ENGAGEMENT OF YOUTH FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH ARMED GROUPS AND ARMED GROUPS AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES: A CALL TO ACTION BURKINA FASO









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ABSTRACT

Burkina Faso is one of the least developed countries in West Africa. Its political history has been very turbulent with records of mutinies and coups d'état. Since 2016, the country has become unstable and exposed to threats and attacks of violent armed groups, especially in northern and eastern parts of Burkina Faso. These attacks have in turn sparked conflicts with local self defence groups and militia. There are reports that children are increasingly being used by armed groups in the country. Many boys, and also girls, who are associated with the combatants are also subjected to gender-based violence. The increasing insecurity, including the recruitment of children, attacks on schools and children, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, has adverse effects on children. In 2020, Burkina Faso was added for the first time to the UN annual report on Children and Armed Conflict. There is the need for actions to stem the tide and prevent the country from being listed. Barriers that inhibit youth participation in peacebuilding processes are identified as political affiliation, ethnicity, governance deficits, socio-cultural norms and beliefs, and lack of interest. It is therefore very critical for policy makers to develop policies and strategies to promote youth participation in all peacebuilding interventions to ensure inclusivity and sustainable peace and security in Burkina







Introduction

Burkina Faso is one of the least developed countries in West Africa. About 46% of the population live below the poverty line.1 The landlocked nation is heavily dependent on international aid. It was relatively stable until 2014 when a popular uprising saw the exit of the longest serving president, Blaise Campaore, in October. Despite the relative stability, the country had been sitting on a time bomb as frustrations and anger had been growing over the years. There had been signals that the society was on the edge of a political and social crisis, although the situation was kept under tight control of former president Campaore. The political history of Burkina Faso has been very turbulent with records of mutinies and five coups -- 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987 and 2015. It is believed that President Campaore had established long standing arrangements with diverse insurgent armed groups in the region, which were broken following his resignation. Since his departure from power, attacks by armed groups have been on the rise leading to a number of casualties and displacements². Since 2016, the country has become unstable and exposed to the threats and attacks of violent armed groups. These non-identifiable armed groups principally target state and public institutions, including the defence and security forces, hotels and civilians.3 The country has also been seriously affected by the broader insecurity in the Sahel region, as armed groups contributed to the rise of inter-communal violence in central Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso.

The growing insecurity has had strong regional local dynamics. Long standing ethnic and identity-based grievances are now being exploited by jihadist groups in the Sahel region. Ongoing internal disputes have been exacerbated by the intercommunal grievances between livestock owners and farmers, as well as by ethnic tensions⁴. The main ethnic groups that compose the Burkinabe population are the Gourmantché, Zaoussé, Yaana, Mossi and Peulh. In the case of the Mossi and Peulh population, their long-standing disputes over the land have been heightened by the identification of the Peulhs with the jihadist crusade, stigmatizing

its people and triggering an outbreak of violence against them.⁵ Also the distant relationship between the state and populations in Burkina's Sahel region also fuels the crisis. The contrast between the north's economic potential and its lack of infrastructure feeds a sense of abandonment amongst its population.⁶ Insecurity in northern Burkina is not only attributable to development deficit. It also emanates from the central state's failure to understand a territory in its peripheries, or the spillover from its neighbour's war.

While the areas of operation were at first concentrated in the administrative provinces of Soum and Oudalan, in the northern Sahel Region bordering Mali and Niger, the attacks have now spread into other administrative regions. These are notably the East, Boucle du Mouhoun, Fada Gourma, Dori and Northern Regions, and are also threatening the capital, Ouagadougou, and the border areas with Benin and Ivory Coast. The northern parts of the country, bordering Mali and Niger, are particularly at risk as a result of the conflict spill-over. Hundreds of people have been killed and more than 1.2 million are displaced. Also, over 2,200 schools have been closed and about one in ten of this closure of schools is affecting over 300,000 children.⁷ A large part of the eastern region of Burkina Faso is now beyond state authority control. The region has also become a major area for illegal trafficking of arms and drugs, in particular, on the routes linking the coastal south to the Sahelian north.8 In December 2018, a state of emergency was declared in several regions, granting extraordinary powers to the security forces and restricting freedom of movement and assembly in the country. The State of Emergency was renewed twice in January 2020 and June 2021.9

