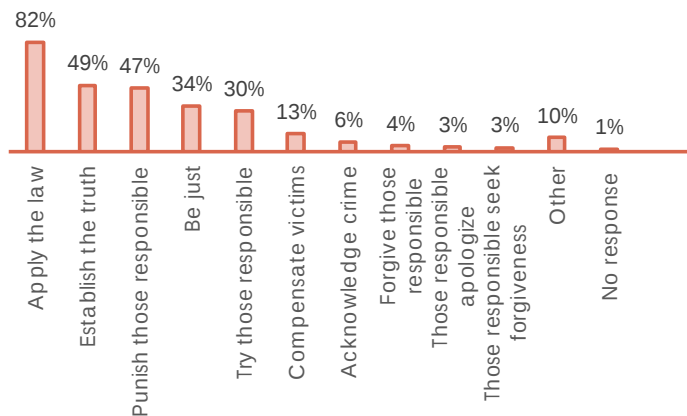
Figure 25: Complaints after crimes



4.3 Definitions and perceptions of justice

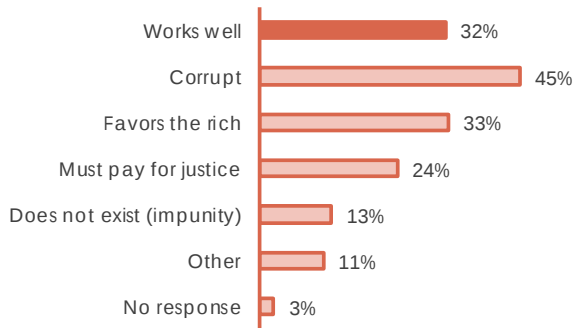
Justice is most commonly defined by Bangui residents as applying the law (82%), with about half also noting that justice consists of establishing the truth (48%) and punishing those responsible (47%). There were few differences across arrondissements in these views.

Figure 26: Meaning of justice



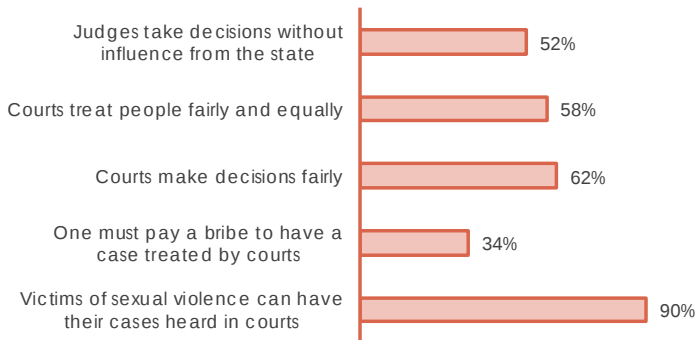
Most respondents believed that justice is possible (77%), yet about half judged that the system is corrupt (45%), and many thought that justice favors the rich (33%) and that payment is required for justice to be done (24%). One in three respondents expressed the belief that the system works well (32%). The perception of the justice system did not vary by gender, education level, or wealth, but there were differences across arrondissements, with more respondents saying that justice works well in the 4th and 5th arrondissements (42% and 38% respectively) and in the Bégoua area (38% in zone 11 and 47% in zone 12).

Figure 27: Perception of the justice system



More direct questions on views of the justice sector show that while most Bangui residents believe that sexual violence victims can have their cases heard in court (90%), only 52% believe that decisions are made independently from state authorities. Slightly more residents believe that tribunals treat people fairly and equally (58%) and make decisions fairly (62%). 34% believe that bribes must be paid to have a case heard in court.

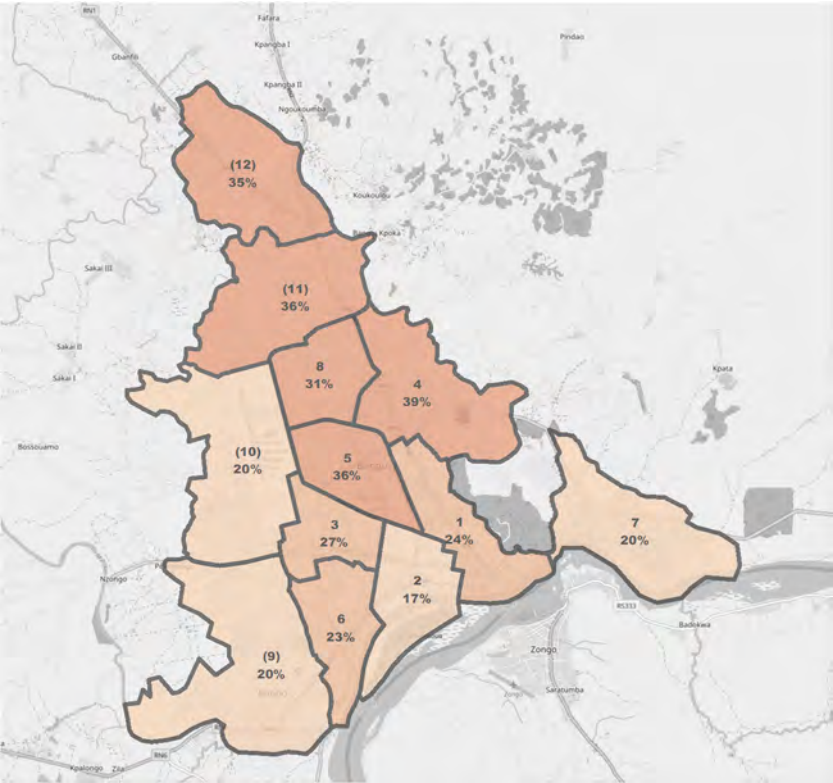
Figure 28: Perception of the justice sector (% agree)



Respondents were also asked to rate their own levels of confidence in the justice system. Confidence in the justice system was highest in the 4th, 5th, and 8th arrondissements (41%, 35%, and 35% respectively) and in zone 12 (39%). The

confidence level did not vary based on gender, education, or wealth. The results are generally consistent with questions asked earlier on the survey about generalized trust in judges and justice. Overall, 28% said that they had good or very good confidence in the justice system, whereas 29% said that they trusted judges and justice.

