

Norms and practices impeding gender equality in Burundian society

25/07/2017

Report

Presented to



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Acknowledgement

First and foremost, we would like to thank the many men and women who willingly took part in this study and provided us with a wealth of information regarding the norms and practices pertaining to gender equality in the Burundian society. It is for these people that this study was conducted. Thank you to the many village leaders who allowed us to conduct data collection in their communities.

Thanks must also go to the CARE Burundi Staff at the Country Office level and in Ngozi, Kayanza, Kirundo, Bujumbura, Gitega and Muyinga for their support in the organisation of the research and their support during the data collection.

Our huge thanks and respect go to the team of data collectors. You acted as a hugely important guide and added immensely to the study as both research assistants in data collection and independent sources of information on the country's realities.

Our very special thanks go also to Sandrine Inakabondo and Alexis Mangona for the advice and support and their assistance in gathering information for the desk review.

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Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Equality Men
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IHDI	Inequality Human Development Index
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
SV	Sexual Violence
UNFPA	United Nations People's Fund
VAW	Violence against Women
WHO	World Health Organisation

Executive summary

The norms pertaining to gender roles in the Burundian society are deeply rooted in a strong patriarchal culture. It is a patrilineal culture in which man incarnates authority within the household, makes crucial decisions, and provides livelihood to the members of the household. As for women, they are reduced to taking charge of domestic chores: farm work and house chores and caring for children and other members of the family. In reality, there is a role of authority for men and a position of subordination for women which is perfectly translated in the following proverb: *"The hen does not sing when the cock is there"*.

The woman is expected to carry out a disproportionate amount of the burden of the family's work, whatever the man assigns to her. Additionally, she is expected to give birth within about a year and a half of the wedding. If a couple are unable to conceive, it is always perceived as a fault of the woman.

According to a report on research commissioned by CARE Burundi¹, "The tales of violence told by the men were all related to how violence was used as a means of punishment as well as a pre-emptive measure to ensure that the woman performed her duties as these were perceived by the man". Domestic violence is not only a pervasive problem, but a mainstream expectation within family life and something which is seen as a necessity and, to a certain extent, as a good thing. It reflects the woman's status as being inferior².

In order to understand men's practices and attitudes as they relate to gender equality, CARE Burundi has commissioned the present survey based on norms and practices impeding gender equality in Burundian society.

Objective of the study

The overall goal of this study is to add to CARE Burundi's understanding of men's behaviours and attitudes and changes in those attitudes and behaviours with regard to promoting gender equality. The results of the study will be used to inform, drive and monitor policy development in promoting gender transformation.

Methodology

The methodology was based on primary and secondary data analysis. The primary data collection was conducted in 18 communities across the six provinces of Bujumbura, Gitega, Kayanza, Ngozi, Kirundo and Muyinga and it consisted of quantitative as well as qualitative data gathering. Quantitative questionnaires were used to collect measurable data from men and women aged between 24 and 59 years in a gender, age, area of residence and socio-economic status disaggregated manner. A total of 2065 respondents composed of 1022 men and 1043 women participated to the quantitative survey.

The qualitative data collection consisted of Focus Group Discussions and individual interviews. From each province, two FGDs were organised with groups of men and groups of women separately while one-on-one interviews were organised with respondents from CARE Burundi staff and Civil Society Organisations involved in the promotion of gender equality.

¹ Engaging Men: The Abatangamuco and Women's Empowerment in Burundi

² idem

Key findings

➤ Personal vs family expenditure

The data has shown that among the respondents 72.15% of men and 90.22% of women work as farmers making agriculture the main source of income for all the households which participated to the study. Given that the farms generally belong to men, the women who work on them are considered to be working for their husbands, consequently the revenues from the farms which are considered as the main household income are managed and controlled by the husbands. That situation gives men a financial advantage which puts them in a position to be the one who decides on how the household expenditures are made. During the FGDs with men, most of them believe that the income generated from the farms belongs to the men who should be entitled to decide on how it is spent.

Among the respondents to the quantitative data collection, 59% of men and 9% of women believe that the husband should be the only one who decides on all household expenditure while 74% of women and 8% of men believe that the husband and the wife should do it together. However, during the FGDs with women, most of the participants expressed reservations about men deciding alone on how to spend the household income because they consider that their husbands often end up spending most of the money on personal goods instead of household needs. While 66.5% of the male respondents agree with the statement “*a man should be free to spend household money without asking his wife’s opinion*”, about 75% of the women disagree with it.

➤ Education and gender norms

Both men and women participants to the FGDs agreed that regardless of their gender, all the children who reach the age of attending school are always enrolled, which results in having about the same number of boys and girls in the classrooms at primary schools. Among the respondents 93% of women and 75% of men agree that education is as important for boys as it is for girls.

However, a lot of girls abandon school at primary level due poverty. Because it is culturally not well regarded for boys to do household chores, the girls are the ones who are compelled to stop schooling to help their mothers at home and at the farms. The other main reason cited for the girls’ high school dropout rates is early pregnancy which is also linked to poverty because the young girls who do not have enough food at home have trouble concentrating at school and tend to become tempted to engage in sexual relations with men who can provide them money. Another factor which was cited by women respondents was also the absence of known women who belong to the communities and have been successful thanks to their schooling.

The quantitative data show that 98% of the male respondents and 99.5% of the female respondents believe that both the husbands and wives should take all the decisions pertaining to the children’s education together.

➤ Childhood experiences

The quantitative data shows that men who believe that VAW is acceptable are almost evenly distributed across the different provinces where the study was conducted with men who agree with the statement “*It is normal for a man to beat his wife if she refuses to have sexual intercourse with him*” ranging between 42% and 48% across the provinces. Among the male respondents, 95.75% claim that as children they have witnessed some form of GBV while 83.95% of women claim the same. The three forms of GBV that they were cited the most are sexual, physical and psychological violence.

