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Analysis of cultural barriers to women's economic empowerment in Burundi

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Abbreviations

CDFC	Family and Community Development Centre
CNC	National Communication Council
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FONIC	National Communal Investment Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IGA	Income Generating Activities
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PDFC	Family and Community Development Plan
Search	Search for Common Ground
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VLSAs	Village Savings and Loan Associations
WEE	Women Economic Empowerment

1. Executive Summary

This study aims to increase the understanding of the existing cultural barriers to women's empowerment, to provide a better understanding of the social norms that limit women's access to economic opportunities and to identify the social norms that support or facilitate women's economic empowerment in Burundi. Data collection comprised of a mixed-method approach over three months during which large-scale surveys of the population, qualitative interviews of local actors, and focus group discussions were conducted with women and men of different age groups from rural and urban communes of Burundi.

This study highlighted that patriarchy remains the norm in the Burundian society and does leave little room, for the moment, for both men or women to consider women as autonomous individuals who can make decisions on their own or for their own development. Women's agency and aspirations are still constrained and determined by their social environment which determines their value. Patriarchy also limits men who try to tread the untrodden path and aid their wives in household tasks. Thus, patriarchy seems to limit men's development as much as it does women's.

A significant change of this representation can however be observed in, (i) urban areas and (ii) (to a lesser extent) for people who went/go to university: their representation tends towards gender equality. Neither gender nor age seemed to affect representation of women in society: women of all ages seem to maintain the patriarchal representation of women as men do. The increase in access to education and reduced retention of girls at home is leading to a generation that will be more educated. Laws and policies that are being issued in recent years are ensuring women can find a place in all sectors and find avenues for increased access and active participation in economic activities. Additionally, increasing awareness and availability of resources such as VSLA's have started to enable a change in mindset of the society.

These upcoming changes have led actors involved in the study to indicate that the norms are evolving positively with regard to representation and participation of women, especially outside the household sphere. The population shared the perception that the situation in the coming years will change positively, with more opportunities emerging for women's economic development.

The main recommendations are:

- To develop individual supporting activities for women, monitor improvement of their situation and mitigate the barriers and threats, to make the difference at an individual level. Recommended activities are individual psychologic, social and logistic support, IGA, loans, etc.
- The strategy developed should be different in urban and rural settings, considering that there are far more opportunities for WEE in urban settings. Strategies could be more ambitious in urban settings and targeting positive change at a collective level through economic support activities. The strategy in rural settings should focus on how to remove cultural barriers within families, through continuous sensitization, and engaging with all community actors (local administration, community leaders, economic actors). Individual support provided to women should be holistic (economic, social, psychologic) and risk of backlash and reprisal from the community should be considered.
- To develop basic sensitization and awareness activities for the population in general. An ambitious and continuous awareness/sensitization program seems to be indispensable. Awareness should focus on positive and win-win outcomes of WEE for Burundian society in general, and both men and women. Sensitisation programs as well as advocacy activities should take into account the concept of positive masculinity and examples of behaviour of men following positive masculinity principles.
- To help and support women to develop substantial economic activities (activities that could provide a large autonomy to women, like executive positions in private companies, full time position in the administration and non-profit sectors, large and innovative business), and not only secondary activities that women are currently doing (i.e. small IGA).

- NGOs and CSOs could set up small and flexible individual funds or activities to support women who need to be sheltered or to benefit from a small temporary income to help them to reach autonomy and provide them more power of influence within the household.
- To continue to deeply involve local public (communes, CPDC, hill counsellors) and private local actors, through capacity building and jointly implemented project and activities. Social services should support women who are in conflict with their husband/their family due to economic/household income issues, through awareness, mediation, sensitization about rights of men and women.

2. Introduction

2.1. Background

2.1.1. Socio-economic context in Burundi

According to most economic rates and rankings, and for decades, Burundi has been one of the poorest countries in the world (Razafindrakoto & Roubaud, 2015; Uvin, 2010). Moreover, Burundi has gone through negative trends over the past five years, especially due to security and political issues, as well as the decline in foreign aid since 2015 and the reluctance of national and foreign investors due to political instability (Moriceau & De Coster, 2019). This has caused difficulties in budget and balance of payments and a high unemployment rate among young people and women. With 12 million inhabitants¹, of which women constitute 50.7% (World Bank 2018), Burundi is the second-most densely populated country in Africa (403 hab/km²). To compensate for this loss coming from external aid and lack of investors, the Government has strongly mobilized domestic resources and tried to tax the informal economy.

The growth rate is expected to reach 3.7% in 2020 and 4.3% in 2021², with an increase in coffee exports, a slight increase in public investment, an average 6% growth in food production and the maintenance of a prudent monetary policy. The Central Bank has initiated important regulatory reforms in foreign exchange policy that could help reduce pressure on the country's foreign exchange reserves.

Various initiatives are underway to modernize and diversify agricultural production, but the socio-economic situation remains extremely difficult for most Burundians. Food security remains a major challenge: six out of ten children suffered delayed development because of chronic malnutrition in 2017. Life expectancy, which was 57 years in 2014, has decreased to 52.6 years in 2017. The level of human capital is generally low due to the poor performance of the education system and the persistent mismatch between skills and labour market needs. The agricultural sector is dominant, accounting for 40.7% of GDP in 2018, and employing about 80% of the labour force, but faces significant agronomic, technological and institutional constraints.

2.1.2. Socio-cultural context in Burundi

Burundi is characterized as a patriarchal society where gender norms are set with an understanding of the sociocultural expectations of both women and men. The role of Burundian women within this set of norms comprises overseeing the responsibilities of the household and childcare (USAID, 2017). Parenting practices in the Burundian society also dictate that a girl should receive proper training in 'female' tasks such as household work, raising children, be taught to respect men, especially her future husband, and to be hardened to work in the fields (Ndayiragije, 2011). Socio-cultural norms for married women in Burundi reflect these practices in that a married woman is expected to be submissive to her husband, respond to his sexual desires and to be a good parent (Iradukunda et. al., 2019, Courtois, 2016).

These norms that engender unequal power relations from an early age for both men and women are reflected in the high rates of physical and economic exploitation of women. Women, particularly in the rural areas, are most often involved in unpaid and undocumented household, agricultural production of non-cash crops, and care work (Basse & Kwizera, 2017). Men are seen to be traditionally engaged in activities such as production of cash crops, salaried employment, vocational jobs, that can provide financial benefits. Though women largely produce the food-crops needed for the family, they do not have the decision-making power over the use of the harvest (Iradukunda et. al., 2019).

¹ According to projections from the National Statistic Agency. <https://www.isteebu.bi/burundi-en-bref/>, consulted 24th of January 2021.

² Expect if there is a specific reference, data presented in this paragraph are from the World Bank country overview <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/burundi/overview>, consulted 23rd of November 2020.

While the loss of men heads of household, increasing poverty and widespread access to schooling has enabled women to seek gainful employment outside of the sphere of the household (USAID, 2017), the traditional norms still limit the access of women to continued education, leading to a higher rate of illiteracy in women. A majority of women are still largely employed in the agricultural or informal sectors which generally require low qualification rather than in the trade and commerce sector (Muchiri & Nzisabira, 2020).

Globalization, involvement of civil society movements and international agencies are leading to an evolution in the socio-cultural perceptions. Involvement of women in the social, political and public sphere, especially in the urban sectors, is leading to increasing economic and social freedom. Women's involvement in women farmers' associations, VSLA's and small cooperatives provide spaces for women's personal and economic growth and also for open discussions and sensitization of the larger society including men (de Almagro, 2018; USAID, 2017).

2.2. Objectives of the study

Search for Common Ground (Search) in partnership with Freedom House and funded by USAID, is implementing the five-year *Tuyage* programme. It pursues the overall objective to 'foster an enriched information landscape and culture of open discussion on concerns that directly affect Burundians in their daily lives, with a focus on shared economic concerns and opportunities that will serve as a means of expanding civic engagement, increasing dialogue across divides, and building social cohesion. The project's aim is three-fold. It combines a focus on access to information, on economic discourse, and advocates for an evolution in social norms and the removal of cultural barriers limiting women's access to economic opportunities in Burundi. Following that last objective, Search desires to increase media professionals' capacity to produce content that supports the transformation of discriminatory social norms and cultural barriers for women; to enhance positive attitudes towards the rights and participation of Burundian women in the economy; to positively impact gender-based violence; to improve women's entrepreneurial skills, leadership and other related skills as well as to ameliorate women's access to markets, finance and mentoring.

To achieve this, Search has delineated three distinct specific objectives: (i) to increase the understanding of the existing cultural barriers to women's empowerment in Burundi; (ii) to provide a better understanding of social norms limiting women's access to economic opportunities in Burundi; (iii) to identify social norms that support or facilitate women's economic empowerment.

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1. Research areas

Table: Research areas



2.3.2. Survey design

Geographical focus

Due to methodological and budget constraints, it was not possible to implement the survey in all provinces of Burundi. The study targeted four of the eighteen provinces of Burundi. For each province, C-Lever selected two communes. This geographical sample was chosen based on the following criteria: (i) balance between urban/rural areas, (ii) geographical (east, west, north, south) and demographic features; (iii) accessibility; (iv) Search's program implementation and interest; (v) history and political differences.

Accounting for the selection criteria above, the following specific provinces/communes were targeted:

- Ngozi (North Burundi): the same communes which were visited during the mid-term evaluation - Ngozi (urban) and Tangara (rural). These communes are bordered by the provinces of Karusi and Muyinga. Ngozi is also a province with coffee fields and transformation factories.
- Gitega: the communes of Gitega (urban) and Giheta (rural). The latter is the native commune of the current president of the Republic and has benefited a lot from NGO interventions in the field of human rights, gender, peacebuilding, etc.)
- Bujumbura Mairie: two out of the three communes of Bujumbura municipality, Muha and Mukaza, which were covered in the baseline evaluation.
- The province of Bubanza: the commune of Mpanda, a peri-urban entity with strong ties to the capital city and Musigati, a commune that has been severely hit by various crises. The Bubanza province, especially the communes in the plain, which seem to have a negative reputation of abusive practices against women, particularly related to polygamy.

Specific sampling for qualitative interviews, FGD and quantitative survey.

The table below indicates the different actors met during the field survey.

Table: Quantitative household survey

Province / Commune	Women		Men		Total Number
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Bubanza	100	53%	90	47%	190
Mpanda	55	59%	39	41%	94

Musigati	45	47%	51	53%	96
Bujumbura Mairie	98	54%	85	46%	183
Muha	48	54%	41	46%	89
Mukaza	50	53%	44	47%	94
Gitega	110	60%	72	40%	182
Giheta	55	60%	37	40%	92
Gitega	55	61%	35	39%	90
Ngozi	97	54%	83	46%	180
Ngozi	49	54%	42	46%	91
Tangara	48	54%	41	46%	89
Total	405	55%	330	45%	735

The tables below provide an overview of the interviews & FGD conducted in the field (see details of all actors interviewed in annex 1):

Table: Qualitative interviews

Province	Authorities ³	CSO	International Community	Private Sector	Total
Bubanza	1	4		2	7
Local	1(m)	2(f); 2(m)		2(f)	7
Bujumbura	4	5	1	1	11
Local	2(f); 1 (m)	2(f)		1(m)	6
National	1(m)	2(f); 1 (m)	1(f)		5
Gitega	6	5		6	17
Local	2(f) ; 4(m)	4(f); 1(m)		6(f)	17
Ngozi	5	6		6	17
Local	5(f)	6(f)		5(f); 1(m)	17
Total	16	20	1	15	52

Table: Focus Group Discussions

Province	Setting	Number of participants	Sex	Age (years)
Musaga, Bujumbura	Urban	8	F	20 - 40
Musigati-Bubanza	Rural	8	F	20 - 40
Tangara/Ngozi	Rural	9	F	20 - 40
Giheta	Rural	9	F	20 - 40
Musigati-Bubanza	Rural	8	F	15- 20
Giheta	Rural	8	F	15 - 20
Tangara/Ngozi	Rural	8	M	20 - 40
University du Burundi, Bujumbura	Urban	11	M	20 - 40
Total		69		

2.3.3. Data collection and analysis principles and considerations

Mixed method data collection and analysis

³ (f) Female; (m) Male.

The exploration of women's economic empowerment has to be founded on a thorough context and problem analysis. Such context covers gender equality and the economic, political, and technical context. First, quantitative analysis was used to provide a context analysis as well as to define indicators of change and to assess the level/intensity of behaviour/perception of surveyed actors. Moreover, it provided the possibility to elicit responses from a sample of the general population with the intention to generalize the findings across Burundi. A qualitative analysis methodology was used to provide an enhanced answer to the research questions considering the contextual specificities of Burundi. Qualitative data was collected with semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, with questions adapted to the relevant stakeholders, considering the specific context of that particular group of stakeholders. All focus groups were transcribed and translated into English. The methodology permitted collecting data and information from different sources (both primary and secondary data) with different tools, facilitating the triangulation of data and increasing the reliability of the findings and recommendations of the study.

Safeguarding

Ethical research is underpinned by principles of justice, beneficence and non-maleficence, essentially seeking to ensure that the research activity brings about benefit and does no harm to the participants. We abided by these ethical principles in our research process.

Any qualitative evaluation method that involves interviews implies the possible identification of the participants from the rich data obtained. We ensured that confidentiality of the participants was respected, and any possibility of identification was discussed in detail prior to the research process. The confidentiality and anonymity of all respondents has been respected, throughout the evaluation and when reporting. The data and results obtained has only been used for the realization of this assessment and not for any other purpose.

Gender & ethical issues

The study team examined all the objectives of the study through a gender and inclusiveness lens to ensure that the evaluation process was inclusive and to assess and understand the implications of gender and gender roles. In this regard, the study team ensured that the study was conducted giving a predominant role to women both in its team of enumerators and in the pool of interviewees.

While women were the key focus of this study, including the perspectives of the men in the society was considered equally essential. This implies that a part of the study focused on obtaining the perspectives of the men and women separately but in the interest of providing a deeper understanding of the specific dynamics of gender in the context of WEE in the Burundian society, it was essential to conduct a part of the study with both stakeholder groups simultaneously. In terms of addressing ethical tensions in conducting research with women, we acknowledge specific additional ethical issues that ensued in research with women in a patriarchal society:

- The notion of consent - in a society where women are already considered to be at a lower social stratum in comparison to men, it was especially important to ensure that women do not feel pressured into either participating in the study or giving responses that they perceived the researcher wants to hear.
- Power imbalance between the researcher and the participant - our research team paid close attention to practices that reflected respect and regard for the cultural norms in addressing the themes of this study and to ensure that the research procedures allowed for a co-constructed study process that allowed for maximum representation of the perspectives of the women who were the key stakeholders of this study.