Arguably, children and youth are greatly affected by the growing insecurity and humanitarian crisis in Burkina Faso. There are reports that children are increasingly being involved in armed conflicts and armed groups in Burkina Faso. Since 2020, the country has been on the UN watch list for children in armed conflict. This report is based on field work carried out in Burkina Faso in August 2021. It shares insights on the involvement of children in armed conflict, the role of the youth in peacebuilding, as well as barriers that impede peacebuilding.

¹Salihu, N. (2015). Burkina Faso: An Unforeseen Crisis? Conflict Trends, Issue 3, pp. 34-40.

²Abdallah, M. and Owusu, A. (2020). Youth and Radicalization in Burkina Faso. Report for KAIPTC-SIDA Project.

³DCAF, (2021). Critical Security Issues in Burkina Faso. July.

⁴Brottem, L. (2021). The Growing Complexity of Farmer-Herder Conflict in West and Central Africa. Africa Security Brief, No. 39 July. Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

⁵Douce, S. (2019). Au Burkina Faso, les Peuls victimes d'une stigmatisation meurtrière. Le Monde, February. Available at: https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2019/02/04/au-burkina-faso-les-peuls-victimes-d-unestigmatisation-meurtriere_5418966_3212.html

⁶ International Crisis Group, (2017). The Social Roots of Jihadist Violence in Burkina Faso's North. Africa Report N°254, 12 October.

⁷UNICEF (2021) Humanitarian Report

⁸Konard Adnauer Foundation (nd). North of the countries of the Gulf of Guinea: The new frontier for jihadist groups? ⁹DCAG (2021), op. cit.

Situational Analysis of Children and Youth in Armed Conflict and Armed Groups

Officially, the age for recruitment into the state security institutions is 18 years. In practice however, recruitment into the armed forces is open to persons over 20 years. 10 So children are not recruited by state security institutions. In recent years, armed attacks in parts of the country has increased the vulnerability and involvement of children. The involvement of children and youth in armed conflict and armed groups can be conceptualized as children being both victims and perpetrators. In 2020, the UN verified 171 grave violations against children, mostly occurring in the East, Central North, and Sahel regions of Burkina Faso. These include the recruitment and use of four boys by unidentified perpetrators in the Sahel region; the killing and maiming of at least 54 children (27 boys, 26 girls, 1 sex unknown); and the abduction of 22 children (14 boys, 8 girls).11 Rape and other forms of sexual violence affecting three girls were verified and attributed to Jama'at Nasr al-Islamwal Muslimin (JNIM) and unidentified perpetrators (1). A total of 80 attacks (70 on schools and 10 on hospitals) were verified. Out of these, 30 were attributed to unidentified perpetrators, 44 to Islamic State Greater Sahara (ISGS) and 6 to JNIM. A total of 22 children (14 boys, 8 girls) were abducted for unknown purposes. Sixteen (16) by unidentified perpetrators¹² ; 3 each by JNIM and ISGS. Twenty of the children were later released. In June 2021, the Solhan attack claimed about 130 lives including children; it was the deadliest assault in the country by fighters linked to al-Qaida and the Islamic State. ¹³In this attack, children between the ages of 12 and 14 were seen helping the fighters. 14 At least 14 boys are being held in the capital of Ouagadougou for alleged association with militant armed groups, according to officials from the Ministry of Justice¹⁵. Before then, ten boys, including nationals of Mali, the Niger and Nigeria, had been detained in Ouagadougou since 2018 for alleged association with armed groups. One boy was released and placed in a transit center.