According to the female respondents who claim to have witnessed GBV, 41.55% of the cases of violence is committed by the victims' husbands, 33.5% by the fathers or brothers, 15.65% by acquaintances and neighbors and 9.3% by strangers. During the discussion with both the male and female participants to the FGDs, some of the respondents stated that they often witnessed spousal abuse perpetrated by their fathers on their mothers at home and that form of violence was often considered as normal in their communities although, thanks to the sensitizations, spousal abuse is becoming less and less acceptable.

Economic violence is exerted through the deprivation of the victims from accessing or using household assets, the crops harvested from the farms on which the women were the sole workers, the controlling of their access to health care, employment, and their exclusion from decision making on household expenditures. According to the women participants to the FGDs, the majority of women do not participate in the decision-making on their households' income. Often the husbands waste family assets on alcohol and prostitution.

Relations at home

According to 73.25% of male respondents 28.60% of female respondents, it is more important for men than for women to find work outside of the home. Women are more 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. Women spend more time on household chores and on farm work than men. Men also have categories of work that are reserved to them, these include brick making and masonry, handcrafting, transportation of goods and using bikes, making banana beer, and making charcoal and wood crafting. Women are not expected to build houses or make furniture. While women work at the farms, men work also producing their goods and selling their products. However, they have full ownership on their revenues which they spend at their discretion.

Once the crops are harvested from the farms, the women decide with their husbands on how to divide it between what will be dedicated to household consumption and what will be sold at the market. Both husbands and wives will participate in the sales of the crops but the money generated will be managed by the men and all the expenditures made from it will be done at their discretion since they ultimately own the farms on which their wives work.

➤ Attitudes towards women and masculinity

The data show that traditional beliefs still have a great deal of influence on both men and women when it comes to sexuality. Girls' virginity before marriage is still viewed as very important with 81.65% of men and 72.50% of women still believing that a woman who is not a virgin on the day of her marriage is a shame for her family. Gender inequality is also expressed in sexual relations as well as perceptions about male sexuality. According to 75.85% of male respondents it should be up to the men alone to decide on everything about sex while only 16.56% of women agree to that.

“The children come first in a family, if you think about their interest, you will not report their father to the police or cause him harm or shame in the eyes of the neighbours, that is why a woman who exposes the problems that she encounters with her husband at home is always regarded as not worthy of marrying. Being able to support beatings from your husband shows how dedicated and protective you are for your family and your children. If people know that your husband mistreats you but you are not going around disparaging him, they will have more respect for you.”

A woman from Mugozi in Gitega

➤ Relationship and gender based violence

The gender streamed responses pertaining to both men's and women's attitudes towards gender equality show that domestic violence perpetrated against women is accepted as normal by more than 30% of the female

respondents and more than 40% of male respondents. Although GBV is denounced by most men and women, VAW is condoned by more than 50% of both men and women when it is due to women's unfaithfulness.

During the group discussions both men and women stated that although violence against women is reprehensible and should be discouraged, domestic violence should be considered a private matter and that women should only discuss it with their close relatives who can mediate between them and their husbands.

For the sake of keeping the cohesion of their households, 42.80% of women believe that women should not report violence exerted on them. During the group discussions both men and women stated that although violence against women is reprehensible and should be discouraged, domestic violence should be considered as a private matter and that women should only discuss it with their close relatives who can mediate between them and their husbands.

Recommendations

The analysis of the collected data has shown that there are differences between men's and women's perceptions about gender equality and the roles traditionally assigned to men, women, girls and boys within the household and the community at large. However, both men and women are to a certain extent still entrenched in cultural perceptions which promote gender inequality whereas the need for comprehensive programmatic actions based on sensitisation at community level and advocacy for policy and legislative changes at national level. This can be done through a five year comprehensive advocacy and sensitisation campaign.

The nationwide comprehensive sensitisation and advocacy campaign should aim at supporting and spearhead both men and women towards attitude change for gender equality. The areas on which the five year comprehensive campaign should focus are positive masculinity, education, women's economic empowerment and justice. In every aspect of the campaign, men and women must be equally engaged for the creation of inclusive spaces for the promotion of change.

➤ **Positive masculinity**

That aspect of the programme should focus on improving men's and women's perceptions about their different roles in their relationships and within their communities and society at large in order to abate all the factors in the Burundian society which fuel negative masculinity. The objective should be to deconstruct the norms which uphold patriarchal values in order to instil more gender equality at all levels of society.

- The awareness raising campaign should not just focus on GBV but rather on the promotion of gender equality and the necessity for more inclusiveness of women on decision making both at home and at community level.
- The promotion of gender parity in decision making bodies at community level will help set women's concern among the communities' priorities. Community Based Organisations must be leveraged to address equality.
- All the harmful traditional practices which lead to gender inequality must be identified and addressed in the framework of the awareness raising campaign for gender equality.
- Awareness must also be raised regarding the existing law, policies and legal provisions pertaining to abuses based on gender.
- Men will play the role of peer educators in the framework of the sensitisation programme.

➤ **Transforming the VSLAs into a powerful tool for advocacy and sensitisation**

CARE as an organisation has been at the forefront in leveraging the VSLAs that it creates to empower women. The VSLAs are an opportunity to drive changes beyond just helping women save and borrow money to improve their livelihood. Because they are disciplined forms of associations which meet regularly and regroup many people in every community where they are present their activities can be linked to the campaign for gender equality. Moreover, their members actively participate to the meetings, the VSLAs can be federated to create other forms of organisations which depend on them to address issues such as gender equality.

Mixed VSLAs which include equal numbers of men and women should be created for that purpose. A training will be given to all the VSLA members and advocacy and awareness raising action plans developed towards the promotion of gender equality. Each VSLA member will become a peer educator for the community. At the end of every VSLA meeting, 15 minutes will be dedicated to discussions about gender equality.