2.3.4. Challenges and limitations

Representativeness

It was not the study's aim to provide representativeness in the quantitative results (in a statistical understanding of representativeness). What we were able to do, is to provide general trends, results and analysis regarding our sample (and not the population in general). However, we attempted to ensure that

the sample is reliable and respects the diversity of the Burundian population. In order to expand this area of research and discuss the results, further studies with strong robustness should be conducted.

Since the study only targeted four provinces in Burundi, it is reasonable to assume that some specific issues and problems endemic to some zones in the country are missing (for example, far east (Tanzania border), Tanganyika coast, etc.), but it is likewise plausible to suggest that this study provides the rationale to extrapolate the identified issues to the general population to a great degree.

Sensitive and intimate themes

The traditions in the society engender mistrust towards outsiders and within the community itself, and a gap exists between what is said publicly and what is practiced, along with a practice of silencing (*ensilencement*)⁴. This leads to specific challenges in conducting field studies in Burundi. In the context of this study, the sensitive and potentially controversial themes added an additional layer of complexity and made it challenging to build trust and elicit responses on sensitive themes like menstruation, domestic violence, poverty etc., from the respondents, especially in the rural sectors.

Technical and innovative concepts

The concept of women's economic empowerment itself came across as alien to many participants. Lack of knowledge about concepts on gender equality or awareness about public policy implementation meant that discussions on these topics appeared rather technical for some actors. While these concepts may have appeared as theoretical to some, it was evident from interactions that the local actors were willing to embrace and discuss the themes to the extent of their knowledge.

Timing and study set up

The timeline accorded to this study was very short, the entire process from conceptualization and design to data collection, analysis and reporting was done in a period of two months. The short time span also meant that a lot of actors, especially administrative and private sector actors, who the consultants desired to include in the study could not be included due to lack of availability in this time period. More time in the field would have helped in reaching out to additional actors and generating more information from them. A large intercultural, gender balanced, a geographically diverse team ensured that the study was conducted using multiple lenses and expertise to generate rich and high-quality data.

⁴ The literature further highlights practices of 'secrets and hidden behaviors' within the political sphere (i.e. the concept of hidden amendment, raised by Nindorera, 2018). Such behaviors are combined, in very local social fields, to a practice of social census and imposition of silence (couple, family, neighborhood, local community), labeled as a phenomenon of '*ensilencement*' (Vermeylen & Moriceau, 2021). This phenomenon underscores the complexity of social processes and the importance of barriers to social evolution and change, as well as the gap between what is claimed or showed publicly, and what is effectively thought or done in practice. We considered this complexity and gap in the development of the methodology, as well as in the analysis and conclusion of the present study.

3. Social norms and cultural factors for women and men in Burundi and its influence on WEE

This chapter will provide an overview of the social norms and cultural factors influencing both women and men in Burundi. It will first provide a description of the findings on the role of women, then examine the role of men.

3.1. Roles of women and men as accorded by social and cultural norms

In order to understand the roles attributed to women and men in Burundi it is essential to depict the representation of their respective roles in the society. 'Representation' is defined as a way in which the social subject constitutes an object culturally and psychologically, by a construction of the reality by this subject. This influences the perception of the world, which thus itself becomes an interpretation of what it is given to see and hear by conforming to norms, models, and social references. The representation of the ideal Burundian woman is defined in terms of their subordination to men and accompanied by a social tolerance towards gender-based violence. Men on the other hand are represented by notions of being the representatives of the family who are responsible for providing and protecting. The representation of feminine as well as masculine ideal is nurtured through them ensuring a large number of descendants (Courtois, 2016).

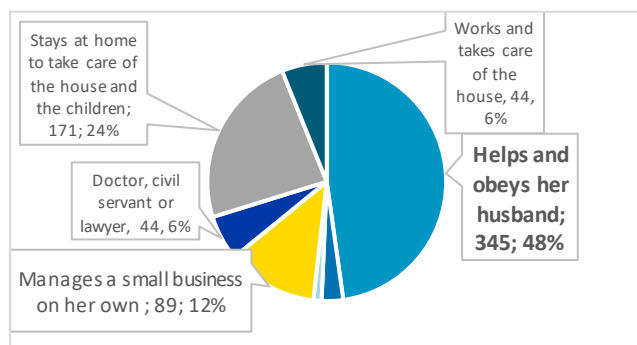
3.1.1. Role of women

We first present the main features regarding the representation of women within the community, which is largely traditional. We then provide an analysis of the different factors that lead / influence this representation and the differences in representation between different social groups. Finally, we develop the perceived role of women in some specific social fields.

General representation of women

The status of Burundian women is based on a fundamental dichotomy - on the one hand, they are seen quite 'positively' as the pillars of society and of the family; on the other hand, they are seen very negatively as secondary objects to men. This paradox is also in seen the traditions / customs that prevail in society: a lot of proverbs imply social superiority to men, but paradoxically some also show the role and power of influence of women in the ancient Burundian society.

Chart: What is the ideal role of women in your community?



According to the population surveyed, the representation of women widely shared among the community is clearly traditional. Most of the respondents believe that the ideal women should help and obey their husband (48%) and stay at home to take care of the house and the children (24%). It appears that only a small number of people trust the ideal woman to be a doctor, a civil servant, a lawyer (6%) or a small business manager (12%).

Women must meet a number of imperatives and conform to the expectations of others regarding their role. The ideal Burundian woman is represented as one who presents with an appearance of

submissiveness as reflected in her gestures (eyes downcast, voice very weak and almost inaudible when she has to speak in public), maintains her silence in public but guides with her advice in private, fulfils her role as a mother, ensures the care of the household and the elderly. The name given to a woman, *inarugo*, encompasses the role accorded to her by the society, that of housewife (Courtois, 2016).

“An ideal woman works for her family, she shows love towards her neighbours, she is kind and wise.” – women aged between 20-40 years old from Musaga

Factors that shape the traditional representation of women

The quantitative household survey used in this study gathered data on the socio-economic characteristics of respondents. Such methodology facilitates the linkage of data focusing on representation of women & economic empowerment, and individual socio-economic data. These links can highlight the factors that could effectively influence or shape the representation of the population, as well as highlight factors that have no influence on this representation. Prior to this analysis, we prepared and organised the data we gathered in two directions. Firstly, we developed a new variable aimed to quantify the type of representation of women’s societal role. To quantify such phenomenon, the selected variable depicted merely two opposite ideal types of representation⁵. They were the following: a traditional representation of women’s role and a progressive representation of women⁶. Secondly, we selected the variables representing the factors that we wanted to test (each factor was assumed to influence representation / perception of the population). We selected four variables: age (18-25, 26-35, 36-55, +55); residency (urban or rural); gender (men or women, level of education (no school attendance, primary school, secondary school, higher education). In other words, this analysis aimed to answer to the question: *Do the young people have a more traditional or more progressive representation of women than older people? Is this difference statistically significant?* We posed the same question for residence (urban/rural), gender, and level of education.

To answer these questions, we examined the result of the traditional-progressive variable through the prism of the category that was assumed to have a more traditional perception of women (men, rural, uneducated people) as well as through the category assumed to have a more progressive representation (younger people). We then calculated the result for the other pre-identified categories. Finally, we compared the different categories, and tested their differences to analyse if the difference between the categories were statistically significant⁷. The results demonstrate that the place of residence (urban/rural) and to a lesser extent the level of education has an influence on the representation of role of women in Burundi. This result is statistically significant, which implies that the risk of misinterpretation of these results is less than 1%. No statistically significant difference was observed regarding gender or age of respondents.

Gender and representation of women

The table below illustrates that the collected data did not create a significant cleavage between genders - there appears to be no statically significant difference in the representation of role of women between men and women. For example, almost 63% of both men and women believe that women should obey her husband (men 62%, women 64%).

⁵ One aimed to be expressed with the higher numeric value, and the other with the lowest numeric value.

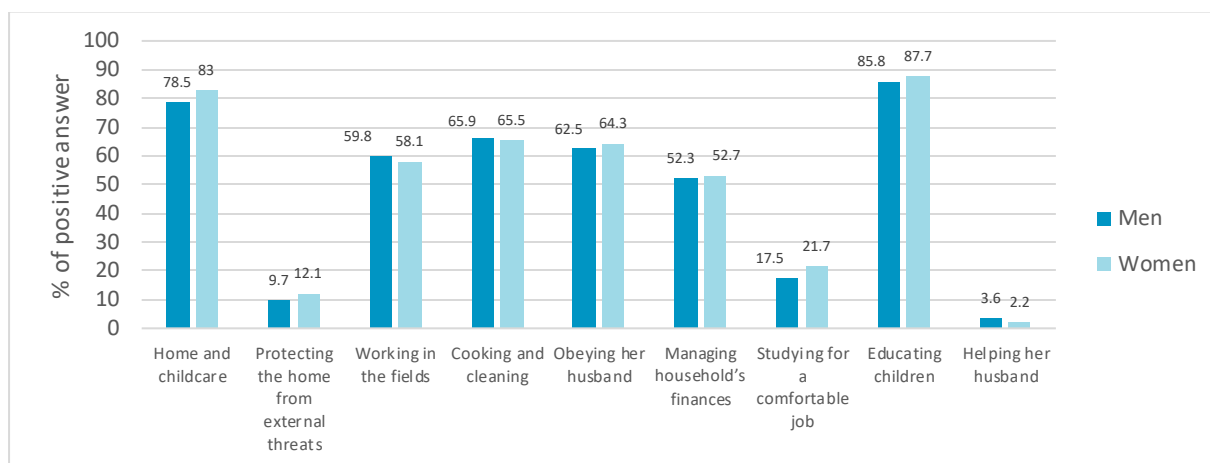
⁶ This new variable was developed using the question “*According to you, what are the role of women in the family, within your community?*” The different answers were classified between the aforementioned ideal types, taking into account the global representation of role of women for the majority of Burundian described above:

- Traditional: home and childcare, cooking and cleaning, obeying her husband, helping her husband.
- Progressive: protecting the home from external threats, earn money to provide household’s means, manage household’s finances, studying for a comfortable ideal .
- We didn’t classified the answers ‘educating children’ & ‘working in the fields’.

For each respondent, the new variable represents a quantitative coefficient, aggregated with its different answers.

⁷ CF Annex 4 for the general table of results of calculation of representativity of differences between different factors regarding the perception of women.

Chart: Gender and representation of women (%)



This result is consistent with the focus group discussions we conducted. Many men and women participants acknowledged that the practice of men leaving the household chores to the women is due to the Burundian tradition – and did not express a willingness to challenge it. We were often answered that it would not be a good thing to abandon the tradition.

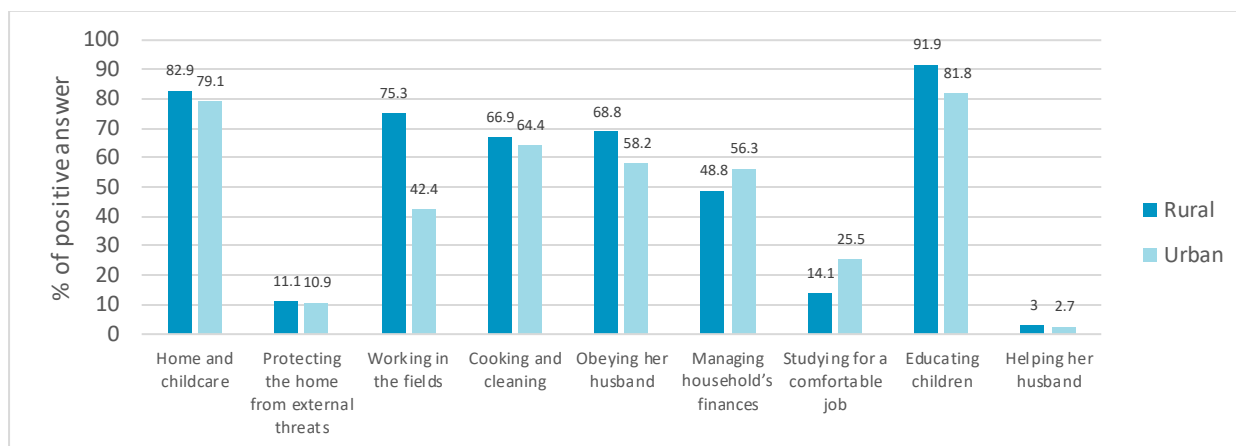
“Women have many tasks than men because woman is responsible for home duties, she does everything in her household. A man looks for few things concerning food, he can arrive home without knowing if children have eaten or not” – woman aged between 20-40 years old from Musigati-Bubanza

“(A) Man will be unhappy thinking that he is disrespected by his woman because those (household) activities are accomplished by women. This can be due to culture which hindered men not to do such activities” - man aged between 20-40 years old from Tangara/Ngozi

Residency and representation of women

The data shows that the environment of residence (Rural vs. Urban) and the consideration of an ideal woman in the community are dependent. When we move from rural to urban areas, the traditional representation of women is not as widespread. This result is represented in the table below, in which we observe significant differences between rural and urban settings. 69% of people in rural settings consider that women should obey her husband, compared with 58% for people in urban settings.