Map 14: Confidence in the justice system

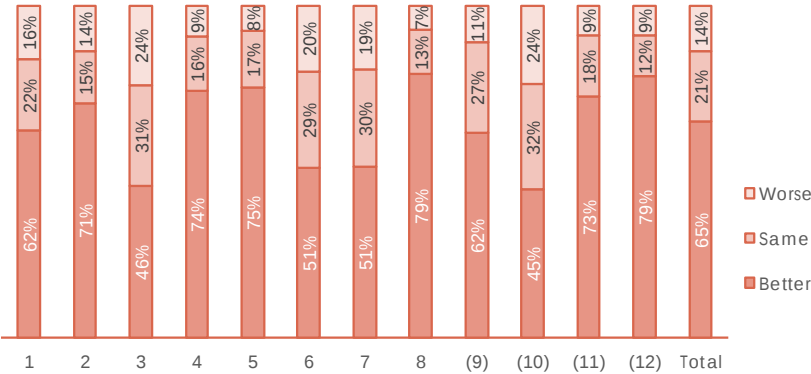


Bangui residents assessed themselves to have relatively poor knowledge of the justice system. Just 32% reported that they had a good or very good knowledge of the justice system; 41% said that their knowledge was average, and 27% had poor or very poor knowledge of the sector. An individual’s level of self-assessed knowledge was also associated with her level of education, with 37% of respondents with secondary education or more reporting good or very good knowledge compared to 28% of those with primary education only or less. Wealth was also associated with knowledge, as

39% of respondents in the wealthiest group ranked their knowledge as good or very good, compared to 27% in the poorest wealth quartile.

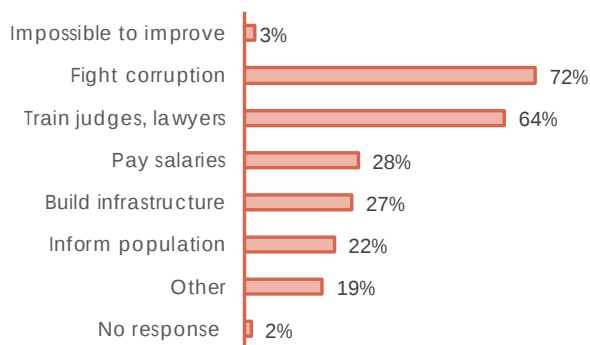
65% judged that the work of justice sector actors had improved during the year before the survey. Another 21% said that there had been no changes in the quality of the work, and 14% said the work of the justice sector had worsened. The latter view was most frequent in the 3rd arrondissement (24%), zone 10 of Bimbo (24%), and in the 6th (20%) and 7th (19%) arrondissements.

Figure 29: Perceived change in work of the justice sector actors over one year



When asked what was needed to further improve the justice system, respondents most frequently indicated that fighting corruption (72%) and training judges and lawyers (64%) was needed. Improving the pay of justice system personnel (28%) and building the required infrastructures (27%) were less popular solutions.

Figure 30: Ways to improve justice (% of respondents selecting remedy)



4.4 Attitudes about transitional justice and peace

The Bangui public's opinion about the justice system, justice services, and their usefulness is informed by experience in both past periods of peace and previous periods of conflict. Confidence in justice system actors is shaped by an awareness of the impunity that perpetrators have historically enjoyed. This survey therefore posed questions about the current circumstances and perceptions of justice services and supplemented them with questions about the process and measures appropriate to move beyond the crisis that consumed the country from March 2013 to today. When evaluating the state of justice and security in CAR, it is critical to take into account citizens' opinions about the appropriate (and inappropriate) ways of holding people accountable for wartime crimes. This information may help Central Africans, as well as local and international organizations, pursue policies that promote a sustainable transition from conflict to peace.

Input about transitional justice and peace issues was provided by respondents at a challenging time for security and justice in Bangui. The perceptions survey was administered in October 2016, more than six months after national elections led to the historic inauguration of Faustin Archange-Touadéra. A pervasive optimism about CAR's trajectory following the February election was quickly tempered by a resurgence in violence in Bangui in June and September 2016, and a continued insecurity persisted nationally thereafter. Despite these setbacks, and very encouragingly, 90% of respondents to the perceptions survey in October 2016 expressed a belief that peace

is possible. A large majority of respondents (77%) also believe that justice can be achieved in Bangui.

Figure 31: Optimism about peace, justice



However, as previously shown in Figure 26, there was significant variation in views about the what justice means. To 82% of respondents, justice means applying the law; 49% of respondents feel that justice means establishing the truth; and 47% feel that justice means punishing those responsible for a crime. Only about a third of respondents, 30%, felt that justice required holding a trial for those believed guilty of crimes.

When asked to reflect on the past conflict, respondents were heavily divided on whether considerations of justice permitted amnesty for combatants: 33% of respondents felt amnesty should not be given to anyone; 21% stated that amnesty could be given to those who did not commit serious crimes; 18% stated that amnesty should be given to all but the leaders of the conflict; and 23% felt a general amnesty was consistent with the demands of justice.

Encouragingly, when asked what they were prepared to pursue to improve the situation in CAR, 55% of respondents indicated they would engage socially or politically, but not violently; 38% said that they would do nothing; and only 2% indicated that they would consider resorting to violence, if necessary.