as fighters but also for different purposes such as scouts, cooks, porters, guards, messengers and more. Many, especially girls, are also subjected to gender-based violence. Some are abducted, threatened, coerced or manipulated by armed actors. In Burkina Faso, the most common use of children is gathering of information and intelligence. Most people presume the innocence of children as they move about in their communities. Some of them are used by these armed groups to gather information about happenings in the communities. The use of children is also gendered. In Burkina Faso, it is believed that boys are mostly used by armed groups; however, there are reports of girls being either abducted or even married off to fighters.¹⁷

There are two primary ways through which children can become associated with armed groups; voluntary and involuntary means. The involuntary way includes forced conscription as well as some children being born into armed groups. With regards to voluntary recruitment, certain push and pull factors account for this. Push factors include "grievances, repression and discrimination as well as poverty, lack of education and employment, abuse at home or homelessness due to previous conflict". Pull factors include paradoxically seeking security in fighting forces, provision of food, a sense of belonging and ideology or group identity, as well as economic reasons such as gaining profit. ¹⁹In Burkina Faso, the involvement of children in armed groups can be attributed to structural factors such as poverty and underdevelopment. As Burkina Faso is one of the least developed countries in the region, there is wide income inequality and poverty in most parts of the country.

Usually, children are used by armed groups not only

¹⁰Interview with officials of ministry of defence

¹¹UN (2021). Children and armed conflict Report of the Secretary-General, May 6.

¹²Interview with a community development officer, August 2021.

¹³Africanews (2021). Militant groups recruiting child fighters in Burkina Faso – Report, August, 2. Available at https://www.africanews.com/amp/2021/08/02/militant-groups-recruiting-child-fighters-in-burkina-faso-report/

¹⁴Interview with a senior security official in Ouagadougou.

¹⁵Interviews with officials of Ministry of Justice

¹⁷lbid

¹⁸Wench, H. (2011). Girl Soldiers in Guatemala. In í—zerdem, Alpaslan and Podder, Sukanya (eds) Child Soldiers: From Recruitment to Reintegration. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p. 92.

¹⁹Anne-Lynn Dudenhoefer, (2016). Understanding the Recruitment of Child Soldiers in Africa, Conflict Trends 2016/2

The country has a very youthful population without adequate social safety net.²⁰ Children are driven by poverty and compelled to generate income for their families. Still others associate themselves for survival or to protect their communities.²¹ The problem of street children is very common in Burkina Faso, especially in Bobo Dioulasso and Ouagadougou. There are a lot of children begging for alms on the streets of these cities.²² This can be attributable to demographic challenges in the rural areas, such as lack of access to contraceptives, contributing to families having large number of children without adequate social and economic resources to cater for the needs of such children. In northern Burkina Faso, some children and youth have joined armed groups to avenge the killings of their parents and other forms of injustices by both state security forces and armed groups.²³ The real concern is that these children are readily available for recruitment into radicalized groups who may appear to offer means of economic survival and social recognition. Another closely related cause contributing to making children more vulnerable is the lack of access to education, health, and basic services. Children have no access to good education, minimum health care and minimum dignity. They are therefore vulnerable targets and easy to be recruited by extremist groups. Due to closure of schools and lack of socio-economic safety nets children are both in supply and demand in Burkina Faso. The involvement of children and youth in illicit economic activities such as small-scale mining is historical. In recent times children are increasingly visible in the country's informal gold mining sector.²⁴ Artisanal mining sites mostly found in the country's rural border zones, have been targeted by militant organizations. Children are often engaged in the illicit economy.²⁵ Moreover, parts of these border zones are largely outside of state control, allowing Islamist groups like Jama'at Nasr al-Islamwal Muslimin (JNIM) and Islamic State Greater Sahara (ISGS) to assert authority.26

Armed groups also deprive children of nutrition and healthy living conditions, or subject them to substance abuse, with significant consequences for their physical and mental well-being. These experiences take a heavy toll on children's relationships with their

families and communities.²⁷ Most especially, some children who have been used by armed actors but attempt to reintegrate into their communities may be viewed with suspicion, or meted outright rejection by their families and communities. Others may struggle to fit in. Psychological distress can make it difficult for children to process and verbalize their experiences, especially when they fear stigmatization. Moreover, families and communities are coping with their own challenges and trauma from increasing violent attacks in parts of the country and as such, they often find it difficult to accept and reintegrate children formerly associated with armed groups.