Chart: Residency and representation of women (%)

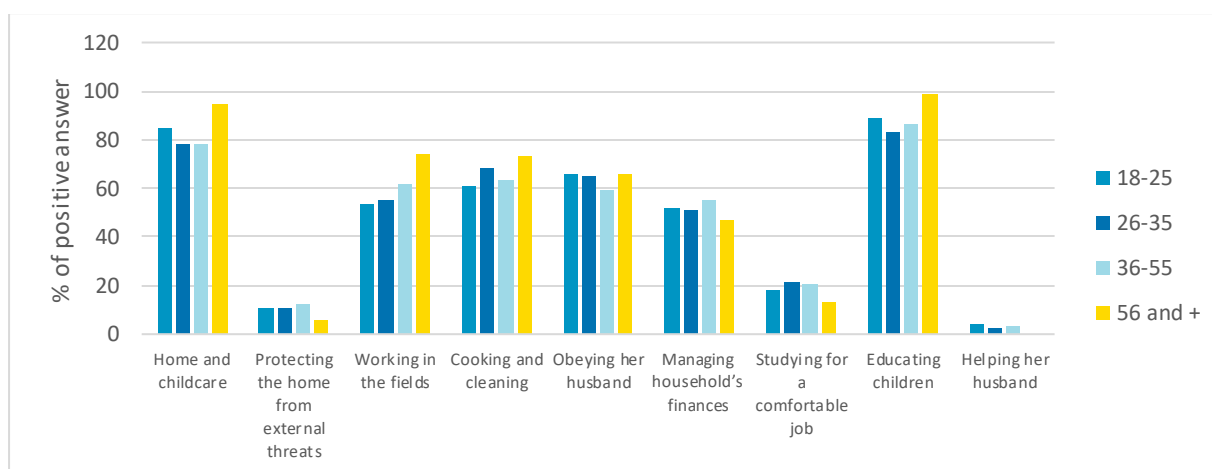


The persistence of social gender barriers in rural areas is confirmed by the qualitative data (cf. Case study 2 below for an extended example).

Generation and representation of women

We observed that the link between the representation of women in the community in Burundi and the generation of respondents is not statistically significant. We therefore, did not find a more progressive representation in the ‘young’ group compared to the more advanced generations, in our results. This result can be visualized in the table below, showing the details of each response to the question according to age group.

Chart: Generation and representation of women

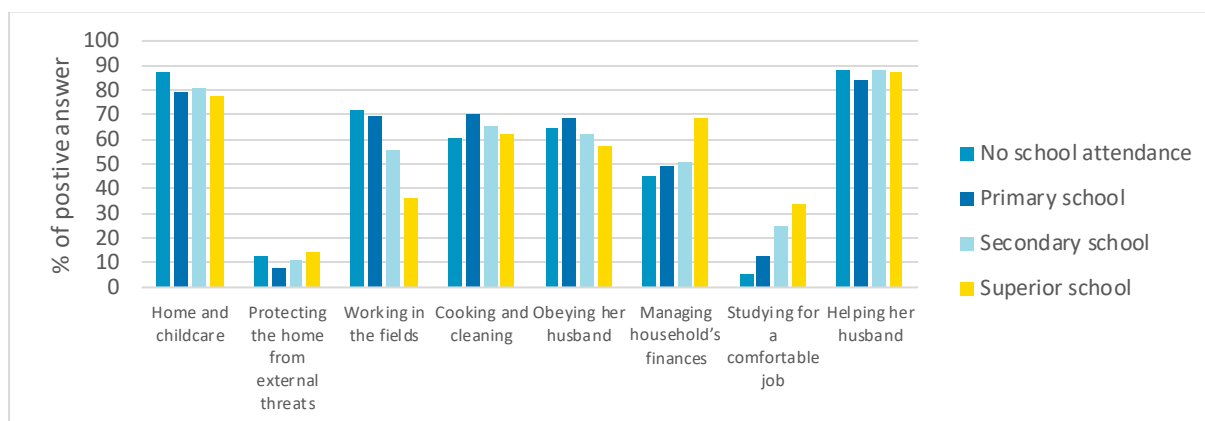


We see, for example, that whatever the age of the respondents, an average of 64,2 % believes that the ideal woman obeys her husband⁸.

Level of education and representation of women

It can be stated that the level of education has an influence on the representation of women to a limited extent. There is no significant difference between those who have not attended school and those who have attended primary and secondary school. Nonetheless, there is a difference with those who have attended university, who are more likely to have a progressive view on women. However, about 24% of those with higher education continue to think that women should obey their husbands or stay at home as a priority.

⁸ Age 18-25: 66,2 %; age 26-35: 65,2%; age 36-55: 59,3%; age 56 +: 65,7%.

Chart: Level of education and representation of women

We tested these results -*strong influence of residency, influence of education, and no influence of gender & generation on representation of women*- with the other questions of the questionnaire dealing with social norms. The results are consistent, meaning that the same factors (urban/rural and education) seem to have an influence on social role of women & men and the considerations on women's economic freedom and activities. It also appears that the other factors (age, gender, etc.) do not have a significant influence. For more visibility on the quantitative results regarding the following parts of the report, we will present results regarding the aforementioned factors without desegregation.

Specific representations of women by social field

In charge of the household

Cultural norms and values, as well as the distribution of traditional roles and responsibilities, often limit women's opportunities for participation in gainful employment outside their homes. The notion of *inkingi y'irembo* - *she is responsible of everything at home*, illustrates the activities which are perceived to be a feminine domain according to social norms. Many female participants from all FGD from both rural and urban areas pointed out that women are encouraged to work either at home or in the family farms rather than go outside of the home or far from their community for work. While discussions with men and boys indicate the changing notions on women's activities and household division of work, sentiments about how such equal division of household work goes against the culture was equally expressed. The close community and society do not accept that men do certain household chores/tasks (washing children, washing the plates, making the bed), which is frowned upon. In the Burundian tradition there are the prohibitions, *ibizira* which dictates that the man must not go into the kitchen, it is a space reserved for women only. If in a household the house is not clean, it is said that the woman is dirty and not the man. Contrary to what is commonly believed, women as well as men play a role in perpetuating unequal division of household labour through ridicule and disrespect of men or women who oppose the traditional divisions of labour. In urban areas, while there is a perception that housework should be shared between men and women, but traditionally and through habits, women feel more responsible for household chores. Some of the male participants, especially from the rural areas, expressed that men who help their wives in the house and with the children would not be worthy of respect in their eyes.

Obedience to men/ husband

Respect for one's parents and even more significantly, for one's husband was an often-quoted sentiment. A woman cannot rebel against her biological head, her father, or social head, her husband. A woman is expected to show respect to her husband, acquiesce to his wishes and seek his permission to engage in activities that may be outside of the norm. *Ni kwo zubakwa* meaning *that's how you build a home*, is a saying to encourage married women to stay at home despite all the abuse by her husband. While these traditions may not be as strictly adhered to as in the past, the participants in this study, both men and women, in rural and urban settings stressed the importance of this hierarchy in the household and the necessity to maintain this hierarchy to live a happy and peaceful life. Parenting practices reinforce cultural norms in this area in the upbringing of their children. Girls are expected to help out in household

chores, take care of younger children, fetch water, learn to cultivate land and run a family in preparation for their future role as a wife while boys are unencumbered by such expectations and are traditionally allowed more freedom. The upbringing of girls revolves around themes of the obedience, virtuous behavior, sexual chastity, politeness and respectfulness. When such rules are not respected, the social cost may be significant as illustrated in the following case study:

Case study 1: "...even though my choices put an end to my marriage."

The story of Mama Irma⁹ highlights the difficulties for a woman from a modest background to be able to achieve her goals in the job she likes and to be financially independent. These difficulties relate in particular to family life and the dominant position of the husband within couples, as well as to the negative perceptions of women evolving outside their homes and in a male environment.

"I got married at a very early age because I dropped out of primary school. I always wanted to have an activity other than housework/household chores, because at my parents' home I had the freedom to go out and engage in several activities. For example, animal breeding: I looked after my own goats!

One day I saw that a security agency near my home was recruiting agents. I was interested, I spoke to my husband about it and he told me that he was not against it. That's how I applied for a job as a security guard. After I was hired, however, my husband didn't approve of my working hours, nor my colleagues who were mostly men. Each night shift caused conflict between us. I managed to adjust my working hours, but despite those adjustments my husband remained jealous of my colleagues. I, therefore, decided to resign from the job to preserve my relationship.

However, simply staying at home and being idle didn't suit me. The economic dependence was beginning to weigh on me. I began to think about an income-generating activity. When I had goats at my parents' house, I had butcher clients who came to buy my goats. We got on well and became friends. My friends told me that with a goat I could get into the meat trade. I sold a goat to fund a space/stand at the market and started selling goat meat. That's how I got into the job of butcher and kebab cooker (vet) at the market. My kebab stand quickly became popular at the market in the center of Cibitoke as it was the only butcher's stand run by a woman! I soon had a lot of customers!

This success made coexistence with the other butchers, who were all men, very difficult. I withstood both competition and threats (sexist threats, attempts at physical aggression, etc.) from my male colleagues who were increasingly jealous of my success.

After a few years of struggle, I ended up getting on well with my fellow butchers. They had finally accepted, I think out of habit, to work with a female butcher. They had to get used to it and realised that it could work very well!

However, soon enough a second conflict arose with my husband, a second wave of jealousy. He questioned my work, my company and my colleagues. He suggested that I take on an employee to work on my behalf at the market. I accepted. Nonetheless, two problems made me change my mind...

First of all, the employee was stealing money on the sale of meat. Moreover, and despite the fact that I had forbidden him to do so, he often brought the income of the sale to my husband, justifying his actions by saying that if it was my money, it was for my husband, as he is the head of the household.

I decided to take over my business. My husband tried to make me change my mind. I refused. We argued a lot. He claimed that I was having sexual liaisons with the other butchers and that I should stop working at the market. This time I didn't give in. I simply decided for myself. I said no! He finally decided that we should separate. That is how I got divorced. I am still working as a vet at the market, which I still enjoy. I am independent in my activity and my budget, even if my choice has put an end to my marriage."

Today, Mama Irma still works as a vet (butcher) at the market. She sells her fresh meat, kebabs and even beers. She is probably going to move to Kampala (Uganda) to continue her activities there. She has retained custody of her daughter and is still in touch with her family in law with whom she gets along well.

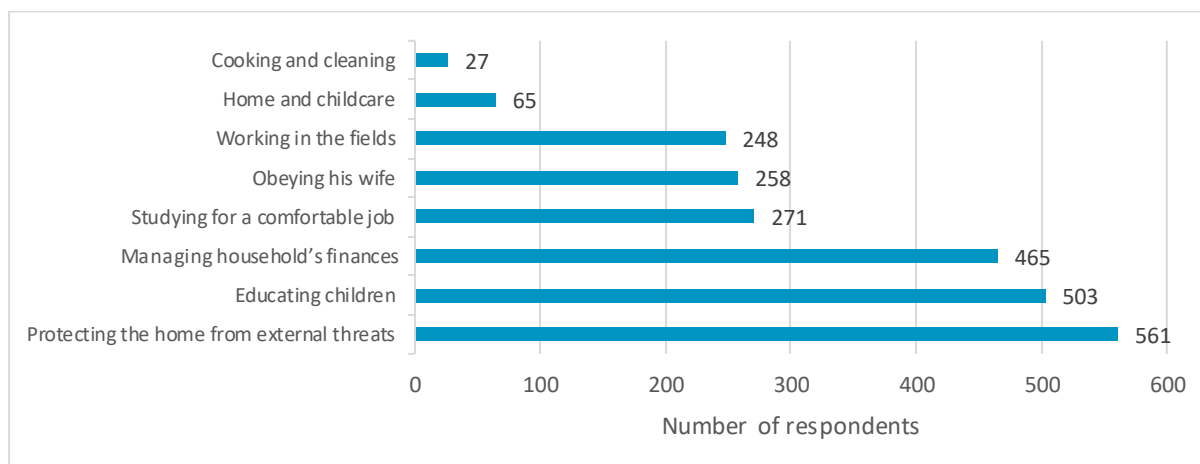
⁹ Names and places has been modified to ensure confidentiality.

3.1.2. Role of Men

The same term *abagabo* refers to men, husbands, landlords, notables and chiefs (Courtois, 2016). The figures of the masculine ideal-type are those of the warrior, or of the valiant and strong farmer. Men are considered to be the heads of the household and exercise the role of boss over their family in a relationship of domination and complete submission of the wife and children. They are expected to go outside the house and engage in activities that can generate an income for the household. As heads of household, men hold the symbolic and financial means to enforce the decisions with regard to household expenditure and have the freedom to sell crops or property without the consent of their wives. In Burundian tradition when a man was to get married, he had to do what was called *gushinga amashiga*, it consists of a man beating his wife to confirm his superiority (Courtois, 2016).

Discussions with men and boys during FGDs indicated that men are considered to be stronger and more physically active than women and accordingly there are certain¹⁰ categories of work reserved for men, like stone breaking, brick making and masonry, handcrafting, transportation of goods and using bikes. Bike riding is considered to be an activity solely reserved for men, it was often quoted during the discussions with men and women that women who ride bicycles or motorcycles are considered to be immoral or of poor character. With respect to sociocultural norms in the public sphere, the man is meant to represent the entire family in all domains, both in and outside of the home. The social norms dictate that women are not called upon or expected to speak in public. In a marital context, a woman speaking in public when her husband is present is considered to be a sign of great disrespect to her husband and his family, a Burundian saying exemplifies this social dictum: *inkokontibika isake ihari* or *ntankokokazi ibika isake ihari* meaning *A hen can't sing when a rooster is around*.

Chart: In your community, what are the roles of the husband in the family?



Those observations are confirmed by the quantitative data. Indeed, when asked about the role of a husband in the family, a large majority believes that it is up to the husband to protect the household against external threats (76,12 %), to educate children (68,25 %) as well as to manage the household finances (63,09 %). However, only a small proportion of the people interviewed believe that husbands should clean, cook (3,66 %) or stay at home to take care of the household and the children (8,82 %).

“A wife would not like to face dangers. When there is a threat it is seldom a woman who handles it. Women feel safety when they are with men, protectors.” – man aged between 20-40 years old from Tangara/Ngozi

Another interesting result is the number of people considering that husbands should obey their wives 258; 35%. We note that this answer comes from both men and women, and it highlights the complexity and potential paradoxes in social representations. We could link this result with two assumptions from the qualitative material. Firstly, men are sometimes seen as less wise/reliable than women, especially

¹⁰ Literally *establish the basis for the household*.

regarding sexual behaviour and the ability to take decisions in the household's interest. In this regard, Case study 2 below is typical of the discourse of many local actors met about men's behaviour. Secondly, it seems that women are also seen as the one who take decision within the household, and that husbands should follow their guidance (Cf 3.2 below).