5 CONCLUSION

Providing security, ending impunity, and promoting social cohesion in Bangui are important to achieve and sustain peace in the Central African Republic. Understanding the current context, risks and opportunities, and the role of local, national and international actors, is key to developing effective security and justice strategies. This justice and security diagnostic seeks to contribute to that understanding. Considering the findings of the study, we offer the following concluding comments and recommendations:

- Overall, there is a positive perception of improvement in both security and justice over the last year, but some important challenges remain and specific dynamics in selected arrondissements must be considered. The increased physical division between religious groups must be addressed through inclusive security strategies.
- Greater police capacity and presence may be helpful for increasing security in Bangui and its environs and for improving levels of generalized trust in the police as an institution, as well as for improving perceptions that police contribute to their security. There is a demand for more presence, visibility, especially for the police – need to organize patrols that make them approachable especially in areas deemed less safe. There is potential to develop good community policing relations with citizens given that a majority of respondents feel safe meeting policemen in their neighborhoods and assert that the police protect rather than being implicated in crimes.
- There is also a need to improve basic competencies of the police, gendarmerie, and army to provide security, noting that the army is more trusted than the police or the gendarmerie but cannot provide a long-term solution to security issues on its own.
- Few people who experience various kinds of disputes choose to seek assistance in resolving those disputes from any entity outside of the family, whether it be formal justice actors or formal and informal neighborhood leaders. This choice appears to be based mainly upon the perception that seeking redress would not be useful. It is based less than expected upon the perception that such redress

would cost too much. There is a need to accompany efforts at strengthening the justice sector with awareness and outreach to the public to highlight successes. Justice needs to be seen as much as it needs to be done.

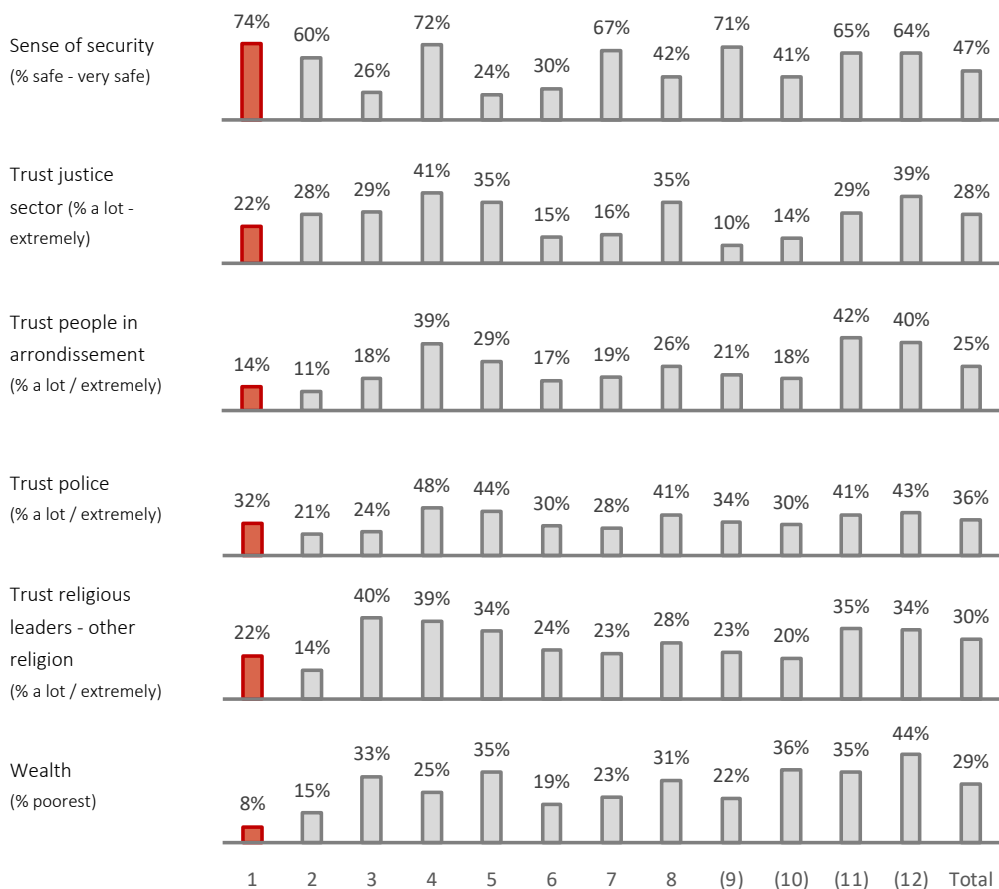
- For most types of disputes, people who say they would go to the national justice system for redress would do so because of the enforceability of the solution. Those who do not say they would go to the national justice system indicate that it is because it would take too much time to get a resolution. This suggests that improving court functioning and case management processes, as well as providing legal aid services that help people use courts more effectively, could be helpful interventions.
- Few residents have trust and confidence in the justice system or its constituent actors, with less than a third of survey respondents expressing much or a great deal of confidence in the police or judiciary. Nevertheless, in instances of serious crimes such as rape or homicide, respondents declared that they were more likely to utilize the police or the national justice system than to work through any other channels in seeking justice. A focus on improving citizen experiences with the justice system through improved accountability, efficiency, and approachability merit evaluation to broaden the circumstances when citizens elect to avail themselves of formal justice institutions. A majority of Bangui residents claim to have seen an improvement in the work of the justice system during the year prior to the administration of the survey, so interventions targeting citizen experiences can seize this momentum to continue positively influencing perceptions of justice services.
- Reducing corruption in the justice sector was identified by citizens as the main way to improve the sector. Finding ways to empower citizens to hold justice sector actors accountable for their actions may help to reduce these negative perceptions; citizens also suggest that more training for judicial personnel is needed in order to improve the delivery of justice.
- Social cohesion across Bangui is clearly impacted by sectarian dynamics. There is a need to build bridges, not only across religious lines, but also in ways that increase residents' trust in neighbors, other ethnic groups, and civil society. A shared focus on security may create space to rebuild a broader sense of community.