➤ **Education**

At national level

Empowering women and girls through education would enable them to participate in decision making at all levels - within households, locally in their communities and nationally - to influence the allocation of resources in a gender-sensitive manner. These efforts can contribute to higher productivity, which increased economic growth. Promoting girls' education will lead to facilitating poor women's access to productive and financial resources, while promoting gender equality in the household and in society results in large development returns. When women are more educated, they protect their daughters against harmful traditional practices such the norms which promote gender inequality, they delay marriage and pregnancy, leading to fewer deaths of mothers and babies during childbirth. Highly educated mothers better understand the value of education and have the skills and are better prepared to compete effectively for high skilled, well remunerated income generating activities and will thus be more able to feed their children, care for them and send them to school. Educating girls is essential for the empowering women and girls which is central to promoting rapid and equitable economic growth and long-term stability at community level as well as at national level.

Therefore the campaign will also focus on maintaining girls in school. It will aim at increasing the proportion of girls who complete nine years of education and receive a quality learning experience throughout the country. The campaign will call for State institutions, international NGOs and the UN agencies to enable girls to develop the assets required for, and eliminate the barriers against, a quality education. That component of the advocacy and sensitisation campaign will rely on the creation of a platform of organisations involved in education and the promotion of women's rights in order to raise funds and develop action plans to fight girls' illiteracy and above all for the increase in the rates of girls transiting from secondary to tertiary education.

At school level

- Training for teachers in role modelling of positive masculinity and femininity.
- Creating teachers and parent committees for purposes of bringing together teachers, parents, students, and stakeholders to address issues of gender and GBV.
- Including gender equality into the civic education curricula

➤ **Women's economic empowerment**

There are very few economic opportunities in the rural parts of Burundi aside from farming and the land is becoming scarcer and unlikely to contribute to women's economic empowerment in a sensitive manner, above all given that they often do not own any land. Other ways of creating wealth must be devised. One approach used by an International NGO which has helped pull thousands of people out of poverty and improve their livelihood with small budgets is the "Passing on the Gift" approach.

The "Passing on the Gift" approach consists in organizing beneficiaries so that they can receive gifts and pass them on to others. At first, a group of 25 beneficiaries are given 10 hens and 2 roosters each along with an egg incubator which is operated with a small solar panel. They are trained on how to raise chicken and how to use the incubator. Every time the hens lay eggs, those eggs are put in the incubator so that they hatch, they never let the hens brood the eggs. every week, the ten hens would lay on average 25 eggs which are put in the incubator and after 21 days, they hatch and the beneficiary acquires about 20 new baby chicken (after a loss of about 5 on average). They raise the babies until they reach 6 months and then, they "Pass on The Gift", in other words, they give 10 hens and 2 rooster to another beneficiary who does the same. On average, the beneficiaries may in one year about 500 chicken of which they can sell some to buy goats, sheep and cows. This leaves them with an important yearly revenue.

This approach can be very well combined with the VSLAs in order to economically empower women with a low budget. Women who earn their own money will see their status within their household and their community improve.

➤ **Justice**

The legal aspects of the comprehensive campaign will be addressed through its advocacy component. Advocacy should be led from the bottom up. In other words, those who should be the most dynamic and active in the promotion for change in the framework of the campaign should be the members of the Community Based Organisations such as the VSLA members through their federations because they are many and they would have already been trained and sensitised on gender equality. While at community level, their members become peer educators, at national level, their federated organisations become advocacy actors who will lead the campaign for change towards the provincial and national authorities such as members of parliament and government ministries in charge of the promotion of women's rights and gender equality.

The issues that they will address with that regard are the following:

At community level, for both trained men and women peer educators:

- Explaining to their community members the laws pertaining to gender equality with positive messages.
- Targeting married couples in disseminating the content of protective laws on gender based violence.
- Provide women and men a safe space to discuss gender related issues and find solutions together.
- Creating drama groups which focus on the promotion of gender equality. Use theatre role plays at strategic places within communities and give space for debate after the plays.

- Training of religious leaders and carrying out of campaigns at community levels that tackle aspects and practices
- Promote good practices and examples of fatherhood. Men should be encouraged to be involved in family life, as caregivers and role models.
- Mentoring programmes for young males are needed, on positive and transformative masculinities.
- Promoting positive values, which seek to restore, respect and promote equitable and healthy relationships with their counterparts.

At province level

- Training police, army and legal professionals on the laws and national policies pertaining to gender equality and the provisions of legal assistance service to GBV victims
- Creating networks of public services between police, health, social affairs and psychosocial support organizations in order to make support for victims and families affected by GBV accessible at community levels.
- Working with communities stakeholders on strengthening legal mechanisms and processes in responding to SGBV

At national level

The advocacy campaign should be developed and addressed to the governmental authorities and to members of parliament for the enforcement of existing laws and against GBV and all forms of discrimination against women.

The advocacy campaign should also promote the enactment of the laws promoting equal rights for men and women to land inheritance.

I. Context of the research

Although the Republic of Burundi has a constitution which guarantees gender equality and it has ratified international conventions and protocols such as the African Union's *Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa* which prohibit any form of discrimination against women, Gender Based Violence and discriminatory practices against women remain prevalent in the country. Violence against women is strongly linked to a larger context of gender inequality in Burundi. The inferior status of women within the family and in Burundian society, the social values and cultural beliefs all contribute to favour women's submission. The basic, structural causes for violence in Burundi lie in inherent gender inequality derived from a patriarchal system. Girls are less valued than boys to the extent where a woman can be chased away from her community if she gives birth only to girls. Unequal access to formal education and girls' high school dropout rates, especially in rural areas, remain a problem, although the overall rate of girls' primary school enrolment has improved significantly in the last

decade as shown by the fact that in 2005, 54.3 percent of girls were enrolled in primary school and in 2009, their enrolment reached 89.7 percent³.

Early pregnancy and the excessive household chores contribute to a higher illiteracy rate amongst women and girls. Women are also economically disadvantaged in part due to the large burden of household tasks paired with unequal access to sources of income⁴.