Burundian men experience a lot more freedom in their daily lives as compared to women and expect the women to be subservient and care for their needs. In rural areas men participate less in fieldwork activities because some activities are considered "women's work". Several local CSO actors interviewed in rural areas shared that, over a 9-month agricultural season, the man participates at the beginning and at the end, i.e. around 3 to 4 months out of the 9 months. Despite this, they argued that the crops are often recorded in the name of the husband because he is the head of the family¹¹. For one local authority met in Ngozi province, this can also be explained by the fact that *“men participate in the difficult work, like preparation of the land before the semi, and women clear and maintain the fields. For harvest time, the man often intervenes again for the sale of crops.”*

3.2. Social barriers to WEE

Representation of woman regarding work (in and out the household)

The saying - *Umurundikazi n'uwoguteka* - the Burundian woman is designed for cooking, exemplifies the role in society that is accorded to women. Their first responsibility is considered to be the care of the household. Work overload and the pressure of household tasks and responsibilities leaves very little time for women and girls to accomplish anything else. Much of women's work (domestic work, caring for and educating children, care work, etc.) remains 'invisible' because it is insufficiently recognized and, above all, unpaid.¹² Participants in the study speak about women's abilities to do multiple tasks, albeit incompletely, at once in managing the household while men often carry out only one task at a time seeing it through to fruition.

While the qualitative inquiry indicates that social norms encourage women to perform unpaid and 'care' activities, quantitative data provides a concrete dimension to this observation. It appears that social norms prevent women from engaging in paid economic activities. The answers to the household survey question, *‘in your opinion, what are the barriers/difficulties women face in carrying out economic activities?’*, highlighted the lack of financial resources available to women who wish to engage in gainful economic activities (71,51%), as well as their husbands' prohibition/reluctance to their wives economic empowerment (49,93%), regardless the type of economic activity.

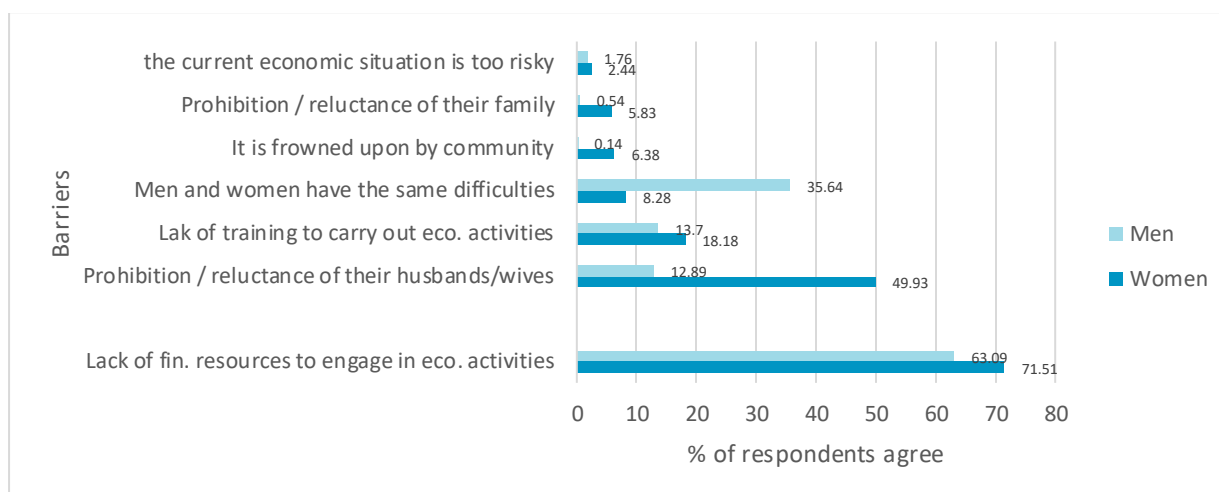
Even though male participants hail women's abilities to multi-task, they still quote women's laziness as a key barrier to economic empowerment. The notion of women being lazy stems from the ideal that since traditionally men are expected to provide for the women, women prefer to sit back, tend to depend on their husbands for economic support rather than seeking avenues of economic gain and take care of the house (which is not viewed as work by the society). Another element emphasized by both men and women in the FGDs is that women tend to under-estimate their physical and mental abilities and thus do not strive for jobs that they could potentially obtain. Additionally, it was stated in some FGDs conducted with women that private sector employers are reluctant to hire women as employees due to the fear that women may get pregnant, have an ill child or present with other illnesses that affects the attendance of their work.

“Women cannot get a paying job due to some employers do not prefer to employ women because sometimes they give births, or they can get sick and be absent at work. Those employers prefer to employ men” – women aged between 20-40 years old from Musaga

Comparison with barriers faced by men

¹¹ Cf Case study 2 for an extended example.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 212.

Chart: In your opinion, what are the barriers/difficulties women and men face in carrying out economic activities?

While it seems to be largely admitted among both men and women that access to economic resources constitutes a primary barrier to the exercise of an economic activity (women 71,51 %, men 63,09 %), and a significant number (women 18,18 %, men 13,7 %) believe that their lack of training hinders their economic independence, the perception of their partners as a hindrance to their economic empowerment seems to differ depending on the gender. Indeed, while women largely agree that their husband may constitute an obstacle to the conduct of an economic activity (49,93 %), men hardly believe that their wives may prevent them from working (12,89 %). Moreover, while a significant percentage of men do not identify any barriers to economic empowerment associated with gender (35,64 %), only 8,28 % of women believe that they face the same difficulties as men.

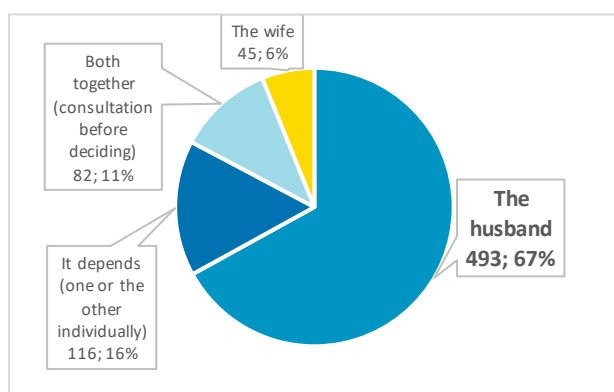
Women entrepreneurs and merchants suffer from rumours and vilification if their work requires them to travel for their activity. This might be linked to the perception that women who travel far from their household are those of loose morals. The implication is that these women have sexual liaisons with their suppliers or other people when they are abroad. As a result, many married traders prefer to send a man to buy their wares abroad instead of going there themselves. “*In the Ngozi market we speak of "Abadubai" to call women traders who have gone or who are going to Dubai. This expression means women loose morals*”¹³ -Remarks made by an entrepreneur in Ngozi.

Tradition dictates that there are certain activities like running a business for bicycle taxi, motorcycle taxi, taxi, masonry and wood cutting are reserved for men. In the Burundian tradition, it was said that the man built the house and the woman maintained it. There is a proverb *nta mugore yurira gusakara inzu yoca iva* - *if the frame of a house was made by a woman, the house must have water leaks*. Though, in recent years, women have been working in those areas too, these professions continue to remain masculine domains because of the notion that women are not strong enough for these professions and due to social limitations on women’s use of public transport and riding bicycles or motorbikes.

Limited power outside the household

It appears that women still have very little power and influence compared to men outside the household.

¹³ The expression *abadubai* means literally “Dubai people”, due to the fact that many traders use to travel to Dubai, but this neologism underlines a negative perception for all traveling woman traders.

Chart: Who do you trust to go to the authorities (or not) in case of problems?

The quantitative data shows that the men are more trusted for tasks and responsibilities carried out outside the household. Indeed, 66,89 % trust the husband more to represent the house externally while only 6,11% has confidence in women to do so. Such observation is confirmed when analysing the data collected concerning the person responsible for contacting the authorities in the event of a problem: 48,98 % believe that it is up to the husband to alert the authorities while only 9,5 % believe that it is up to the wife.

Women's chastity

In Burundi, conversations revolving around sexuality are considered taboo and the cultural norms advocate the practice of sex within marriage only. Sex education is considered to be the job of the same sex parent but the cultural and social norms render such topics of conversation improbable between parents and children, the onus of such education thus falls on to extended family members like aunts who traditionally educated girls about sexuality, however, the current post-war situation has led to families becoming scattered and even such informal means of sex education have disappeared. These norms also dictate that maintaining a woman's virginity until marriage is a sign of family honour and a sign of a girl's good moral education and upbringing. Since the chastity of the daughter is considered to be related to the honour of the family, parents choose to retain their daughters at home before they are married, in order to "protect" their morality. Fear of consensual or forced sexual liaisons and pre-marital pregnancy was described by many women as one of the factors that strongly influence women educational and career choices. The most financially difficult situations have been encountered by women who had a child before marriage. Strong social disapproval including being regularly chased out of their parental home, forces them to look for the necessary income to rent a room on their own. They are also almost always condemned to not being able to marry and to therefore not benefit from marital property, while also being rejected from their parents' home, which automatically deprives them of the *igiseke* or a welcome on the family land.

"The fact that many women have not studied and not been trained in a trade, makes them vulnerable and sometimes sends them into prostitution." – Local authority, Bubanza

Some participants expressed that girls who seek gainful employment before they are married may be susceptible to be sexually harassed by their boss or boyfriend and may find it difficult to find a partner due to fears that the woman in question may not be chaste.

Gendered norms on women's inheritance

The 1986 Land Code law distinguishes between state-owned land and non-statutory (unregistered) land. Thus, privately owned non state land is governed by customary law and passed from father to son; this automatically excludes women and girls from land ownership, as the Burundian proverb *Umukobwa ntagira umuryango*¹⁴ suggests (Courtois, 2016)¹⁵.

The fact that women do not have the right to inheritance prevents them from having the same rights as men. When women lack the right to inheritance, it renders them to a doubly weak position with regard

¹⁴ Literally *a girl does not have lineage*.

¹⁵ Traditionally after the death of parents, that is a bundle of gifts is prepared for the daughter/s and the son/s inherits the enclosure from the father and plants a banana tree there. In Burundian tradition, the girl is not allowed to plant a banana tree. If a couple separates in a free union, the woman, who has absolutely no formal and legal rights to property, is most of the time denied any claim to property and rarely has the possibility to keep her children. Even in the event of the death of a husband, a wife does have the right to dispose of her deceased husband's land. In many instances the parents-in-law decide the fate of the widowed woman and to them the care of her children are the first priority (Courtois, 2016).

to their husbands, on the one hand the social norms dictate obedience to the husband irrespective of the marital situation, on the other hand women who have no means of financial sources to support themselves fear the consequences of the loss of men protection (Courtois, 2016). Many women participants in the study indicate that the absence of capital or the lack of means to obtain a capital to invest in an enterprise in one of the major barriers they face. In the context of inheritance, the absence of land to put up as security means that they cannot avail of any credit to raise the capital which is required to invest and start any enterprises.

Case study 2: " She is the third wife of my husband and she benefits from the money I earn alone with my children, and that is really unfair".

Mrs. Célestine's situation highlights the many difficulties faced by women in agriculture. These include the responsibility for procreation, the risk of abandonment of the family by their husbands, the inclination of community leaders to promote the interests of the husband, as well as the monopolisation of the household's income by the husband, including the income that the wife generates autonomously.

"My name is Célestine, aged 66, legally married and mother of 12 children. I live in Ngozi province.

I used to get along with my husband. My husband was very involved in the development of the household. He ran small businesses and he contributed enormously to household expenses. We had seven children, all girls. When I gave birth to the eighth daughter, the situation deteriorated. Things were no longer peaceful in our marriage. My husband believed that I was destroying his lineage by only giving birth to girls.

He decided to marry another woman. She gave birth to a daughter. He felt uneasy with his second wife, so he requested her to return to her home. I agreed. We continued to have children. 2 more girls and 2 boys. Nonetheless, it wasn't enough for my husband. He left me for a younger woman. It became increasingly difficult for my children and me to live without my husband's financial help. My children and I decided to plant coffee. A few years later we started to gather plantation income.

As soon as my husband became aware of our income, he returned. It was only to take control over the coffee revenues. Although he would never take part in the farm work, he was always on hand to receive the money of the harvest. He would only retribute a little to my children. He still lives with his third wife. Hence, it is my husband's third wife who benefits from the money that I earn alone with my children. That is terribly unfair. We even called a meeting with the village elders to help us find a solution. Even they couldn't change my husband's mind. Since the fields are in my husband's name and he can legitimately profit from it.

Today the situation has deteriorated. My husband no longer wants to share the money. I went to see the person in charge of the CDFC (Centre for Family and Community Development) in our commune. She told us that this situation must be settled amicably, within the family. My husband's family will not provide any support. They dislike me since I gave birth to girls. I don't know how to sort this situation out. My rights have been violated. That is why I joined a VSLA of women."

As for today, Mrs. Célestine's situation remains unchanged. She is still trying to find ways to benefit from her coffee revenues. Her husband still benefits from her situation.

Gendered norms in education

In households, the education of the girl emphasizes the productive and reproductive roles that women must assume. Young girls are expected to help their parents in domestic and agricultural work and look after their younger brothers and sisters (Courtois, 2016). This division of domestic task which burdens young women with far more responsibilities than young men ensures that boys have time for studying and gaining vocational skills, while girls are resigned to be bound by the same constraints as their mothers. Girls are far more likely to be withdrawn from schools and retained at home. Poverty, illness, fear of pregnancy, the desire to get the child married or deeming education for a girl to be of no use, early pregnancy was some of the reasons quoted by women participants in the FGD for premature withdrawal from school.

“Ladies often like to get pregnant and this prevents them from getting jobs and they give up schools” – woman aged between 15-20 years old from Musigati-Bubanza

Mothers who have not studied do not appreciate the need to educate their daughters, *Diporome y’umukobwa ni umugabo - a daughter's highest diploma is a husband*. This leads to a vicious cycle of limited education for women which leads to difficulties in accessing paid jobs, condemning them to huge workloads and low incomes - without money, parents cannot send all their children to school: they prefer to send their boys to school and keep girls at home, to prepare them for work in the field and at home. For boys, the biggest reason for dropping out of school is poverty. A growing number of unemployed graduates has been observed, which young people deem to understand as studying does not lead to employment (Moriceau, 2019).