- In light of confidence gaps, citizens' access to and experience with justice institutions must be improved. Across all nature of disputes, individuals who express a willingness to use the national justice system do so most often because of the enforceability of the judicial solution. Among those who would not use the justice system to address disputes, most suggest that they are deterred because of the time it would take to achieve a resolution. As such, measures to improve case management and court functioning combined with the provision of community-based legal assistance to enable citizens to use courts more effectively, may prove helpful in broadening the appeal of formal justice institutions.
- To increase justice for those affected by sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in CAR, it is particularly important to strengthen formal national judicial institutions and police because Bangui residents say that they are most willing to rely on national judicial institutions in resolving this kind of dispute relative to other types of disputes. There is a crisis related history of SGBV that makes the resolution of these disputes important for peacebuilding and transitional justice.

ANNEX: ARRONDISSEMENT SUMMARY PROFILES

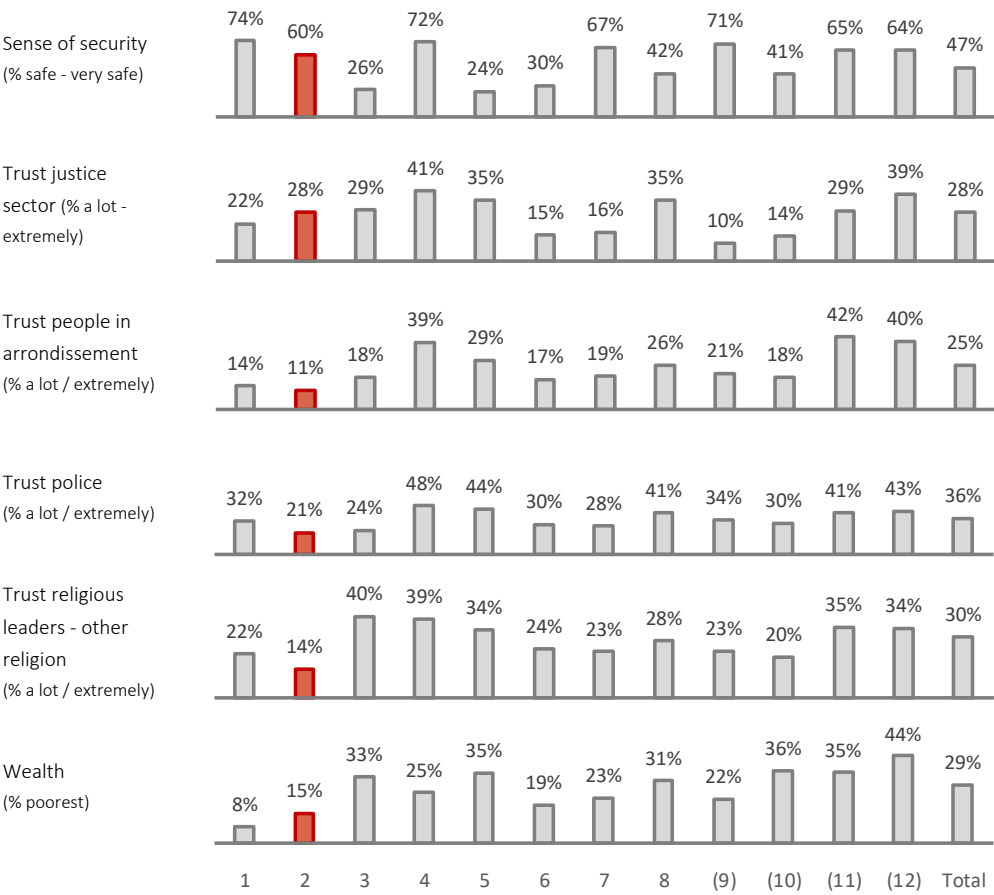
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Selected key indicators