Inequality exists on all levels of interaction between men and women. Women do not have decision making power within households, property is usually owned by men and men also have full power and “ownership” over the children. While women cultivate the land, they have no right to inherit it. Lastly, inequality and disempowerment of women is also reflected in sexual relations. Women cannot refuse sex, nor negotiate the manner in which sex occurs⁵.

The NGO Report to the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination -against Women “Violence Against Women in Burundi”, 2008, characterizes violence within the family and the community as follows: “Within the family, gender-based violence takes the form of sexual violence – mainly incest, marital rape and sexual harassment, physical and verbal domestic violence and economic violence. Within the community, sexual violence and especially rape is also widespread. Examples include rape by close friends and neighbours, especially of young girls or women living alone, sexual harassment in the workplace and especially in the context of unregulated domestic work; physical violence, trafficking and forced prostitution”.

In addition to the breakdown of economic, social, and cultural structures, the 12-year civil conflict in Burundi led to a dramatic increase in Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in the country. Women and girls in Burundi are widely viewed as inferior and often subjected to violence. Common cultural practices in Burundi include forced marriages, such as the marriage of a widow to her brother-in-law or father-in-law, severe punishment for rejecting a forced marriage and killing women who get pregnant out of wedlock. When families face financial duress and have to make a choice about who to keep at school, boys are often favoured and girls are sent to handle domestic chores which results in limiting their access to good paying jobs and leadership positions.

The Government of Burundi has enacted laws and adopted policies aimed at fighting Gender Based Violence. At international level, the nation has ratified the Maputo Protocol which seeks to guarantee equal rights between men and women, moreover, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) to which Burundi belongs has adopted a protocol and model legislation in the areas of Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children. Burundi also ratified without reservation by Decree-Law No. 1/006 the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and other international human rights instruments have been ratified in the Art 19⁶ of the Burundi’s Constitution of 2005.

³ République du Burundi. Cadre Stratégique de Croissance et de Lutte Contre la Pauvreté (CLSP I 2007-2008). Evaluation de la Performance et de l’Impact. Octobre 2010

⁴ Politique Nationale de Genre 2011-2025

⁵ Tearfund. A View on the Current Situation Regarding Sexual Violence in Burundi: The Role of the Church and Possible Avenues for Intervention. 2010.

⁶ “The rights and duties proclaimed and guaranteed inter alia by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child shall form an integral part of the Constitution of the Republic of Burundi. These

At national level, the 2009 revisions to the Burundian Penal Code (Law Number 1/05 April 2009) establish rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, and other generalized and systematic acts of Sexual Violence against civilians as crimes against humanity⁷. Despite the existing laws and policies to curtail the prevalence of Gender Based Violence in Burundi, the phenomenon is still widespread. Whereas the need to develop programmes both at national level and within the Civil Society Organisations to better address the issue. In order to develop programmes and projects aimed at eliminating the violence and discrimination perpetrated against women it is important to assess the perception, attitudes and knowledge of the members of the Burundian society, both men and women about the gender equality.

It is in this context that CARE Burundi has commissioned the present survey based on norms and practices impeding gender equality in Burundian society to understand men's practices and attitudes as they relate to gender equality, and the impact of participation in violence, gender dynamics and male identity construction on men in Burundi.

2. Objective of the study

The overall goal of this study is to add to CARE Burundi's understanding of men's behaviours and attitudes and changes in those attitudes and behaviours with regard to promoting gender equality. The results of this study will be used to inform, drive and monitor policy development in promoting gender transformation.

Specifically, the objectives of the survey are:

- ✚ Assess men's current behaviours and attitudes on a wide range of issues as they relate to gender equality, including fatherhood and care giving (time spent in providing care for children, and others in the home), use of violence in intimate and sexual relationships (sexual, physical and psychological), eating and feeding practices, work life balance, use of health services, negotiation/communication with partner about family size and sexual relations (family planning) among others;
- ✚ Compare these results with women's attitudes and behaviors on the same issues;
- ✚ Assess men's knowledge and attitudes towards policies that have sought to promote gender equality in Burundi (e.g. employment and political quotas for women, women's economic empowerment, paternity establishment, gender based violence, among others), and explore, to the extent possible, men's ideas about what policies and changes in existing policies they think would help them become even more involved in gender equality;
- ✚ Explore factors that may explain variation in men's behaviors in their family lives and intimate and sexual relationships, including childhood experiences of violence, gender norms in family of origin, stress, migration, and unemployment, among others.
- ✚ Perceptions on education patterns for youth regarding norms and attitudes.
- ✚ Having self-propositions of men and women about the positive change toward gender.
- ✚ Provide recommendations to inform policy and other gender transformation initiatives.

fundamental rights shall not be limited or derogated from, except in justifiable circumstances in the general interest or for the protection of a fundamental right".

⁷République de Burundi. Loi NO 1/05 du 22 Avril 2009 Portant Révision du Code Pénal Burundais.
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,NATLEGBOD,,BDI,,4c31b05d2,0.html>

3. Survey Methodology

The research consisted of a literature review as well as a field study. In each case, the knowledge, attitudes and perceptions about GBV and SV within the Burundian society and the ways in which they have contributed to disenfranchise women were thoroughly studied. The tools developed for the methodology sought to answer all the criteria of the survey.

3.1. Literature Review

The literature research was conducted through the literature made available by CARE Burundi on studies that it has done on the prevalence of GBV in Burundi. Documents such as reports from other INGOs and UN agencies on the subject along with the Burundian legal framework pertaining to GBV and the periodic CEDAW and Maputo Protocol Monitoring reports for Burundi were studied in order to identify the factors inhibiting gender equality in the country and the traditional, cultural and attitudinal factors contributing to the perpetuation of gender inequality in the country.

Documents published by the National Statistics Bureau and the *Ministère de la Solidarité Nationale des Droits de la Personne et du Genre* were also studied and more particularly the *Politique Nationale Genre Du Burundi, 2011-2025*⁸.