Conclusion: a lack of independence and economic leverage

The status of women and wives in Burundi is built on a relationship of dependence: first on the father, then on the husband, and finally on the son if there is one, or on the brother if there is no son. Women's economic independence is still held in very low esteem and is only desired by a minority of men. An outstanding percentage of people surveyed believe that a woman should not work outside the house without their husband's consent (83,18 %). Moreover, FGD participants indicated that men are sometimes threatened by women's economic empowerment, fearing that if women earn more than the men, the women will assume the role of the man in the household, overturning the traditional hierarchy or even seek another spouse who is richer and earns more than the wife.

“When a woman has more money than a man, a woman can say that you are no longer suited for her, and she may go looking for another man who has money” – man aged between 20-40 years from Tangara/Ngozi

There are few women at top management positions (judges, ministers, senators) despite an increasing number of women political representatives: in July 2020, the government accounted 33% of women while in December 2019, at the level of the *Comités de Développement Collinaire* (hill development committees), their representativity rate was of 31.6%, for 33.2% in the *Comités de Gestion d’Eau* (water management committees) and 21.2% in the *Comités Mixtes de Sécurité* (joint security committees).¹⁶

“An elected municipal councillor was forced not to be represented for a second term while she remained popular in her municipality: the cause is that her husband does not like what is happening (the late meetings with the other men municipal councillors – Anecdotal comment by CDFC Bubanza regarding a friend's case.

Since the establishment of associations in Burundi, women have found it easier to obtain capital, through a loan, to set up an enterprise or invest in a cash crop. However, most of the participating women expressed that they required the permission of their husband to obtain such a loan. Even joining and attending the meetings of an association requires the permission of the husband. Women quoted that the absence of such permission could lead to intimate partner violence, failure of the enterprise, rejection of the loan and even death at the hands of their spouse. Some women also spoke about the threat of their husbands re-marrying in the event of their enterprise taking the women's time away from home.

“When your husband does not give you that independence, you do not go in that association and ask for the loan. You have first to exchange about it your husband otherwise it will not succeed.” - woman aged between 20-40 years old from Tangara/Ngozi

Case study 3: "My husband's brothers used to say: it's not normal for your wife to sleep in hotels."

¹⁶ <https://www.iwacu-burundi.org/les-femmes-satisfaites-de-leur-representativite-dans-les-postes-de-prise-de-decision-mais/>

Mrs. Nadine, an activist and former NGO executive, eventually resigned to devote herself to family life. Her story highlights the social pressures on working women. These pressures can come from the extended family, even if the situation within the couple is balanced, and can affect educated and urbanised environments.

"I did all my schooling in Gitega and then studied at the university. I was engaged to my current husband for two years before we were married. I met him when I was a student. Ever since my young age, I have always been involved in neighbourhood associations, in youth movements, etc. It's a kind of passion: meeting others, discussing social problems... that's how I feel useful. It never bothered anyone before I got married. I could live for my passion. I had then found a job in a local NGO specializing in human rights.

I got married. I was a volunteer in two associations, and at the same time I was working in a local NGO. Our NGO was specialized in gender-based violence. We had a listening and accommodation service available to women experiencing difficulties. Sometimes we would stay with them and keep them company in an attempt to reassure them. The NGO had other shelters in the province of Kirundo. I had regular missions in those shelters, 2 to 3 days every month.... I really liked it. Nonetheless it was rather time consuming and I would return home late.

I often returned home after my husband. After a stressful day, I would sometimes stop at a bar and have a drink with my colleagues. My husband would never mind, sometimes he would even meet me at the bar and we would go home together. Occasionally I would run into my husband's brothers in Kirundo during my missions. They would ask me how long I'm staying in Kirundo ... if I was sleeping in a hotel ... I could see that they were uncomfortable that I could sleep in a hotel. This discomfort on the behalf of his family created pressure on husband.

He reported the criticism of his family and friends. He told me that they found disturbing that his wife, was coming home late; that they found it not worthy of a good wife; that they believed it abnormal for a married woman to sleep in hotels. So the pressure began. Whenever my husband was under family pressure, he would come home angry. My work became a source of conflict. One day his family called a meeting and told me about our issue. My husband's family explained that even though my husband wouldn't dare command me to stop working, I had to for the sake of our marriage. I refused to quit. However, I started a part-time contract and gave up on a promotion to become the provincial director. With my part-time contract, I couldn't be efficient at work and there was still a lot of work to be done; my job required more flexibility. I resigned so as to not penalize my organization. I made room for someone who could give 100% of his/her time."

Today Mrs. Nadine works in a new local human rights association. She is a program coordinator and is still married. She still endures pressure from her husband's family and tries to limit her working hours as much as she can.

3.3. Social norms that could support and facilitate WEE

Most participants in the study indicated that there are not really social and cultural norms that encourage women to become economically empowered because that would be in contradiction with the culture. Although, with the evolution of Burundian society, proverbs like *Urugo ni babiri - a good household is made in two* are being heard in the society. Recent socio-political evolution has led to women gaining more freedom, and the control that heads of family exerted over other family members can no longer be exercised strictly. Among other factors, it is due to the demographic situation and numerical importance of youth. Most types of jobs are considered by everyone as open to men and women: Women trade in the markets. Women are salespeople in stores, women are salaried workers, women are in administration, women are farmers, women are in associations, women work in construction as masons help. According to economic and CSO actors met, women are particularly well accepted in trading activities, as Burundian customs previously dictated that a man looks for a very profitable job to feed the household and the women had to be content with small income-generating activities (small business in front of the

door of the household, sales peanuts, sale of tomatoes) while staying at home to take care of household chores.

Expectations of both men and women interviewed in the urban environments with regard to women are more positive and inclined to give women a certain degree of autonomy: women are seen as partners in the couple, encouraged to work and to take advantage of the opportunities that may be available to them.

The people surveyed strongly believe that in case of a conflict between a wife and her husband, it is not for the husband alone to resolve such conflict (56.72 %). A majority also consider that men and women should collaborate in the resolution of economic issues (75,44 %) rather than leaving the control of decision-making on economic conflicts in the hands of the husband. This suggests that while it is clearly established that husbands are entrusted to represent the household when interacting with the external society, women still have their say with regard to internal matters in the household.

While there is a body of the population who continue to paradoxically perceive women as both – overburdened with multiple tasks and lazy; evolution in societal perceptions has also led to a section of the society understanding the efforts women put into household management and acknowledge women as good managers who are capable of efficient multi-tasking. Increased involvement of women in economic activities which can lead to more development and production is starting to be understood as good for the society and the household.

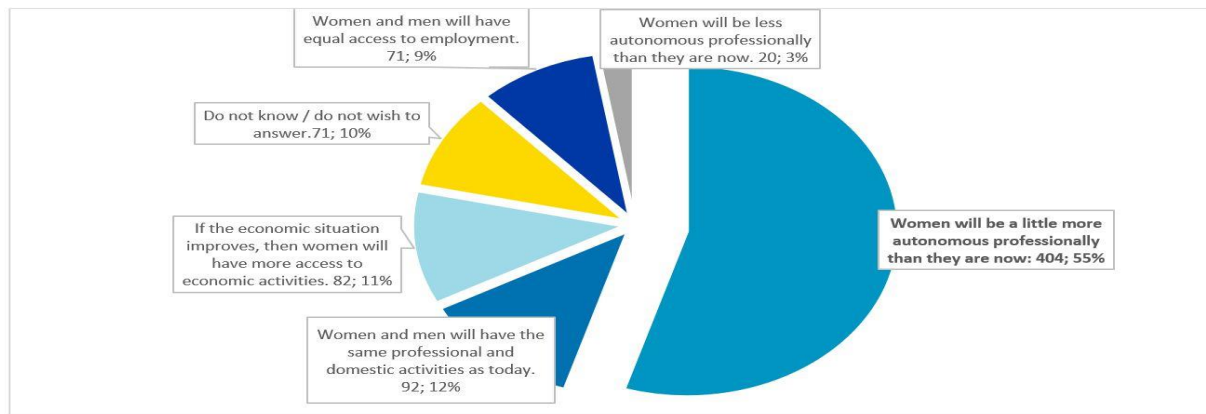
Men and women consider that while changes in the recent years, CSOs have greatly influenced women's economic empowerment. With the provision of loans and sensitization initiatives, women acknowledge that they can approach the associations with their personal problems too and often receive solutions for them. The sensitization initiatives have also helped men view women in a different light and acknowledge their value to the society as wage earners.

“As far as I am concerned, from the beginning of associations, our minds were not opened. But, after participating in associations, some men are aware of our value. Now, in administration, women are included. Before, a woman does not have a liberty of expressions. Now, they participate in associations, even when a husband is misbehaving toward his wife, there is an administration that can solve the problem.” - woman aged between 20-40 years old from Giheta

Perceptions of perspectives and opportunities

According to most of actors met, the urban setting offers more opportunities for commercial activities. It also seems that women living in urban areas are less overwhelmed with household daily tasks. Unlike the rural woman, the urban woman takes care of the household less since most households have "maids". This could allow more time and freedom for the woman to devote herself to other activities that provide income. The population surveyed also clearly perceived that the situation is changing and will continue to change positively in the future regarding women economic opportunities.

Chart: How do you think the employment situation of women in your community will have changed in 10- or 20-years' time?



The population surveyed shared the perception the situation in the coming years will change a lot, with more opportunities for women economic development. More than half the surveyed population consider that, in ten or twenty years, women will be a little more autonomous professionally than they are now (55%). Moreover, 11% suggested that if the economic situation improves, then women will have more access to economic activities. Only 10% of respondents think that women and men will have the same professional and domestic activities as today. However, this doesn't imply that the population perceives that gender equality is likely to occur in the near future – nor do they wish such equality. As an illustration, only a small percentage expressed that women and men will have equal access to employment (9%).

4. Knowledge, experience, and perspectives regarding WEE

4.1. Knowledge and meaning accorded to WEE

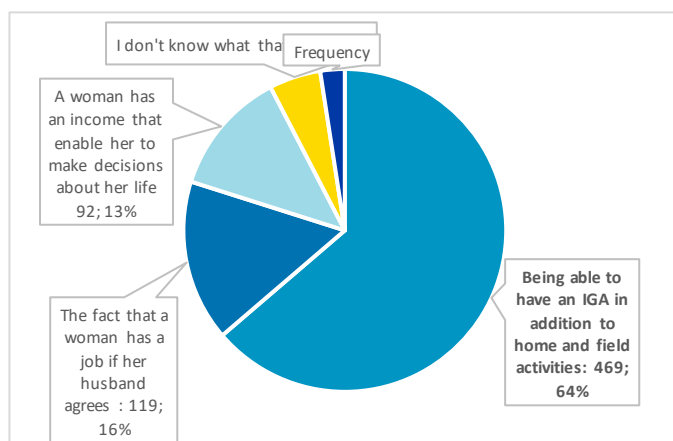
Poverty and patriarchy appear to be deeply intertwined in the Burundian society and together play a significant role in enhancing the feminization of poverty¹⁷. Descriptions of economic empowerment as the freedom to utilize money without the interference of a woman's husband/ or his family indicate how patriarchy is deeply entrenched in the social fabric of Burundi and influences notions on women's economic empowerment.

“When a woman uses freely the money without her husband interference, I could say that the woman is independent economically” - women aged between 20-40 years old from Tangara/Ngozi

While a few respondents between the ages of 15-20 years indicated that women are capable of becoming soldiers, ministers, policewomen etc., viewing women as independent agents, a majority of the participants viewed their economic freedom from the viewpoint of their role as a wife or a potential wife. While poverty is a widespread issue in Burundi and a cause for the lack of opportunities for economic empowerment of women, some participants expressed that poverty has also been the reason for forcing women to step out of the household sphere and work to contribute to the household income.

“The poverty has been the key cause of this process. Nowadays, a couple has to struggle for life both bride and groom. The lady has to work hard, contrary to the past where they did not like to work. Due to climate change, it is no longer possible nowadays because life has become expensive, woman can help masons at building site so as to earn money.” - men and young boys at Tangara/Ngozi

Chart: What does women's freedom and economic autonomy mean to you in concrete terms?



The qualitative observations are confirmed by the quantitative data. For example, the most common response (63,64 %) is that a woman is considered free and economically autonomous when being able to have an IGA (Income Generating Activity) in addition to home and field activities.

Most people also accept the principle according to which a woman may earn more than her husband (51 %). Nonetheless, those rather progressive results are counterbalanced by the fact that a large number of people (more than 40 % and

including women), think that a woman earning more than her husband represents a problem. This observation confirms the perception according to which WEE is largely limited to a contribution to income rather than a means to autonomize women.

4.2. Experiences and expectations related to WEE

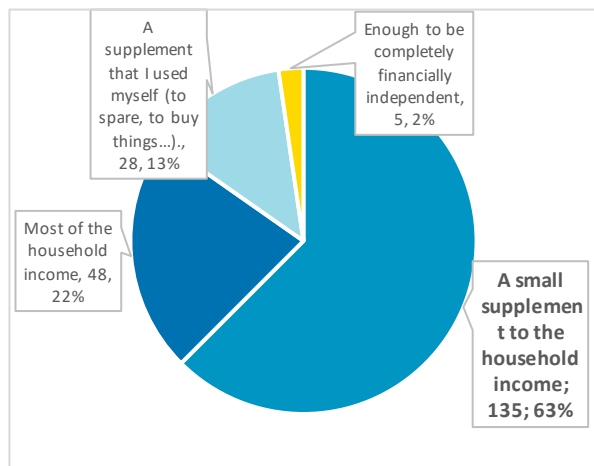
In this part of the quantitative inquiry, women were asked questions targeting their experiences of economic activities. The results first of all suggest that a majority of women are/were involved in economic activities. Second, they demonstrate that while the money earned through their economic

¹⁷ The “feminization of poverty” refers to the phenomenon that women and children are disproportionately represented among the world’s poor compared to men (Pearce, 1978).

activity benefits the household, the profits are hardly earmarked towards the emancipation of women. Third, the inquiry highlighted the economic constrains of Burundi in empowering women.

A large number of women surveyed, 211 out of 396 (53,3 %), stated that they are/have been economically active outside the conduction of agricultural work. Such observation is consistent with previous results showing that it is widely accepted in the Burundian society that a woman takes up an economic activity.