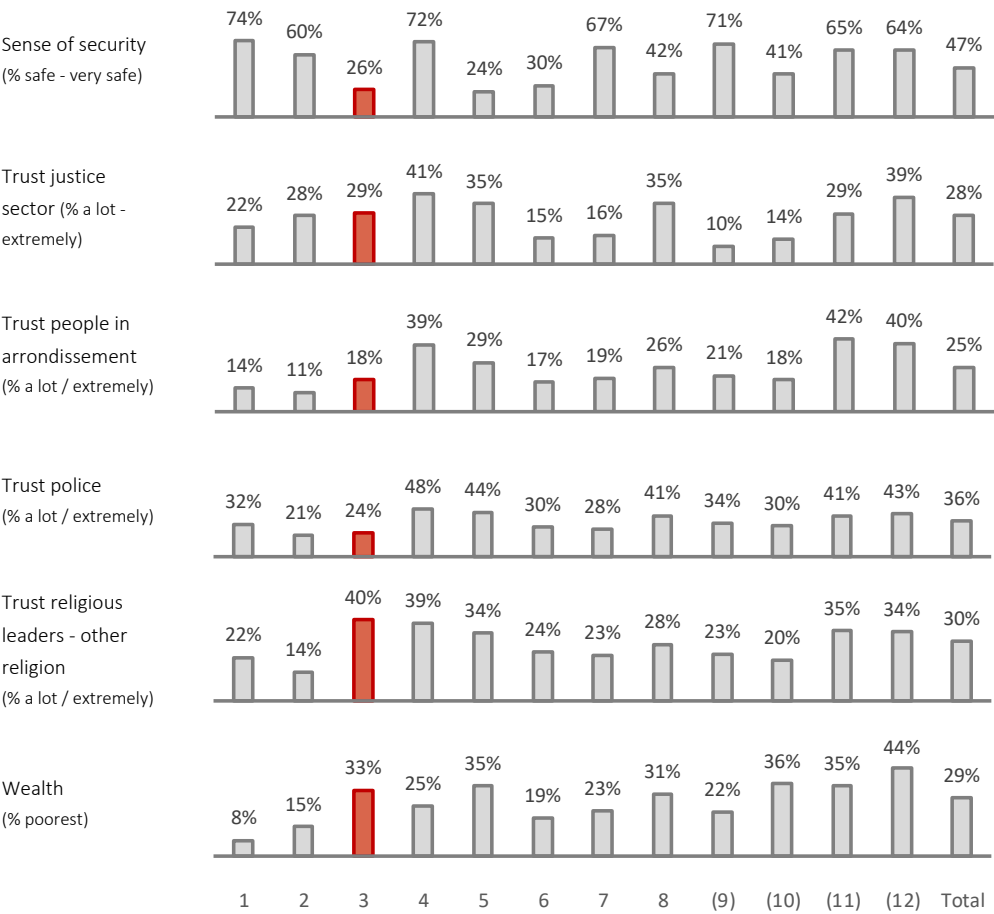
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Selected key indicators



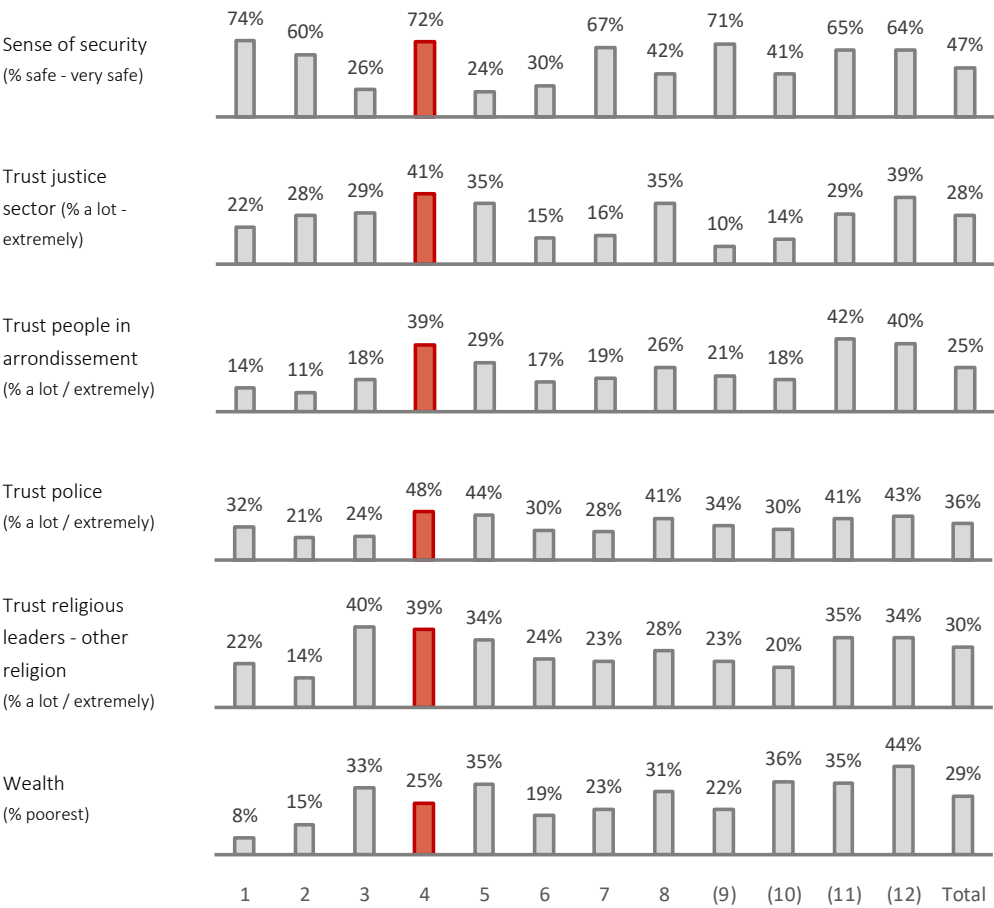
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Selected key indicators