3.2. Field study

The field data collection was conducted in a sample of communities selected with the assistance of the CARE Burundi staff. The survey was done with community members in the six provinces of Bujumbura, Gitega, Kayanza, Ngozi, Kirundo and Muyinga and it consisted of quantitative as well as qualitative data gathering. Quantitative questionnaires were used to collect measurable data from men and women aged between 24 and 59 years in a gender, age, area of residence and socio-economic status disaggregated manner so as to enable a better contextualisation of the results for every category of respondents on the basis of the survey criteria.

The qualitative data collection was conducted through one-on-one interviews with representatives of organisations involved in women's rights protection in addition to the CARE Burundi staff involved in the survey and local Civil Society Organisations.

In each one of the provinces involved in the study, Focus Groups Discussions were organised with groups of men and groups of women.

3.2.1. Quantitative data collection

The quantitative data collection was conducted based on one questionnaire which was administered to both women and men in order to be able to conduct a comparative analysis of the results. A multi-stage sampling approach was used. Firstly, from each one of the targeted provinces three Collines (villages) were selected for the survey which will give a total of 18 Collines. The second level of sampling pertained to the respondents themselves. The study was designed in such a way that a 95% confidence interval with 10% margin of error (using a statistics calculator⁹) was adopted in the selection of the number of respondents. The total number of men and women from each Colline in the provinces was determined using data gathered from the reports of national demographic survey conducted by the country's National Statistics Bureau.

⁸ See the documents consulted in the Annexes

⁹ <https://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm>

However, the statistics available are not disaggregated on the basis of the citizens' ages, but the official data pertaining to the Burundian population's demographics show that the people aged between 24 and 59 years represent about 28% of the total population¹⁰. Therefore, once the three Collines have been randomly selected from each targeted province using MS Excel, the total number of men and the total number of women from those three randomly selected Collines were determined and from those numbers, the samples are taken from 28% of those total numbers with 95% confidence interval and 10% margin of error.

The choice for a 10% margin of error is guided by the fact that in many of the Collines, the populations are too small and a margin of error of 5% would be too close to a census rather than a sampling. Given the chances that it would not be possible to meet all the potential respondents, and the cost and time associated to the samples which would result from opting for a 5% margin of error, it was deemed more appropriate to choose a 10% margin of error. Table 1 below summarises the sampling.

Table 1: Samples determination

Provinces	Collines	Total population of men	28% of men's population	Total Population of women	28% of women's population	Sample for men	Sample for women
Bujumbura	Mugongo-Manga Buhoro	994	278	1455	407	72	78
	Mugongo -Mang Rwibaga	732	205	681	191	66	64
	Kabezi Masama	2288	641	2454	690	78	78
Gitega	Giheta Gisarara	312	87	343	96	46	48
	Gishubi Mugozi	436	122	538	150	54	59
	Bugendana Mwurire	1861	521	1980	554	81	82
Kayanza,	Butaganzwa Mpfunda	664	186	771	215	64	67
	Gatara Bubogora	357	100	391	109	47	49
	Gahombo Gasave	880	246	915	256	49	49
Ngozi,	Busiga Rubari	487	136	473	132	51	51
	Kiremba Bitagazwa	463	129	500	140	52	53
	Marangara Gicumbi	857	240	872	244	52	52
Kirundo	Bwambarangwe Budahunga	2250	630	2283	639	83	84
	Busoni Marembo	2730	764	3016	844	85	86
	Gitobe	1574	441	1741	487	79	80

¹⁰ http://www.theodora.com/wfbccurrent/burundi/burundi_people.html

	Santunda						
Muyinga	Buhinyuza Rugazi	650	182	668	187	51	52
	Butihinda Gatwenzi	964	270	1,069	299	69	69
	Gashoho Busasa	851	238	797	223	63	63
SubTotals						1022	1043
Total							2065

For the sake of ensuring accuracy and integrity in the data collected and reducing the length of time spent on collecting information for the study, tablets were used for the quantitative data collection.

3.2.2. Qualitative data collection

The qualitative data collection consisted of semi structured one-on-one interviews and FGDs with key respondents. For the sake of better triangulation, the researchers ensured that the respondents to the quantitative data collection were not interviewed for the qualitative data collection. Two Focus Group Discussions were organized in each province, one with a group of men and one with a group of women in the targeted areas and they consisted of discussions with groups of 6 to 7 participants.

3.2.3. Stakeholders who were interviewed

The respondents to the survey were composed of the following:

Respondents	FGD	KII
CARE Burundi staff responsible of the survey		X
Couples (men and women who are cohabiting – may either be married or unmarried, but live together); unmarried men and women who are not cohabiting	X	X
Women and men who have children and those who do not	X	X
Representatives of the <i>Ministère de la Solidarité Nationale des Droits de la Personne et du Genre</i>		X
Representative of Centre Seruka		X
Representative of Association des Femmes Juristes du Burundi		X

3.3. Enumerators

The quantitative data collection was conducted by the 20 enumerators who were hired by CARE Burundi according to the NGO's criteria. After their hiring, a 3 day training session was organised in Gitega.

3.4. Training of the enumerators

The training focused on the following aspects:

- ✚ Introductions and overview of the research aims, objectives and process;
- ✚ The tools used for the data collection
- ✚ How to randomly identify and select participants in the research process;
- ✚ How to use the tablets;
- ✚ Adjustments were made to the questions during the training in order to better contextualise them
- ✚ Language and translation issues: the questions were formulated in French and during the training, they were translated into Kirundi and the Kirundi version was also put on the tablets
- ✚ Obtaining consent;

3.5. Quality Control

At the end of the training session, a one day pilot test was conducted in two communities to assess the understanding of the enumerators and the congruity of the questions asked with the expectations on the Terms of Reference. After the data were collected for the purpose of the test, a day was spent analysing the results, making adjustments to the questions. Once the test was deemed satisfactory, the actual data collection started in the target communities.