Chart: This activity provides you with the opportunity to earn



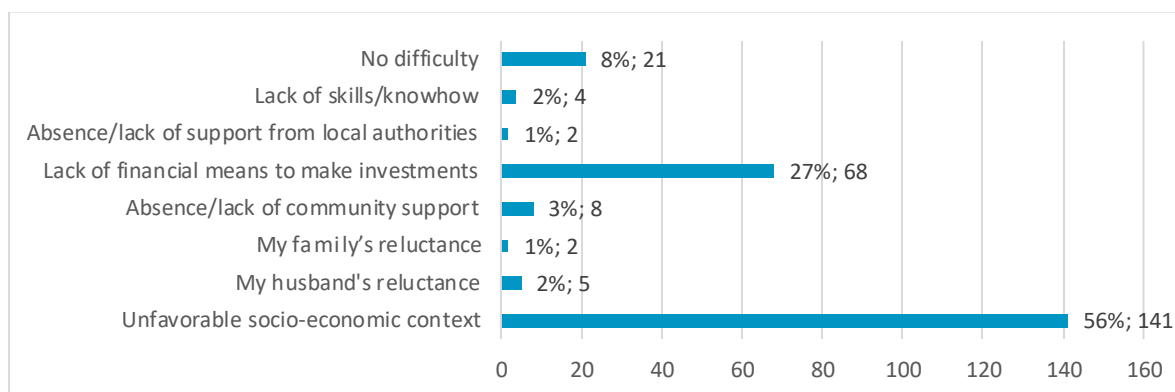
However, it is observed that the purpose of women’s activities remains limited. It seems that the income of women’s activities mainly serves a supplementary purpose (63%) rather than a primary source of revenue (22%) or invested in their autonomy or emancipation (‘enough to be completely financially independent’, 2,4 %). It highlights the persisting devotion of women to the wellbeing of their family and household and the rather trivial characteristic accorded to their economic activity. While some women who participated in this study indicated that they would like to seek a job or start an enterprise, they equally expressed that the household and other duties that

are expected of them were the primary guiding force in their decision-making. These numbers confirm the observations already made in literature according to which, women in the urban environment are inclined to be given a certain degree of autonomy, are encouraged to work and to take advantage of the opportunities that may be available to them. Nonetheless, they may only do so in a rather supplementary or complementary manner to their husbands' income (Courtois, 2016).

Table: For this activity, who decides where the money earned is spent?

	The woman (=yourself if respondent is a woman; =your wife if respondent is a man)	The husband (=yourself if respondent is a man; =your husband if respondent is a woman)	Husband and wife in consultation	Someone else
Value	171	16	178	2
%	47%	4%	49%	1%

It can be observed that women are rather empowered with regard to the decisions on expenditure of money earned (47% decide the destination of the money) but many of them still have to negotiate with their husband before making free use of it (49%).

Table: What difficulties have you encountered in managing this economic activity?

It is rather striking that the unfavourable economic context constitutes an enormous barrier to women's economic empowerment (unfavourable socio-economic context, 56 %; lack of financial means to make investments, 27 %). While other difficulties, such as family reluctance (1 %) or the lack of support from local authorities (1 %) appear to be of lesser consequence. It should nonetheless not be forgotten that barriers such as the lack of knowhow, might not constitute much of a problem precisely because women's economic activities are confined to complementary activities, such as selling banana beer or working in a kiosk, which most of the time, do not require much specific knowhow/education.

4.3. Opportunities and threats that influence WEE

In the following section, social and cultural norms will not be directly addressed. The aim of this section is to provide some additional information and perspectives on opportunities and threats in the perspective of developing WEE. As this is not the core of the study, it provides illustrative information but is not exhaustive.

4.3.1. Public policies and institutions support toward WEE

Since 2015, the government of Burundi, through the National Communal Investment Fund (FONIC), has been financing the municipalities. Each year, each municipality receives a subsidy of 500 million BIF for the self-promotion of local - article 29 of the finance law, fiscal year 2018 which stipulates that the state grants a subsidy of 500 million Fbu to each municipality. The latter allocates 20% of subsidies to the construction of social infrastructure and 80% to the creation of IGA. Women are the primary beneficiaries since it is women who have more income-generating activities in rural areas.

The Burundian government, during the year 2021, intends to merge FONIC and the Rural Microcredit Fund (FMCR) which is one of the institutions created within the framework of the national decentralization policy in Burundi in order to strengthen the capacities of local actors. Its mission is to improve the lives of grassroots communities through its support for easy access to microcredits for citizens wishing to undertake. The FMCR grants guarantee funds to micro-finance institutions in order to facilitate the implementation of projects by their promoters. At the communal level, a performance evaluation of the communal community development plan is conducted at the end of every year by the Ministry of the Interior, the PCDC evaluation criteria takes into account the participation of women in the activities therein, for example, for the cooperative project, the monitoring of the presence of women in the works councils is involved. The development of PCDCs ensures that women are involved at all levels in order to promote responsible citizenship committed to sustainable and equitable development, and thanks to this support, women are part of planning teams at all levels and participate mainly in the planning process. The commitment of authorities and other actors is still to be demonstrated. According to a provincial authority met, this improvement will be much more effective if the partners (government, civil society, NGOs) invest in the long term through the programs put in place to strengthen the role of women in the community.

Burundian women indicate that the laws which have been formulated in the recent years have been supportive of their economic and social development. Measures have been put in place to improve the conditions of Burundian women and their participation in almost all areas of the country, particularly economic.

“The law is not a barrier, what it shows us is that women are in associations, they are in public jobs, women can now be ministers, soldiers, police women, this shows us that laws permit us to do everything in order to develop a country.” – FGD 1, woman aged between 20-40 years from Musaga

4.3.2. Local dynamics (VSLA, cooperatives, local initiatives)

Local actors reported on the existence and action of *imboneza* or women leaders. These are women who have been chosen in their living areas as community leaders. These women, who can be found on every hill in the country, benefit from several programs developed by the government and civil society in capacity building in awareness-raising on GBV, conflict management, training in financial management, etc. Thus, these women are present in all the activities that take place in their hills and work with them in collaboration with the authorized structures (health, justice, police, etc.)

“Through women's associations and VSLAs in savings and loan activities among women, training in leadership and financial management is regularly organized by actors working in the municipalities (CDFC municipality, NGOs, etc.)” - Local authority, Province of Ngozi

For several years in all the municipalities there has been a program to install Hangars (stocks) in each municipality: this decision was motivated by complaints from women who accused their husbands of wasting the crops, and that in addition the harvest money was spent on alcohol. This caused a growth of poverty in the households. Now all the harvests must go to the communal stocks. These stocks are managed by a committee chosen by the farmers, the exit of the harvests in stock is conditioned by the presence of the husband and his wife. For example, Sacodeve is an NGO that helps to facilitate girls' access to school, in particular by promoting access to sanitary napkins. According to a Sacodeve investigation, one of the causes of girls dropping out of school is the lack of menstrual period management, including a lack of hygiene materials.

“The associations have spent a lot of time in rural areas teaching about economic recovery for women, and it has worked. Now many rural women earn more than their husbands through the VSLA, NAWENUZE (Kind of VSLA widespread in all the hills at the national level)” - Local authority, Province of Ngozi

4.3.3. Influencing actors (Media, women's organizations and international community)

Although this section does not constitute the core theme of the study, it is nevertheless relevant to mention some initiatives suggested and reported by actors met during the study. The media in Burundi (especially radio) has a long culture and practice of raising social awareness and lending support to the community, especially in the field of gender equality (Saiget, 2016). The media are potentially influencing actors, with internal education and gender sensitisation skills.

The CNC (National Communication Council) mentioned during the interview that in the past two years they have developed a partnership with the association of women journalists to compensate for the lack of involvement of women in human resources. However, they observe that journalism is considered by men and women to be a very demanding job, requiring time commitments that women may not be able to provide and the possibility of odd working hours which could lead to familial discord. All radio stations have quite a few broadcasts devoted to the topic of women's economic empowerment. There are also many programs on the prevention of gender-based violence, in collaboration with NGOs

working in the field. For years there have been UN programs on the empowerment of Burundian women through UNFEM and UNICEF, these programs were aimed at provinces, communes, and the hills. The beneficiaries were the local authorities, SCOs and women's associations. These kinds of programs continue today through NGOs and government.

As highlighted in a previous research focusing on women's land rights and inheritance in Burundi (Saiget 2016), women's organizations and international community actors are often campaigning side by side in order to enable improvement in the legal framework and public policy development and implementation. Saiget also mentions a gap between women's rights national organizations supported by the international community, and communities / local women's groups: *“stated that at the present time, women's associations, which are mostly based in Bujumbura, have missed the opportunity to create links with women's groups from the interior (the 'hills') as well as with other CSOs. Campaigning for a law on women's land inheritance, Burundian urban and educated women have struggled above all to be recognized and to participate in the political sphere as women and for women.”*

4.3.4. Risk of persistence or resurgence of social barrier

The study indicates that men are sometimes threatened by women's economic empowerment. Money is often a household dispute issue. Men express disquiet to the notion of a wife earning more than her husband - the fears revolved around assumptions that if women earn more than men, they will assume the role of the man in the household, may dominate over them, overturning the traditional hierarchy or even seek another spouse who is richer and earns more than their wife. Many local actors met argued that *the more economically independent women are, the more they will put themselves on an equal footing with men, the more problems there will be.* According to them, in every group there is only one leader, and in Burundian culture the man is the head of the household. The general consensus is that economic empowerment of women must not harm the home, women must continue keep their place as second in relation to their men.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

Traditional representation of women and women economic activities and rights

It is evident from this study that patriarchy remains the norm in the Burundian society and does not leave much room for both men or women to consider women as autonomous individuals who can make decisions on their own or for their own development. Patriarchy seems to pervade all areas of women's lives - from parenting practices, educational needs in childhood and youth to social and economic empowerment in adulthood. This study confirms that women's agency and aspirations are still constrained and determined by their social environment which determines their value and level of autonomy and independence. Patriarchy also limits men who try to tread the untrodden path and aid their wives in household tasks. Societal perceptions on the roles of men and women implies that men who strive to lend autonomy to their wives or aid their wives in the management of the household risk ridicule. Thus, patriarchy seems to limit men's development as much as it does women's.

The cultural norms also dictate the roles that women take on in society, despite evolution in mindset, men's perceptions about their roles and women's roles within their households still tends to relegate women to a lower status. Even women tend to relegate themselves to a secondary status in the household and society – since societal norms dictate that women define their value in the context of their father/husband, even in understanding EE, women seem to understand EE and economic freedom as that which has been granted by the father/husband and focusing on (secondary) contribution to household income rather than autonomy and personal emancipation.

Significant different perception in urban settings

A significant change of this representation can however be observed in, (i) urban areas and (ii) (to a lesser extent) for people who went/go to the university: their representation tends towards gender equality. Neither gender nor age seemed to affect representation of women in society (women of all ages seem to maintain the patriarchal representation of women as men do). This hypothesis is confirmed by the quantitative data.

Some norms and practices could support the development of WEE

Awareness, education and availability of resources such as VSLA's have started to enable a change in mindset of the society. While women are still considered to be in charge of the household, economic need and changing mindset of men is leading to women being included in decision-making and seeking more avenues for economic gain outside the household. Poverty, and related high cost of living, is leading to families understanding the need for two incomes to support the household in Burundi.

The increase in access to education and reduced retention of girls at home is leading to a generation that will be more educated. Laws and policies that are being issued in recent years are ensuring women can find a place in all sectors and find avenues for increased access and active participation in economic activities. These upcoming changes have led actors involved in the study to indicate that the norms are evolving positively with regard to representation and participation of women outside the household sphere.

5.2. Recommendations

N	Thematic / outcome Description and justification	Timing of implementation (short, middle, long run)	Part of the report
1	<p>Patriarchy is still the norm Burundian societies. It does not leave much room for men or women to consider women as autonomous individuals who can make decisions on their own or for their own development. Moreover, Burundi has one the poorest economies in the world which limits perspectives. The development of WEE is facing these two overwhelming challenges.</p> <p>As such, the leverage and capacity of development projects and programs to initiate or contribute to social and economic change is very limited. The risk to delude the forces and inputs is high. That is why it is recommended to develop individual supporting activities with a very limited scope (except awareness activities that should be developed on a large scale, cf. recommendation 2.2), in order to ensure to have the means to make a difference, to monitor the occurrence of change and mitigate the barriers and threats. Those activities are individual psychologic, social and logistic support, IGA, loans, etc.</p>	Long run	3.1 4.3
2	<p>Following the results focusing on factors that influence perception of the population on women rights and role, it seems that the strategy of such interventions should consider to have a different approach in urban and rural settings / urban and rural people, considering that there are far more opportunities for WEE in urban settings.</p> <p>For example, future project development processes could take into account different: (i) content of activities, including awareness methodologies, (ii) articulation of activities within the project (considering more awareness is needed in rural areas) (iii) expected results and outcomes (considering there are more opportunities in urban settings), (iv) M&E indicators and methodology (considering social and cultural barriers are stronger in rural settings), (v) risk analysis (considering negative influence and reluctance of actors may be stronger in rural settings, as well as the danger of backlash from community – and possible negative consequences or reprisals from community members).</p> <p>Future programs may also explore opportunities of ‘exchange trip or training’ between urban and rural population, in order to enhance the awareness of both population on different realities.</p>	Long run	3.1
3	<p>We do not see major differences in perception between men and women, and between young / older people. We recommend to develop strategies that do not assume that women (and young people) are more likely to adhere to WEE principle than men / older people. Moreover, the patriarchy and traditional representation of women is still high among the population, and many barriers and factors (economic, social, cultural, institutional, etc.) hinder WEE. It appears critical to continue to develop basic sensitization and awareness activities for the population in general. An ambitious and continuous awareness/sensitization program seems to be indispensable. Awareness should focus on positive and win-win outcomes of WEE for Burundian society in general, and both men and women. For example, and as discussed in the study, patriarchy and social norms seem to limit men’s development as much as it does women’s.</p>	Short, middle and long run	3.1
4	<p>Women effectively develop economic activities (i.e. IGA), but such activities are still too limited in their scope and cannot significantly improve women’s autonomy and professional development. In rural settings, it seems that questioning the role of women within the household and the power relationship with men is an essential condition of success.</p> <p>It is recommended to help and support women to develop substantial economic activities (activities that could provide a large autonomy to women), and not only secondary activities that women are currently doing. Due to the important challenges in developing such activities, it is recommended to have a limited scope in these</p>	Short, middle and long run	3.2 3.3

	activities and limit the number of beneficiaries (qualitative and pilot approach rather than quantitative one).		
5	<p>Local administrations and social services should support women in conflict with their husband/their family due to economic/household income issues, through awareness, mediation, sensitization about rights of men and women, rather than leaving the household issues to be solved within the family.</p> <p>However, public administrations and local authorities do not have sufficient resources to support vulnerable women who are struggling / suffering from economic social oppression. NGOs and CSOs could set up small and flexible individual funds or activities to support women who need to be sheltered or to benefit from a small temporary income to help them reach autonomy and provide them more power of influence within their family situation.</p>	Short and middle run	Case studies
6	<p>Sensitisation programs as well as advocacy activities should take into account the concept of positive masculinity and examples of behaviour of men following positive masculinity principles.</p> <p>The study indicates that men are sometimes threatened by women's economic empowerment. Money is often a household dispute issue. Sensitisation and education of both men and women regarding financial freedom in the context of the socio-cultural norms would be key in combatting this perceived threat of WEE by men. The study shed light on the changing perceptions of men on what activities men should and should not do in the household and the activities of women – this positive change, even in small sections of the society, where men do not abhor the concept of performing household tasks and start to consider women as their equal should be used as a <u>building block</u> to educate men on the societal benefits of positive masculinity.</p>	Short and middle run	3.1.2
7	<p>The study highlighted that local actors could play an important role of influence within the community. It appears that they do not necessarily play this role in practice, due to lack of resources and knowledge. It seems highly relevant to continue to deeply involve local public (communes, CPDC, hill counsellors) and private local actors, through capacity building and jointly implemented project and activities.</p>	Short, middle and long run	4.3
8	<p>The general negative perception of a woman undertaking economic activities is still strong within the society. At the same time, there are some positive examples, and some women manage to reach economic and social autonomy, despite existing barriers. These stories could be used by WEE actors (NGOs, local CSOs, media, etc.) as communication and awareness raising materials, supporting material for activities, etc.</p> <p>The development and large-scale dissemination of positive and emblematic stories may help in the mindset change process.</p>	Short run	Case studies