Since the onset of violent extremism in parts of Burkina Faso, about 2,500 schools had closed because of the violence, depriving 350,000 children of access to education.²⁸ In areas under the control of jihadist groups, they have also demanded the closure of so-called "French" schools.²⁹ The number of attacks and threats of attacks against schools, hospitals and protected persons by armed groups has increased in the country. In June 2021, the UN reported of maiming and killing of 54 children. Twenty-four were killed and 30 were maimed. Out of these, there were 27 boys, 26 girls and one with sex unknown. 30 Again, a total of 80 attacks (70 on schools and 10 on hospitals) were verified. Also, eight incidents of denial of humanitarian access were attributed to the Group to Support Islam and Muslims (JNIM), the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS), Burkina Faso's Defence and Security Forces, Volontaires pour Violations la défense de la patrie, and unidentified perpetrators. The UN called on national authorities to treat these children primarily as victims and to uphold international juvenile justice standards.

The COVID 19 pandemic has further worsened the situation as education has been most impacted by its global spread of schools have been closed across the country to limit the spread of the pandemic. Meanwhile, when children are not in school, they are at greater risk of recruitment by armed groups, sexual and gender-based violence, child marriage, child labour and other forms of exploitation and abuse. Like most countries in the Sahel region, Burkina Faso has endorsed the Safe Schools Declaration, committing

²⁵Interviews

²⁰Aning, K. & Atta-Asamoah, A. (2011). Demography, Environment and Conflict in West Africa. KAIPTC Occasional Paper, Issue 34.

²¹Unicef, Interviews

²²Interviews with a Development and Government Researcher in Ouagadougou, August 2021

²³Interview with a community worker in northern Burkina Faso

²⁴Faulkner, C.M. and Thompson, J. (2021). Rising Violence and The Risks to Children in Burkina Faso. August 11. Available at https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2021/08/11/rising-violence-and-the-risks-to-children-in-burkina-faso/

²⁶Faulkner and Thompson (2021), op. cit.

²⁷UNICEF

 $^{^{28}}$ UNHCR, (2020), Schools caught up in armed conflict sweeping across the Sahel, August 7.

²⁹Konard Adnauer

³⁰Save the children (2020). The Central Sahel a Children's Crisis, Central Sahel Brief, October

to the protection and continuation of education in armed conflict, including the use of the Guidelines for Protecting Schools and Universities from Military Use During Armed Conflict. While this is a step in the right direction, further efforts and international attention is required to deal with ongoing security crisis to prevent an entire generation from losing out on education.³²

Barriers to safe and meaningful inclusion and participation of youth in peacebuilding processes

Peacebuilding initiative improves the prospects that war or conflicts can be resolved. Thus strategies for peacebuilding should address the local roots of hostility, the local capacities for change, and the specific degree of international and local commitment available to ensure sustainable peace. As measures to ensure sustainable peace and security, Burkina Faso is going through peacebuilding processes. A group of stakeholders, through concerted efforts, has been implementing a number of peacebuilding activities, including policies review, advocacy, capacity building, sensitization, awareness creation, education, dialogue at national and communities' levels to strengthen key local actors' capacity for sustainable peace and security across the thirteen (13) regions in the country. However, youth inclusion and participation in these activities remain a challenge. The 2019 population census in the country revealed that youths under the age of 35 represent 77.9% of the total population³³. African Youth Charter and the UNSCR 2250, 2419, 2535, called for youth inclusion and participation in peacebuilding processes to achieve sustainable global peace and security. Despite this call and the fact that the youth constitute majority of the population, they are marginalized in peacebuilding processes.