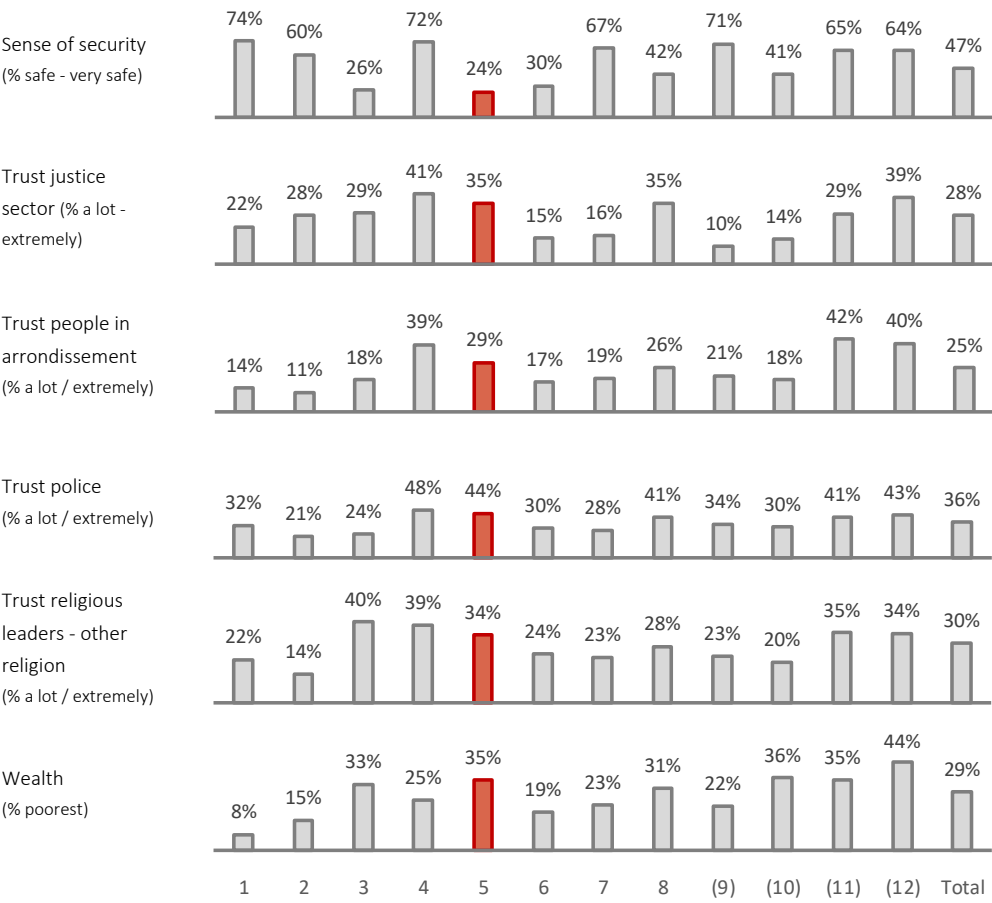
4TH ARRONDISSEMENT

Selected key indicators



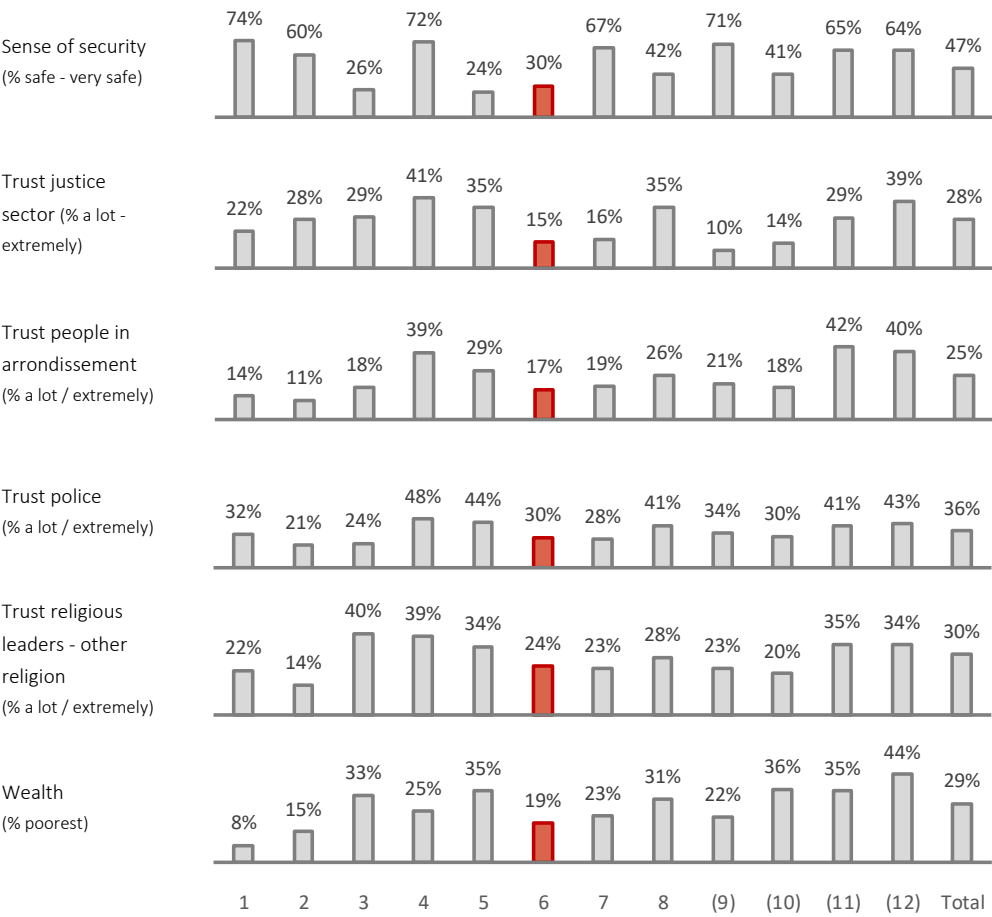
5TH ARRONDISSEMENT

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