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7. Annex

7.1. Annex 2: Data collection Tools

7.1.1. Quantitative questionnaire

<p>Analysis of cultural barriers to WEE</p> <p>QUESTIONNAIRE – population</p> <p>N° questionnaire :</p>

Hello. My name is I work for a consultancy firm that has been commissioned by the NGO Search for Common Ground to carry out a study on the economic situation and opportunities for women in Burundi. The goal of this study is to better understand the social and economic situation in communities in Burundi to develop initiatives that promote the economic empowerment of women in Burundi and improve women's access to economic opportunities. You have been chosen for this survey because we want to know the opinion of the population on these issues. We would therefore like to collect a testimony that will allow us to better understand these themes. The questions do not have right or wrong answers: we just want to have your opinion and know your experience. The interview will normally last 30 to 40 minutes.

Unless otherwise indicated ("multiple choice"), check only one answer.

Only suggest responses if the respondent is hesitant or does not really understand the question.

Do you agree to answer my questions? *

- Yes
- No

Socio-demographic characteristics

1. Name of interviewer*:
2. Province*:
3. Commune*:
4. Zone:
5. Type of Commune*:
 - Rural
 - Urban
6. Are you*:
 - A man
 - A women
 - Do not wish to answer

7. How old are you ? ... years old*
- 18-25
 - 26-35
 - 36-55
 - 56 et +
8. Marital status*
- Married
 - Widower/widow
 - Single
 - Engaged
 - Other: ...
9. Do you have any children? *
- No
 - Number: ...
10. Are those who are of school age going to school this year? *
- Yes, all of them
 - Yes, Some of them
 - None
 - I don't have any child
11. How many members are in your household (people sleeping under the same roof and eating together since more than two weeks)?
... persons*
12. What is your present status? *
- Resident (default status)
 - Displaced
 - Refugee
 - Repatriated
 - Indigent
13. How many years have you spent in school? *
- I did not get the chance to go to school
 - Primary (went or graduated)
 - Secondary (went or graduated)
 - Superior
14. What is your job? *
- Farmer / Breeder
 - Salesperson
 - Public servant
 - Craftsperson
 - worker / employee in a firm (including tea and coffee)
 - Unemployed
 - Other: ...
15. Do you have a smartphone-type cell phone? *
- Yes
 - No
16. Are you a member of any grassroots association or organization (social, religious, political)? (Multiple choice)
- Religious

- Social (charity)
- Other (school, dance, drums, sports).
- None

17. How many meals per day do you eat in your household on average?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- Other: ...

18. How many times a week do you eat meat or fish on average?
... times

Social norms for women (the roles that society assigns to women)

19. In your opinion, what is the ideal role of women in your community... (directly suggest the different possibilities of response) *

- Stays at home to take care of the house and the children
- Doctor, civil servant, or lawyer
- Cultive la terre de sa famille/de son mari
- Manages a small business on her own (snack, kiosk, hairdressing salon, etc.)
- Helps and obeys her husband
- Minister or depute
- Other....
- Do not wish to answer

20. What are the roles of women in the family in your community? (Multiple choice) *

- Home and childcare
- Protecting the home from external threats
- Working in the fields
- Cooking and cleaning
- Obeying her husband
- Managing household finances
- Studying for a comfortable job
- Educating children
- Other: ...

21. What are the roles of men in the family in your community? (Multiple choice) *

- Home and childcare
- Protecting the home from external threats
- Working in the fields
- Cooking and cleaning
- Obeying his wife
- Managing household finances
- Studying for a comfortable job
- Educating children
- Other: ...

22. In your household, who is responsible for the following tasks:

	Wife	Husb and	Both together	It depends (one or the other individually)	Someone else (uncles, family council, chief of ten houses, etc.)	No one
Managing household finances						
Deciding on whether children go to school						
Deciding on how to use the family land						
Cooking						
Represent the family outside the household						
Decide who to vote for at the election						
Fetch the authorities in case of trouble						
Educating children						

23. Do you agree with the following sentences?

Affirmation	Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Do not wish to answer
Women should have a say in major decisions in the community.				
Women feel free to openly discuss money issues in the home.				
A married woman is free to work outside the home if she wishes, without her husband's consent.				
Men and women work together within the household to solve economic problems.				
In case of conflict between wife and husband, it is up to the husband to decide				
If a woman has a good job, she can choose to stay single / not marry				

24. What do you think motivates girls to leave/ drop out of school? (multiple choice)

- Lack of economic means for all children to go to school
- School is not useful for girls
- School is not useful for either girls or boys
- Parents do not want girls to go to school
- To protect the girls, it is best for them to stay at home.
- Girls need to help their mothers at home
- When girls get their period, it becomes harder to go to school.
- Many girls marry very young
- Other: ...

25. Who do you trust the most for the following actions:

Actions	I trust a man more	I trust a woman more	Whatever the gender, it depends on the individual competences	I do not wish to answer
Give an injection				
Investigating a robbery of which you are a victim				

Operating on an injured person				
Running a small business (with 5 to 20 employees)				
Selling vegetables at the market				
Manage the household budget				
Drive a taxi or a minibus				
Teach at school				
Managing a church, temple or mosque				
Be a governor of a province or president of a court				

Social norms for women and their influence on WEE

26. What does women’s freedom and economic autonomy mean to you in concrete terms?
- Being able to have an IGA in addition to home and field activities
 - A woman has her own income which enable her to make decisions on her own
 - A woman has a job if her husband agrees
 - Other:
 - I don’t know what that is
27. In your community, are women free to engage in the economic activities the way they wish to? *
- Yes
 - Partly
 - No
 - Do not wish to answer
28. In your opinion, what are the barriers/difficulties women face in carrying out economic activities? (multiple choice) *
- Prohibition/reluctance of their husbands
 - Prohibition/reluctance of their family
 - It is frowned upon by the community
 - Lack of financial resources to engage in economic activities
 - Lack of training to carry out economic activities
 - The current economic situation is too risky
 - They belong at home
 - No specific difficulties
 - Other: ...
29. Selon vous quelles sont les barrières /difficultés que connaissent les hommes pour l’exercice des activités économiques (choix multiple) *

- Prohibition/reluctance of their wives
- Prohibition/reluctance of their family
- It is frowned upon by the community
- Lack of financial resources to engage in economic activities
- Lack of training to carry out economic activities
- The current economic situation is too risky
- They belong at home
- No specific difficulties
- Other: ...

30. A woman who earns more than her husband, you believe that is: *

- A normal situation, if her job is more important than her husband's
- A really problematic situation that is difficult for the husband to accept
- A rare situation, but one that shows that society is moving towards more gender equality.
- A situation that may happen abroad/outside our community, but not in Burundi
- A situation that is not normal: the woman should stop or change jobs
- No opinion, do not wish to answer
- Other: ...
- No opinion

31. How do you think the employment situation of women in your community will have changed in 10 or 20 years' time? *

- Women and men will have the same professional and domestic opportunities as today
- Women will be a little more autonomous professionally than they are today
- Women and men will have equal access to employment
- Women will be less autonomous professionally than they are today
- If the economic situation improves, then women will have more access to economic activities
- Do not know/do not wish to answer.

Economic activities experiences

32. If woman: do you/have you ever exercised an economic activity?

If men: Did your wife ever exercised an economic activity? Does she now?

- No
- Yes

If no to question 32: interview completed.

If yes to question 32 question 32:

33. What was/are the activity(ies)? (multiple choice)

- Work in the fields
- Sale of agricultural products
- Sale of consumption products / kiosk
- Employee
- Occasional service activities (help in other people's fields, household help, etc.)
- Crafts

Others: ...

If field work only in question 33: interview completed.

If any answer to question 33 except work in the fields (and taking for the questions that always follow the example of the most important activity if more than one activity)

34. For this activity, who decided how the money earned would be used?
- Husband (=yourself if respondent is male; =your husband if respondent is female)
 - Woman (=yourself if respondent is female; =your wife if respondent is male)
 - Husband and wife in consultation
 - Someone else:

35. Who decided to start this activity?
- Woman (=yourself if respondent is female; =your wife if respondent is male)
 - Husband (=yourself if respondent is male; =your husband if respondent is female)
 - Husband and wife in consultation
 - Someone else:

36. This activity is/was conducted by:
- Woman and her husband
 - Woman (=yourself if respondent is female; =your wife if respondent is male)
 - Woman and other members of the community
 - Woman was employed in a firm/administration
 - Other: ...

37. Why has this activity started? (multiple choices)
- To contribute to the household income
 - To have a place in the community
 - To obey the husband / family
 - For personal development
 - To be financially self-sufficient
 - To learn new skills / build a career
 - Other: ...

38. Is the activity still going on? Why did the activity stop?
- There were too many things to do in the household (children, etc.)
 - The activity is still ongoing
 - The activity was not working / we were not earning enough money
 - The activity was too tiring / strenuous
 - The activity was not interesting
 - Another factor ...

If any of the answers to question 38 except the activity is still going on: ask question 39. Otherwise, go to 40.

39. Who decided to stop the activity?
- Yourself/my wife (if men)

- My husband / myself alone (if male)
- Husband and wife in consultation
- Someone else....
-

If male (question 6): interview completed.

If female: ask the following questions:

40. This activity enables you to earn...
- A small supplement to the household income
 - Most of the household income
 - A supplement that I used myself (to save, to buy things...)
 - Enough to be completely financially self-sufficient
 - Other: ...
41. By whom were you helped to carry out this activity? (multiple choice)
- My parents/my family
 - My Husband
 - Other members of the community
 - Other women of the community
 - An association
 - A church/religious association
 - No one
 - Other
42. Among those who did not help you, by whom would you have liked to be helped? (multiple choice)
- My husband
 - My parents/my family
 - Other members of the community
 - Other women of the community
 - An association
 - A church/religious association
 - No one
 - Other
43. What difficulties have you encountered in carrying this economic activity (multiple choice)
- Unfavorable socio-economic context
 - My husband's reluctance
 - Reluctance of my family
 - Absence/lack of community support
 - Lack of financial means to make investments
 - Absence/lack of support from local authorities
 - Lack of skills/knowledge to know how to manage my business
 - Other
 - No difficulty

44. Who decides/decided to take out a loan to finance your business?
- Myself
 - My husband
 - Another member of the household/of the extended family
 - My husband and I together
 - I have never had any loan
 - Other: ...
45. Who decides/decided how much of your income is spent on food for your household most of the time?
- Myself
 - My husband
 - Another member of the household/of the extended family
 - My husband and I together
 - Other: ...
46. In general, who decides/decided on the selling price of your products?
- Myself
 - My husband
 - Another member of the household/of the extended family
 - My husband and I together
 - I did not sell any product
 - Other: ...
47. What is your biggest challenge/obstacle for your business in the future? [open-ended question]

7.1.2. Semi structured interview grid

Qualitative interview grid on the barriers arising from social and cultural norms that prevent women from accessing economic opportunities.
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Introduction

These interviews are carried out as part of a research that aims to emphasize access to information, on economic discourse and advocates an evolution of social norms and the removal of cultural barriers limiting access of women to economic opportunities in Burundi. As a result of the latter goal, SFCG wishes to increase the capacity of media professionals to produce content that supports the transformation of discriminatory social norms and cultural barriers for women; strengthen positive attitudes towards the rights and participation of Burundian women in the economy; have a positive impact on gender-based violence; to improve women's entrepreneurial skills, leadership and other related skills; and to improve women's access to markets, finance and mentorship.

You were chosen for this survey because your position or role in society will be useful to us to collect a real testimony that will allow us to better understand the social norms and cultural barriers limiting women's access to economic opportunities.

The interview will last 45 minutes or even 1 hour at most.

If you do not understand a question, do not hesitate to ask for further explanation. The analysis of this interview will be completely anonymous. This questionnaire is voluntary; you don't have to answer them if you don't want to. Nevertheless, we hope that you will seize this opportunity which will allow the evolution of social norms and the removal of cultural barriers limiting women's access to economic opportunities.

Reminder for the researcher

The objective of this interview is to collect qualitative, individual information on the topic: to promote the narration of the personal history and the experience of the interviewee in front of the company rather than the precision of the answers and highlight iconic and impactful quotes.

The interview is to be adapted according to the interlocutors and the sub-questions are mentioned for information only.