The youth are not identified as main actors in peacebuilding processes in the country. A number of factorscontributetotheexclusionandnon-participation of the youth in peacebuilding in the country. Political affiliation of the youth has been recognised as a major factor. Youth who are associated with the ruling party are those who are privileged to participate in the processes. Even that, the number of those who have the opportunity remains questionable.³⁴ Though few boys are represented in peacebuilding processes,

girls are totally missing from the processes. Ethnicity is another barrier to youth' inclusion and participation in peacebuilding processes. Some youth are considered more Burkinabé than others. The 'Mossi' who are the ones in power are privileged to have space in peacebuilding processes than those from the other regions. Bad governance is also a factor that poses a challenge to youth' participation. The political climate, associated with problems with regards to corruption, lack of transparency and accountability, rule of law and the respect for human rights pave ways for the marginalization of the youth in peacebuilding processes³⁵.

Socio-cultural norms and beliefs that hold the view that the youth are minors and immature and therefore lack the ability to make constructive inputs into national development and peace and security issues is also a contributing factor to the exclusion of the youth in peacebuilding interventions. Conflict at the community levels, lack of financial independency resulting from unemployment makes most youth vulnerable; and as such, politicians take advantage of their vulnerability to exclude them from peacebuilding processes. Besides these external factors, youths themselves do not show interest and some also lack the capacity to participate and make substantial inputs into peacebuilding processes.³⁶ Various government institutions, non-governmental, Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs) and Offices of UN representatives continue to be very instrumental implementing peacebuilding activities programmes in the country. It is very critical for policy makers to develop policies and strategies to promote participation of the youth in all peacebuilding interventions to ensure inclusivity and participatory development that would contribute to sustainable development in Burkina Faso.

Actors involved in ensuring participation of youth in peacebuilding

Peacebuilding as an activity also aims at social justice to resolve structural factors that contribute to deadly or destructive conflict. Burkina Faso is therefore going through peacebuilding processes to promote and sustain peace and security. In response to restoring peace in the country, there are

³²Save the children (2020). The Central Sahel A Children's Crisis, Central Sahel Brief, October

³³Institut National de la Statistique et de la Démographie (2019). 5ème Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat (RGPH). Ouagadougou,

³⁴Interview with staff of CSO in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. 20th August, 2021.

³⁵Interview with staff of Movement Burkinabé pour des Droits de l'homme et du Peuple. Ougadougou, Burkina Faso. 27th August, 2021.

³⁶Interview with a student at Association International des Etudiant en Science Economique et Commercial. Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. 23rd August, 2021.

a number of national institutions, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Civil Societies Organizations (CSO's) which have been very active in ensuring that youths in Burkina Faso are considered as main actors in the various peacebuilding initiatives being carried out across all levels in the country.³⁷ Some of these organizations include the Ministry of Women, Family and Humanitarian Action (MFSNFAH); Ministry of National Reconciliation and Social Cohesion (MRNCSO); Ministry of Human Rights (MDH); National Council for Emergency Relief and Rehabilitation (CONASUR); the Directorate of Child Care and Protection (DGEPEA); Ministry of Defence in charge of Security Sector Reform; United Nations International Emergency Fund (UNICEF) among others.

Among these institutions, the Ministry of Women, Family and Humanitarian Action (MFSNFAH) is the central governmental institution mandated to promote the inclusion and participation of the youth in peacebuilding processes. The Ministry was established in 1997 with mandate to ensure the implementation of government policies and the advancement of the cause of women, the welfare and protection of children with focus on inclusion and participation of youth in peacebuilding processes, among others. Since its inception, the Ministry has been partnering with other organizations through various interventions to promote youth inclusiveness and participation in political and peacebuilding spaces. The Ministry indeed partnered with United Nations Emergency Fund for Children (UNICEF) to organize capacity building programs, advocacy, research and sensitizations among others. UNICEF has been identified to be a key player in promoting youths' inclusion and participation in peacebuilding processes. Apart from MFSNFAH, UNICEF has also been working with a number of other governmental as well as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) through policy development and programs to call on all stakeholders concerned to make peacebuilding processes more inclusive and participatory for young men and women. In promoting youth inclusion and participation, UNICEF supported active participation of the youth through the training of 790 institutional and community actors and 1,134 community leaders, including 303 women, on the culture of peace and social cohesion in the Sahel and the Northern regions. Community dialogues, social mediations and local awareness-raising sessions carried out by UNICEF in these regions reached 15,047 people