3.6. Ethical considerations

The research was designed to comply with the standards of research globally recognized. It aimed to define strict ethical standards that promote trust between the research team and the people interviewed, allowing the latter to respond to the questions honestly and in a manner conducive to the accuracy of the search.

Given the sensitivity of some of the questions which were being asked to the respondents, in each community targeted for the qualitative data collection, two FGDs were conducted, one with men only and one with women only, with all the participants being aged between 24 and 59 years. The FGDs were conducted in areas where only the participants and the researchers were present and their conversations could not be heard by any one aside from the participants. Only one person from a household participated to the FGDs.

The questionnaires were administered to respondents under the same conditions. Only the respondent and the enumerator were present during the interview and it was clearly explained to the respondent the purpose of the study and confidentiality of the responses.

a) **The higher interest of respondent.** This principle of research aims to ensure that whatever the decisions taken in the course of the research process, they will be taken in the best interests of the respondent involved in the research. Their identity cannot be determined through the report or any document pertaining to the study.

b) **Informed consent.** The respondents were informed that they were to make their own choices as to whether they want to participate in the research or not, and to do this, the team provided them with adequate information on the research so that they understand its purpose and to what end results will be used. They were informed that they could withdraw from the research at any time.

3.7. Constraints and limits

The main constraint encountered during the data collection was the dearth of research pertaining to gender equality in Burundi. There are few research conducted on some aspects of gender inequality but they are often not comprehensive and deal mainly with issues such as Gender Based Violence and domestic violence more than on men’s behaviors and attitudes and changes in those attitudes and behaviors with regard to promoting gender equality or on traditional and cultural impediments to gender equality.

The other constraint pertains to the fact that the areas where the data were collected are CARE Burundi’s areas of intervention and in most of the communities where the study was conducted people were already involved in CARE Burundi’s projects and therefore their attitudes, behaviors and perceptions about gender equality related issues have already started to change and therefore their opinions may not reflect the mainstream opinions in the country.

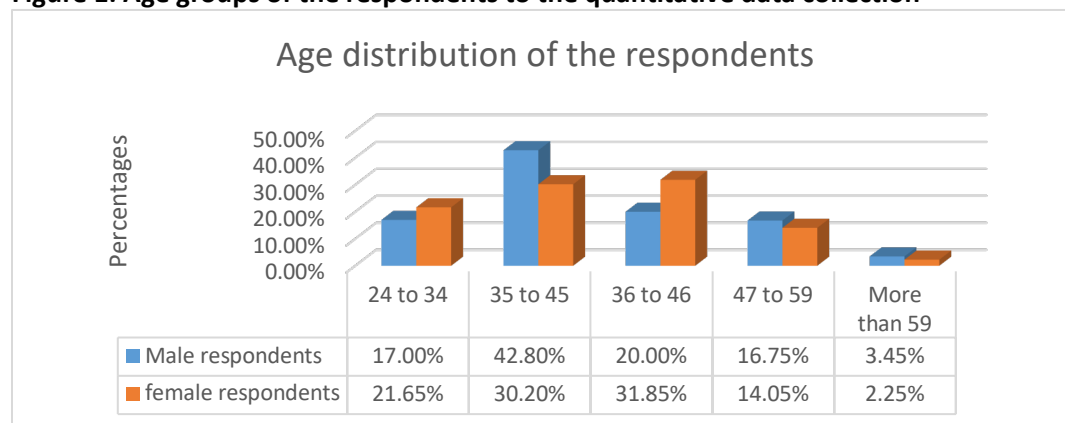
4. Analysis of the findings

The questionnaires which were administered to the respondents and the interview guides and the Focus Group Discussion guides were designed in such a way that they follow the same questioning pattern defined by the research criteria and so that the answers lend themselves to the GEM Scale and the WHO protocol.

4.1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents

The female respondents are aged between 25 and 61 years with a mean of 39 and a standard deviation of 7.54 while the male respondents are aged between 24 and 63 with a mean of 37 and a standard deviation of 6.35.

Figure 1: Age groups of the respondents to the quantitative data collection



Source: Collected data from the field

As shown on Table 4, agriculture is the main occupation for both the male and female respondents in all the communities which were visited for the quantitative data collection. This has a consequence on the relationship between husbands and wives within the households because the main agricultural input which is the land is generally owned by men who often inherit it while the women who work on it seldom possess own land.

Table 2: Sociodemographic characteristics

Socio-demographic	Men	Women
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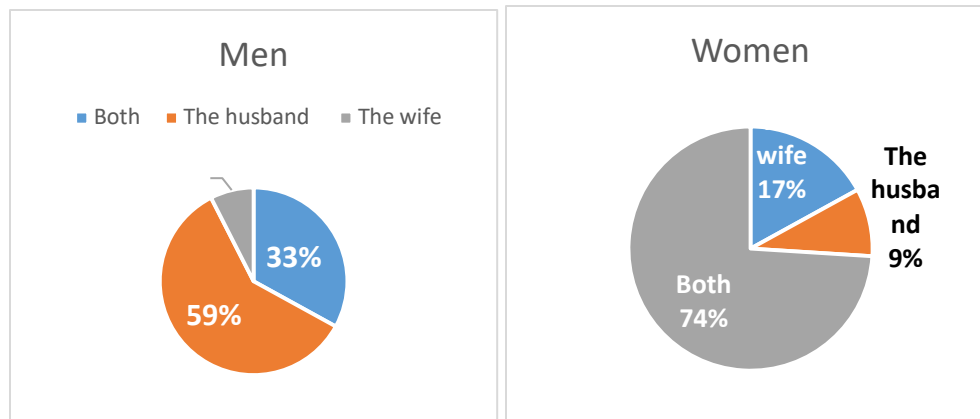
Profession		
Agriculture	72.15%	90.22%
Government worker	7.15%	2.25%
Trader	9.25%	4.15%
handicraftsmen	9.15%	2.23%
other	2.30%	1.15%
Religion		
Christian Catholic	69.25%	72.50%
Christian protestant	29.25%	23.65%
Muslim	1.45%	3.50%
Animist	0.05%	0.00%
other	0.00%	0.35%
Education level		
Never attended school	33.16%	42.20%
Primary school	35.95%	49.20%
Secondary school	26.00%	8.60%
University	0.64%	0.00%
Other	4.25%	0.00%
Marital status		
Married	57.25%	57.80%
Divorced	13.25%	9.15%
Widow	9.15%	13.25%
Free union	5.20%	7.15%