I. Identification and participation

Last name :..... Gender:

Position: Province:

District :..... Duration:

II. General questions

1. Social norms, Cultural barriers, and economic empowerment of women in your community

- a) What do you think is women's economic empowerment?
- b) What causes girls on one side and boys on the other to drop out of school?
- c) What makes girls marry at a very young age?
- d) How would a women's engagement in economic activities affect the society?

Sub questions: Do you feel it may cause some negative consequences? What could they be? What do you think could be the advantages of WEE?

- e) In your opinion, do men and women share the same goals in life and if not, how are they different?
- f) In 15 or 20 years, will the situation regarding the role of women in the community have changed? in what way and why?
- g) Do you have an interesting situation or experience to share that illustrates the current challenges to women's economic empowerment? Can you describe in detail? (see if interesting case for case study).

2. The impact of notions of 'Masculinity' on the empowerment of women in Burundi:

- a) (men specifically) What do you fear/feel will change in your daily life and society if women are involved in income generating activities?
- b) Do you think that there are areas (professions) reserved exclusively for men? Why are these professions not suitable for women?
- c) What are the accepted roles for men in the society? What sort of household tasks can they do? What should they not do and why?

3. Norms that encourage WEE

- a) Are there / what are the social and cultural norms that encourage or facilitate WEE?
- b) How to promote them ?

4. Media

- a) How are social norms on gender roles currently represented in the media?
- b) How can the media leverage existing norms that promote WEE and promote such norms to foster societal change?

III. Questions for economic actors

- a) (woman specifically) As a woman, what social norms and cultural barriers do you encounter at work that prevent you from thriving?

b) In your opinion, what does the participation of women in economic activities outside the household mean for their role within the household? Has it created any problems in your household? If so what? Has it led to any improvements in your household? If so, what?

c) What type of income-generating activities can / are women involved in? (what is considered in the community to be acceptable, safe, etc.)

d) (woman specifically) Do you feel threatened by sexual violence and gender-based behavior at work?

e) What are the identified needs for women's engagement in coffee growing apart from increasing household income?

f) As an economic actor, what do you think are the most promising economic sectors / activities for women? Why ?

IV. Questions for authorities & CSOs

1. Legislative, social and political influences on WEE

a) What are the national economic policies / local measures targeted in favor of the economic empowerment of women. What / what aspects is known about these policies by the general public?

2. VSLA's, cooperatives, CSO's, and International organizations on WEE

a) According to you, What are the perceptions of equal economic rights among the population?

b) What role have globalization and recent socio-economic developments played in the change of norms related to the work of women in rural areas (Agriculture)? Are social norms and representations changing?

c) What do you think is the Influence of CSOs and international organizations, and other non-state actors on the economic empowerment of women?

d) Which training and awareness programs take into account the real needs of women living in your community?

7.1.3. Focus group discussion questions

The different target groups with whom focus group discussions has been conducted are:

- i. Women aged 20 and above in rural provinces (allowing for a mix of ethnicity and women from different generations, i.e. women 20-30 years of age, 30 -40 years of age etc.) (2)
- ii. Women aged 20 and above in urban provinces (1)
- iii. Young women aged between 15-20 years of age in rural provinces(2)
- iv. Young women aged between 15-20 years of age in urban provinces(1)
- v. Men and boys in rural provinces (1)
- vi. Men and boys in urban provinces (1)

1. With women

Primary question: We are here to speak about the barriers women face in accessing gainful employment, what do you think are the barriers and how would you negotiate them? What support do you need and from whom?

Probes:

- a. What are your daily responsibilities? What is expected by society? What would you like to do?
- b. Would you like to be able to find means to get income other than what is provided by your husband/male head of household? What sort of jobs do you think you could do or would like to do?
- c. Do you have means of gaining income independent of your husband/ male head of household? If so what are they?
- d. What are the difficulties you face in gaining this income or doing these jobs?
- e. What support do you need in gaining access to gainful employment and from whom?
- f. What changes do you think will happen for you and your household if you get a regular income from your own work?

2. With men

Primary question: We are here to speak about the barriers women face in accessing gainful employment, what do you think are the barriers and how can they negotiated?

Probes:

- a. What are your daily responsibilities? What is expected by society? What would you like to do?
- b. What are the roles and responsibilities of the women in your household? What responsibilities do you think they should and should not take on?
- c. Are there women in your household who work outside the house? What work do they do? What sort of tasks should and shouldn't women do outside the household and why?
- d. What changes do you think will happen if the women in your household get a regular income from their own work?

7.2. Annex 3: Terms of Reference

Context

Search for Common Ground

Search is an international conflict transformation NGO that aims to transform the way individuals, groups, governments and companies deal with conflict, away from adversarial approaches and towards collaborative solutions. Headquartered in Washington DC, USA, and Brussels, Belgium, with 52 field offices in 29 countries, Search designs and implements multifaceted, culturally appropriate, and conflict-sensitive programs using a diverse range of tools, including media and training, to promote dialogue, increase knowledge and determine a positive shift in behaviors.

The Project

The “Tuyage” project is implemented by Search for Common Ground (Search), in collaboration with Freedom House and USAID. This 5-year project consists of two phases and has the *overall goal* to foster an enriched information landscape and culture of open discussion on concerns that directly affect Burundians in their daily lives, with a focus on shared economics concerns and opportunities that will serve as a means of expanding civic engagement, increasing dialogue across divides, and building social cohesion. The project combines three components - information access, economic discourse and the inclusion of women. The objective of the first component is to expand the cadre of professional journalists throughout Burundi - from the smallest rural communities to the large urban centers - capable of producing high- quality, ethical and non-politicized news and information, especially on economic issues, using information delivery modalities that will engage youth and encourage interest in business and economic issues related to their daily lives. The objective of the second component is to promote networking among young, successful economic actors from across social divides, into dialogue and discussion on issues of reconciliation, entrepreneurship, and right based approaches to economic issues. The barrier analysis is an integral part of the new third component (inclusion of women) and will feed into the design of the subsequent Phase II of the “Tuyage” project, particularly the media strategy and activities. The third component has the overall objective to change social norms and cultural barriers limiting women's access to economic opportunities in Burundi. More specifically, the specific objective and related expected results are:

- Media professionals have an increased capacity to produce content that supports the transformation of discriminatory social norms and cultural barriers for women;
- Attitudes towards the rights and participation of Burundian women in the economy and gender-based violence are positively transformed;
- Women's entrepreneurial skills, leadership and other related skills are improved; • Women’s access to markets, finance and mentoring is improved. The project coverage area is spread over the entire Burundian territory, therefore the 18 provinces.

Goal and Objectives of the Gender Barrier Analysis

The main objective of this barrier analysis is to determine the existing cultural barriers that prevent the participation of women in economic life and to identify practical actions to advance women’s economic empowerment. Importantly, the barrier analysis will guide the development of the media activities and communication strategies of the overall project “Tuyage”. To support the upcoming media activities, the barrier analysis has three key objectives:

- Increase the understanding of the existing cultural barriers to women’s economic empowerment in Burundi;
- Increase the understanding of social norms (i.e. certain social expectations) that limit women’s access to economic opportunities in Burundi;
- Identify social norms that support or facilitate women’s economic empowerment;

Key Questions of the Gender Barrier Analysis

The key research questions will be the following:

- What are the main cultural barriers and obstacles that limit women’s access to economic opportunities in Burundi?
- Is the limited inclusion of women in economic life perceived as a problem? What is seen as an advantage and what is seen as a disadvantage of women’s participation in economic life?
- What behavior by women is socially *expected*, i.e. encouraged, and what is not, and why? What behavior is *accepted* by women, and what is the difference to expected behavior?
- What are the differences in social expectations between different demographic groups? I.e. Do men and women share the same expectations, and if not, how do they differ? What are the malleable and resistant norms of masculinity in this context?
- Apart from geographical (i.e. rural vs. urban) differences, are there important differences in prevailing norms and how they affect economic empowerment among different groups of women (e.g. age, ethnicity, education level etc.)?

Geographic Locations

The barrier analysis should inform the third component of the overall project “Tuyage” (i.e. inclusion of women) and related media and communication activities of Phase II. Its coverage area is therefore not limited to certain geographic locations.

Methodology and Data Collection Tools

The methodology of the barrier analysis will be proposed by the consultant/ team of consultants (in line with previous studies done), and finalized with the support of Search. This research approach, the tools utilized and the means of analysis should be determined based on what is necessary and relevant to the project, and a justification for this should be included in the submitted proposal. Each tool/method should then be listed with justification of its use, intended target groups for the tool, and numbers of each target group to be reached. Please include the sampling strategy and approach to the analysis for the study in your

proposal. In addition to Do No Harm strategies, any proposed deliverables for sharing the findings of the study should be included in this section of the proposal.

Note. Search is specifically looking for approaches that are innovative and participatory in nature.

Deliverables

Search expects the following deliverables from the external consultant(s) as they correspond to the timeline and budget:

- An inception report detailing the methodology, data collection tools and timeline for review by Search;
- Any necessary training of data collectors or set-up of systems for data collection;
- Supervision and participation in data collection;
- Oversight of data coding and analysis;
- All original data submitted to Search;
- A final report in English (25 pages max in length, excluding appendices) consistent with Search branding and standards. In addition, an executive summary in French is required.
- The report:
 - Uses the Search template unless otherwise agreed in the contract
 - Fully explains the objectives and research questions of the study, limitations and methods chosen for analysis,
 - Findings are structured around the main objectives of the study, and are presented in relation to the intended target groups. It should explain adaptations that occurred during the project and their impact on results.
 - Recommendations should have a clear audience and be specific, accessible, and actionable.
 - Appendices should include detailed research instruments, list of interviewees, terms of references and consultant(s) brief biography.

Logistical Support

Consultant(s) will be responsible for organizing their own logistics for data collection (vehicles, fuel, and drivers), and this must be budgeted into the study. Search can provide support in arranging logistics as agreed upon based on the consultant's proposal. No Search staff member will be available to support data collection; Search can however support logistics in the country as needed. In addition, Search and partners will share the following elements with the external consultant(s): Background materials including the project proposal and literature review on barriers to women's economic empowerment developed by Search.

Ethical Considerations

The consultant(s) must clearly outline key risks of conducting the study and the steps to assure Do No Harm and Conflict Sensitivity and inclusion principles (ie. gender, age, ethnicity, religion, etc.).

Data Quality Assurance and Management

Proposals submitted must clearly define methods for assuring the data is recorded and stored in a high quality manner. All studies will be reviewed and approved by our country office and global Institutional Learning Team prior to acceptance of the final product.

Timeline

Proposals must be submitted by **October 27**. Proposals will be evaluated during the month of October and shortlisted candidates will be invited to an interview at the end of October. The selected candidates will finalize the inception report and data collection tools by early-November. We expect data collection to start mid-November and the first report to be shared by end-November. The final report will be submitted by early December at latest.

Requirements of Consultant

The following skills and experience are expected by Search for our evaluator for this project:

- Proficiency in English and French (written and spoken), knowledge of Kirundi is a plus;
- More than 5 years of experience in project evaluation, including collecting data in interviews, surveys and focus groups;
- Experience in conflict analysis and working with justice and civil society sectors;
- Experience working with international organizations;
- Experience conducting quantitative surveys and analysis;
- Evaluation methods and data collection skills;
- Experience conducting gender work and/or barrier analyses is a plus;
- Familiarity and experience with contextual challenges in the geographic location(s) where the study will take place. In addition, the consultant is required to respect the following Ethical Principles:
 - *Comprehensive and systematic inquiry: Consultant should make the most of the existing information and full range of stakeholders available at the time of the review. Consultant should conduct systematic, data-based inquiries. He or she should communicate his or her methods and approaches accurately and in sufficient detail to allow others to understand, interpret and critique his or her work. He or she should make clear the limitations of the review and its results.*
 - *Competence: Consultant should possess the abilities and skills and experience appropriate to undertake the tasks proposed and should practice within the limits of his or her professional training and competence.*
 - *Honesty and integrity: Consultant should be transparent with the contractor/constituent about: any conflict of interest, any change made in the negotiated project plan and the reasons why those changes were made, any risk that certain procedures or activities produce misleading review information.*
 - *Respect for people: Consultant respect the security, dignity and self-worth of respondents, program participants. Consultant has the responsibility to be sensitive to and respect differences amongst participants in culture, religion, gender, disability, age and ethnicity.*

Selection Criteria

Consultant proposals will be selected for:

1. Relevance of proposed methodology to the goal, objectives, and research questions for the project.
2. Quality of proposed methods, conflict sensitivity approaches, and quality control measures.
3. Qualifications of the candidate(s).
4. Proposed budget in relation to proposed methodology, deliverables and team.
5. Timeline for proposed activities.

Applications

To apply, interested candidates (individuals or teams) are requested to submit the following two documents by **October 27**.

- Curriculum vitae.
- A technical proposal proposing a methodology for the barrier analysis together with a financial proposal for the completion of the aforementioned deliverables and a short cover letter.

Note: Only two documents can be submitted, so the technical and financial proposals must be combined, along with the short cover letter. For any inquiries on this barrier analysis you can write to Livia Rohrbach lrohrbach.cons@sfcg.org with Nadia Nintunze nnintunze@sfcg.org in copy.

7.3. Annex 4: Table: Influence of different factors shaping the social vision of women

Categories		Diff. in Coefficients			Result
Gender					
Men	<i>Reference</i>				
Women	-0.3153	0.2845	-1.108	0.26785	No statistical difference with men
Residency					
Rural	<i>Reference</i>				
Urban	-0.8767	0.3303	-2.654	0.00796 **	Statistical difference with rural setting
Age					
18-25	<i>Reference</i>				
26-35	-0.4681	0.4203	-1.114	0.26539	No statistical difference with 18-25
36-55	-0.3751	0.4388	-0.855	0.39266	No statistical difference with 18-25
56 et +	-1.0403	0.6147	-1.692	0.09060 .	No statistical difference with 18-25
Level of education					
No school att.	<i>Reference</i>				
Primary	0.2751	0.5917	0.465	0.64199	No stat. difference with no school att.
Secondary	-0.6458	0.5255	-1.229	0.21914	No stat. difference with no school att.
Superior	-1.7023	0.5504	-3.093	0.00198 **	Statistical difference with no school

The occurrence of a significant difference of representation is represented by the sign ** in the following table.