(8,562 men and 6,485 women). In addition, a total of 450 adolescents and unemployed young people (185 girls) were placed in vocational training and received support for income-generating activities.38 These were strategic interventions to build the capacity of the youth to participate in peacebuilding processes. Besides, UNICEF's supports, Interpeace, a non-governmental organization in Burkina Faso, having recognized that youth exclusion has made it even more difficult to tackle the root causes of conflict in the country, organized a national forum for dialogue among the youth in nine communities across the country.³⁹ A total of 300 young people, 40% of whom were women were empowered to participate and contribute to peacebuilding programs and to promote social cohesion. 40 Despite concerted efforts from various organizations, including the aforementioned, to promote youth inclusion and participation in peacebuilding promotion, it can be concluded that there is still not much space for youth inclusion in peace processes in Burkina Faso. Hence, there is the need for government and stakeholders to make intentional policies and appropriate reforms to include youth in peacebuilding processes.

Conclusion

Burkina Faso is faced with increased insecurity. This is attributable to both local governance deficits and spillover of conflicts from its immediate neighbours in the Sahel region. Children are being drawn into the conflicts as both victims and perpetrators. Although concerted efforts are being made by local and international actors to promote peace and security in the country, there is minimal space for youth participation in peacebuilding processes. Appropriate strategies and processes need to be put in place, not just to include them in the peace processes but to make them interested in the fight for peace for their country, Burkina Faso. The following recommendations are made towards realizing that goal.

³⁷Interview with the Coordinator of Youth Programme for Africa. Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. 24th August, 2021.

³⁸UNICEF Country Office Annual Report: Burkina Faso (2020)

³⁹Interpeace International Organization for Peacebuilding (2020). Interpeace launches Burkina Faso Peacebuilding Programme

⁴⁰Interpeace International Organization for Peacebuilding (2020) Empowering young people to dialogue for peace in Burkina Faso.

Recommendations

- There is the need for the creation of awareness and education of the youth to have a better understanding of the peace and security architecture and its importance to national development.
- School curricula should be reviewed to include peace and security education from primary to tertiary institutions:
- It is important to urge the political parties through sensitization and dialogue to put an end to political manipulation of the youth and give every youth, both boys and girls, equal rights of citizenry and equal opportunity to contribute to national policies formation and its implementation, irrespective of their political affiliation;
- It is essential to create awareness on the existing international frameworks on Youth Peace and Security, and also on national legislations on the protection of children and youth for them to have a better understanding of their rights;
- The government must make a conscious effort to define a quota for youth participation in political spaces in the country. This will give opportunity to the youth to occupy political positions and be represented in strategic decision making spaces.
- The government should be committed to the wellbeing of the youth through job creations and capacity building in entrepreneurship;
- There is the need to advocate for stakeholders' commitment to respect and implement existing international frameworks that promote child protection laws and policies;
- It is crucial to sensitize communities to avoid stigmatization and let them understand those children were actually victims therefore they need family and community support to deal with the trauma;
- Capacity development programs need to be organized for cross-sections of local actors, especially those working at the Ministry of Social Welfare for proper coordination and protections of children and the youth. A Training of Trainers (ToT) would be ideal to ensure that knowledge is cascaded down to the community levels in all the regions.

About the Centre

Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) is an ECOWAS Centre of Excellence that provides globally recognized capacity for international actors on African peace and security through training, education and research to foster peace and stability in Africa. www.kaiptc.org

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