4.2. Personal vs family expenditure

The literature review has shown that the ways in which the household income is generated and spent plays an important role not only in how the households are managed but also on all the forms of GBV prevailing in the communities. Most of the household income in the rural areas is derived from farming and the farms in general belong to men who therefore have ownership on the products generated from the farms. Men often tend to use their financial superiority as a way to exert economic violence on women whereas the importance to assess men and women's perception about how money is generated and spent on personal goods and on family needs.

The quantitative data show that among the male respondents, 58.5% think that men should be responsible for providing food and shelter for their families while 9.5% believe that it is women's responsibility to do so and 32% believe that both the husbands and wives must contribute to household expenditures. Among the women, the data show that 7.8% of the respondents stated that women should provide for the families while 24% believe that men are the ones who should do so while 69.2% believe that both men and women should contribute to finding income for their families. As far as who should decide on the daily household expenditures, women's responses are very different from the men's as shown by the figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Who should make the decision about how to spend household income?



The responses show that the majority men do believe that they should be solely responsible for providing for their families and at the same time, they are the ones who should decide on how the household income is spent while women believe that the responsibilities should be shared. All the respondents to both the quantitative and qualitative data collection agree that both men and women within the households do work and contribute to the family expenditures.

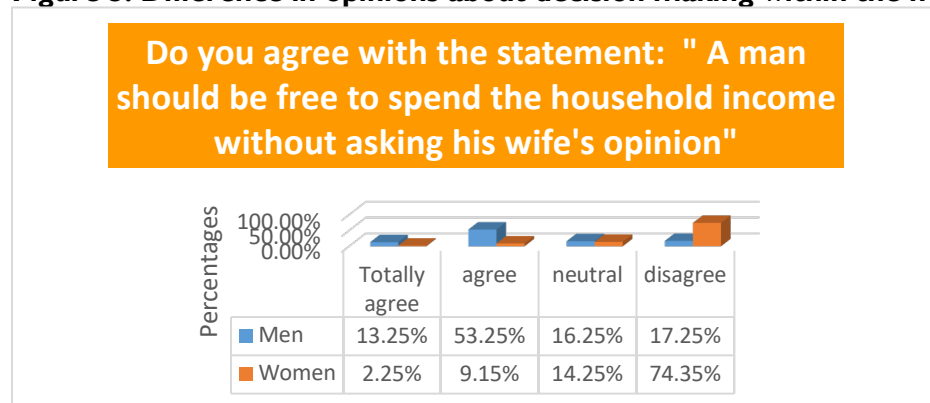
According to the male participants to the FGDs, a man who respects himself should not let his wife go outside of the household farm to look for remunerated work, it is a man's role to own a farm and let his wife work on it while he finds an income generating activity to complement the revenues from the farm. As such, a man in the poor rural communities can work as brick maker, bricklayer, charcoal maker or alcohol producer in order to generate income while his wife is tending the family farm. As far as the ways in which the money is spent, according to most of the male respondents to the qualitative interviews, a man who respects himself should wisely decide on how the household income should be spent because in most cases, he owns the farm that he either bought or inherited from his father, and even if the farm on which his wife works belongs to the household, he remains the main breadwinner, consequently, the wife should not decide on how to spend the earned money, the husband should do so. All the participants to the male FGD in Kiremba in the Commune of Ngozi were unanimous to agree that all the money earned within the household belongs to men and that men should decide alone about all matters pertaining to how the household should spend its income but they should inform their wives and ask their opinions.

However, during the FGDs with women, most of the participants expressed reservations about men deciding alone on how to spend the household income because they consider that their husbands often end up spending most of the money on personal goods instead of household needs. One of the female participants from Busasa in the Commune of Muyinga stated: *“we women, are the ones who stay at home to take of domestic chores and to look after children. When there is an urgent matter that cannot wait, we have to act, that is why, we know the priorities for the household because we have to constantly face stress about where to get money to buy food and take care of the children. We never harvest enough food that can last more than three months and we have to find ways to eat for a full year. Men do not often know what we face to make sure that they have lunch and dinner, they often leave it to us to find ways to cook the meals that is why we need to participate to the household decisions-making about how to spend household income, but unfortunately it is not the case. In our community, men decide on everything that has to do with money.”*

The difference between men's and women's opinions about whether a husband should be able to decide about household spending without consulting his wife is shown on the Figure 3 below.

While more than half of the male respondents agree with the statement “a man should be free to spend household money without asking his wife’s opinion”, about 75% of the women disagree with it.

Figure 3: Difference in opinions about decision making within the household



Source: Primary quantitative data

Another main reason cited by women for not wanting men to decide alone on household expenditures is the widespread alcohol consumption. According to the women who participated to the FGD in Budahunga, Kirundo “too many men in our community spend too much money on alcohol, when we harvest our farms, we set aside part of the crops for household consumption and we sell the rest. Although women cultivate alone the farms, men sell the crops and often this causes disputes because men keep the earned money while they are supposed to give us our daily allowances for the household meals. Very often, men do not show the earned money to their wives and in addition, they spend the household income on alcohol with other men in local bars”.