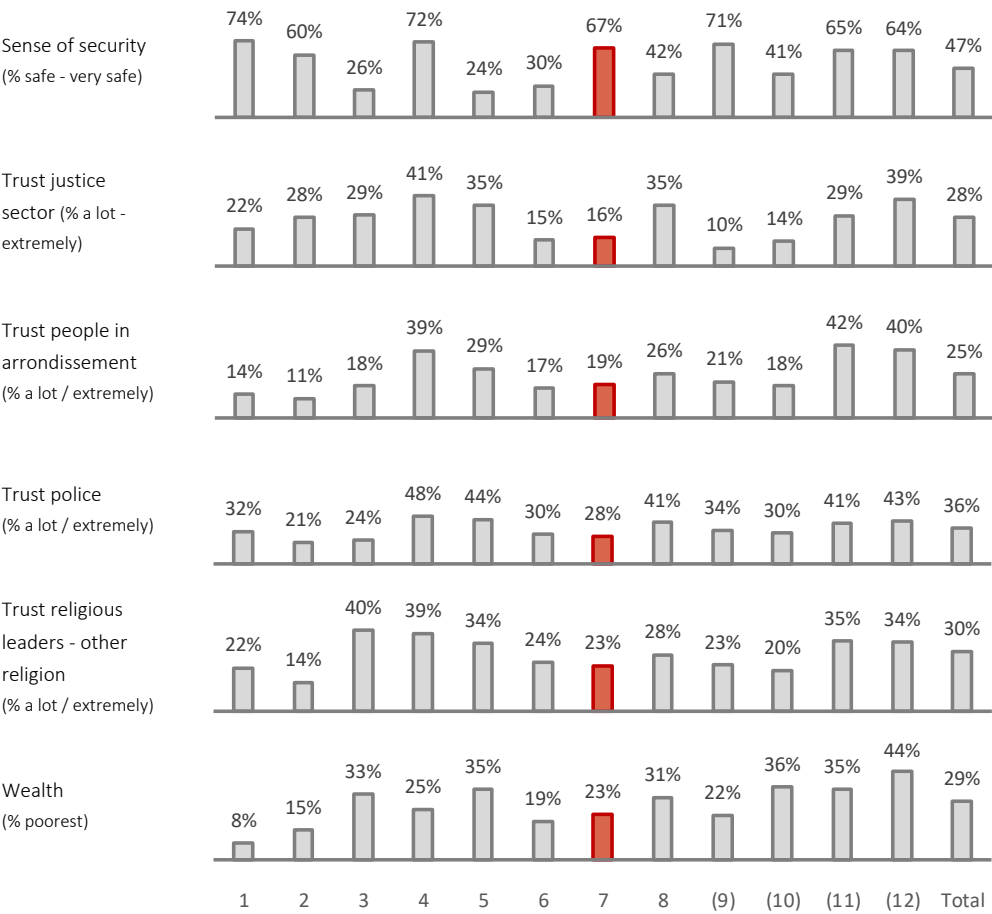
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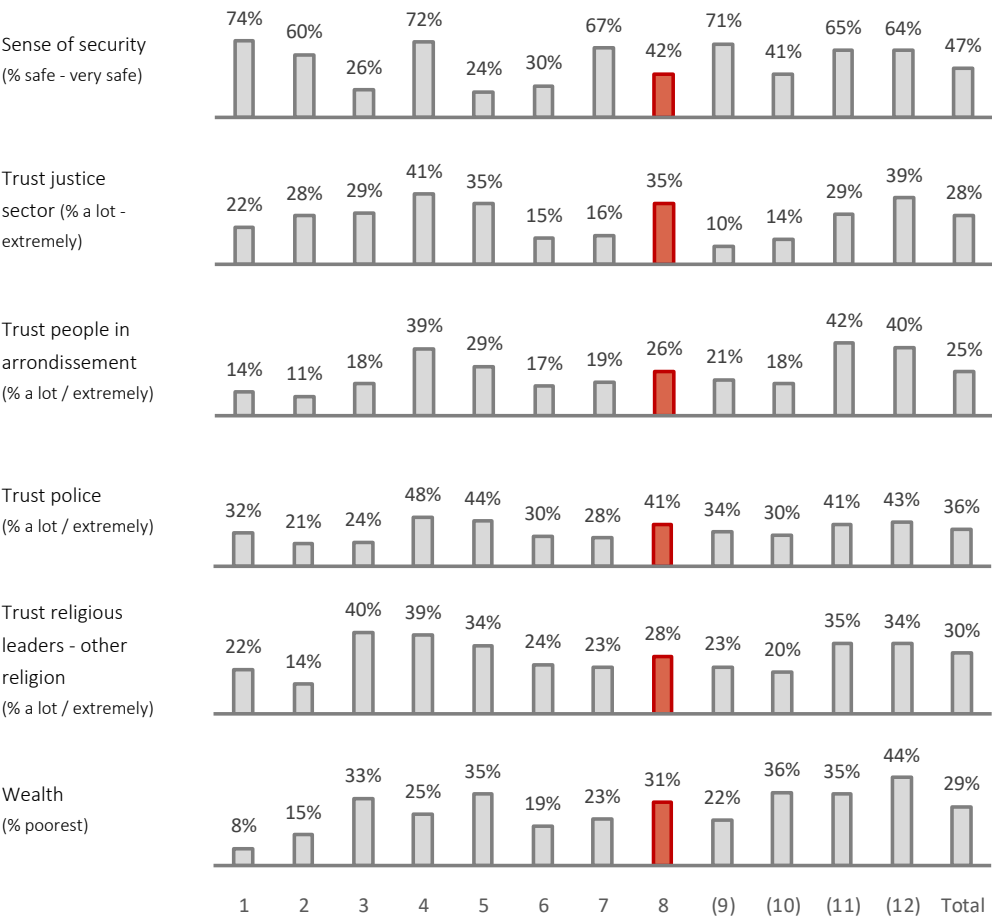
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Selected key indicators

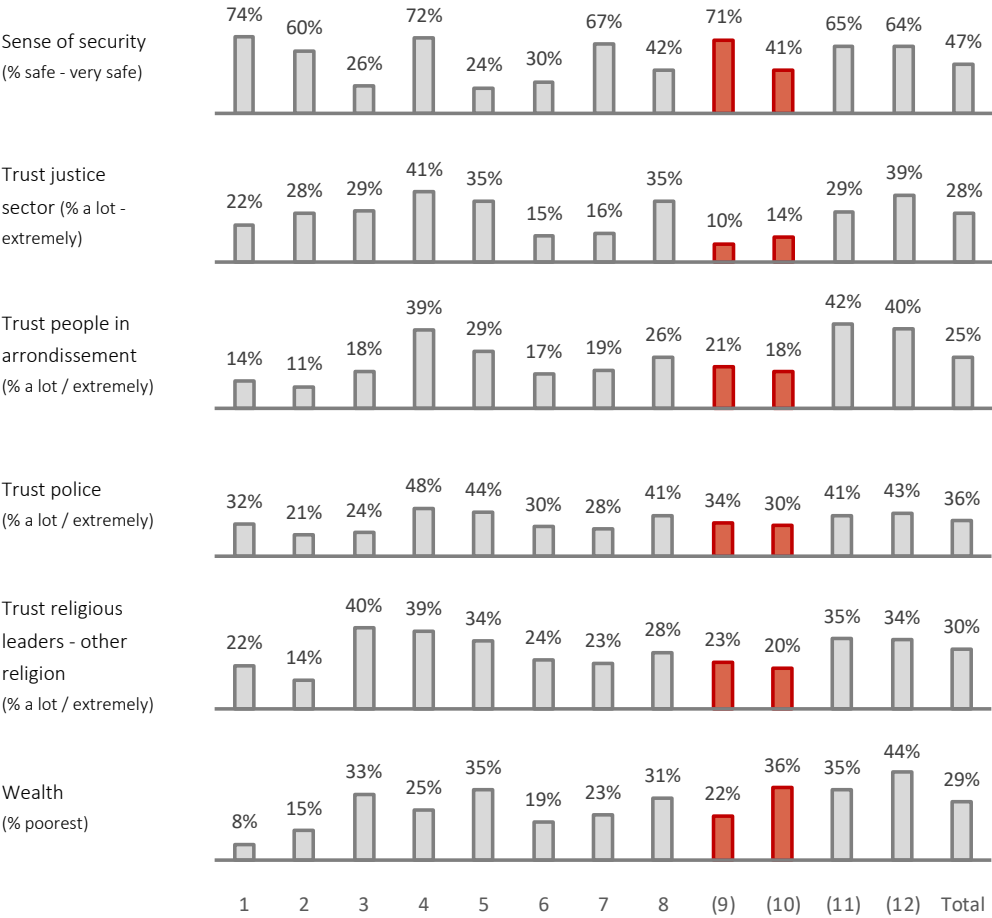


8TH ARRONDISSEMENT

Selected key indicators

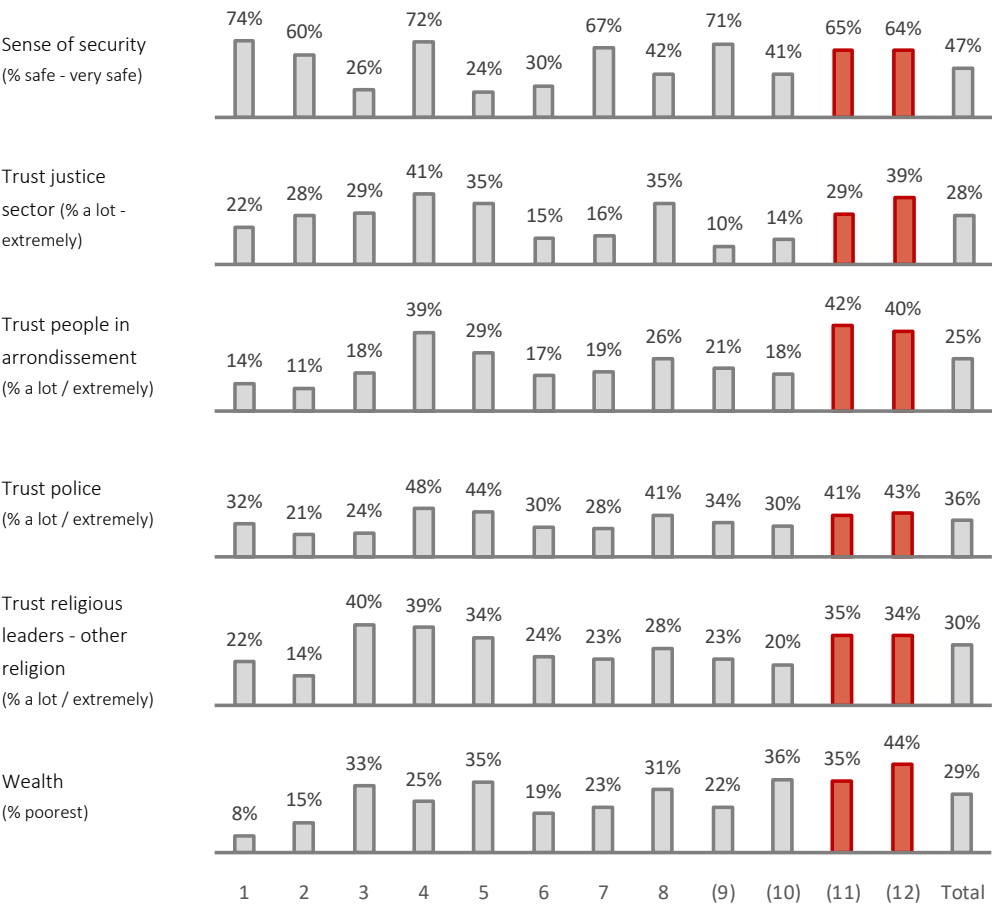


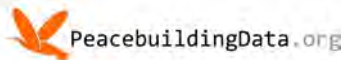
Selected key indicators



BEGOUA

Selected key indicators





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