N. J. is a 26 years old woman, mother of six children, the last of whom is only a few months old. After she lost both of her parents, she got married at the age of 18 years with a young man from her community. Concerned about the future of her children, given that her husband works as a mason and his small income would not be enough to prepare the children's future, she decided to talk with her sister, who helped her get some money intended to buy a plot of land for her children. When she brought the money back to her husband, he took the money and told her that he was going to buy land for her but he never did so. Instead of buying the land, he wasted the money on alcohol and on sexual vagrancy.

He even has another woman to whom he gives all the household earnings instead of taking care of his children. *"If I need school supplies for my children and I sell some crops to buy them, he would become upset and would beat me if he finds out about it. I am always complaining to the local administration's leaders, who sometimes mediate, but it does not help. I am alone in taking care of the children while their father misuses the household resources."*

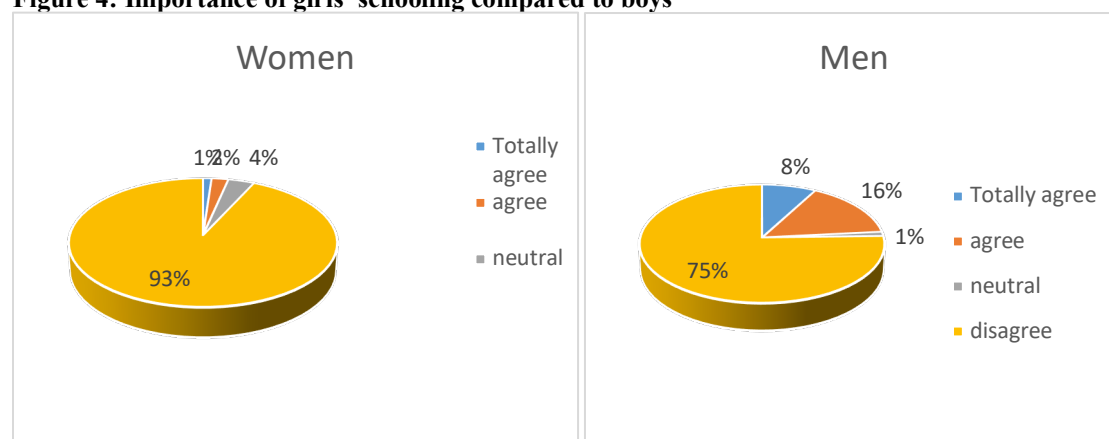
When she noticed that her husband was abandoning the family and spending too much time with prostitutes, N.J. decided to use contraception but unfortunately, after 4 years she began to have complications. When she consulted a doctor, he advised her to temporarily stop with contraceptive methods. When she talked with her husband, he assured her that there will be no problem, that he would undergo a vasectomy to solve the problem. N.J believed him, however a few months later she became pregnant with her sixth child.

Today, N.J. is more than determined, she swears that she will do everything to take good care of her children and that they will continue with their education with or without their father's help.

4.3. Education and gender norms at school

The quantitative data show that 98% of the male respondents and 99.5% of the female respondents believe that both the husbands and wives should take all the decisions pertaining to the children's education together. To the question "do you agree with the statement: "boys' secondary education is more important than girls' secondary education"" the respondents gave the answers summarised on the Figure 4 shown below.

Figure 4: Importance of girls' schooling compared to boys'



Sources: Collected quantitative data

These responses are corroborated by the statement "in case the household is faced with financial duress, it is better to keep boys than girls in school", the majority of both men and women actually said that they disagree with that statement as shown on the table below.

Table 3: Opinions about who to keep in school in times of financial duress

	Men	Women
Strongly agree	14.47%	7.24%
Agree	14.47%	13.82%
Neutral	4.89%	2.44%
Disagree	66.17%	76.50%

Sources: Collected quantitative data

The quantitative data show therefore that more than 70% of both men and women actually would not have an unfavorable bias against girls' schooling even during financial hardship. During the interviews with men and women in the communities, all the respondents agreed that girls' education is as important as boys' education, nevertheless, the economic and social conditions in which they live are conducive to more girls dropping out of school than boys. However, this opinion is contradicted by the facts given that the decision to often compel girls instead of boys to abandon their education in order to help their mother at home is made by the parents.

Throughout the communities involved in the study, during all the FGDs with both men and women, it was agreed that all the children who reach the age of being enrolled in school are actually registered to school and they do attend without any regard to gender and in all those communities, the ratios between girls and boys is generally balanced or in favor of girls at primary school. However, the transition from primary to secondary school shows disparities with more boys than girls transiting from primary to secondary. The main reasons given by the respondents is the widespread poverty prevailing in the communities, consequently more girls than boys often have to abandon their education to help their mothers with household chores and at the farms. They stay at home to cook and clean the house while their mother go to the farms or go out to the markets to sell goods. The decision on who should drop out of school is often made by the mothers according to most of the participants to the FGDs. According to a participant to the FGD with women in Buhoro, *“it is not that we do not want our girls to go to school, but we have so much chores to take care of that we need help. We cannot ask our sons to help us because it is not well regarded for boys to do household chores, which is why we ask our daughters to help.”*

The other factor that contributes to high rates of girls' abandonment is early pregnancies which is also attributed to poverty because the widespread phenomenon of early pregnancies which affects girls as young as 14 years is blamed on them being lured by men who have some money. One of the participants to the men's FGD in Kirembe stated: *“the girls often go to school without having had a meal and they are hungry and cannot concentrate on their studies, when they see a man who offers them money, they succumb to the bait and end up becoming pregnant and they abandon their education”*.

Another factor which was cited by women respondents was also the absence of known women who belong to the communities and have been successful thanks to their schooling. One of the women who was trained as a teacher and is unemployed cited her own example which serves to discourage girls from staying in school.

4.4. Childhood experiences

The analysis of the quantitative data shows that men who believe that VAW is acceptable are almost evenly distributed across the different provinces where the study was conducted with men who agree with the statement *“It is normal for a man to beat his wife if she refuses to have sexual intercourse with him”* ranging between 42% and 48% across the provinces.

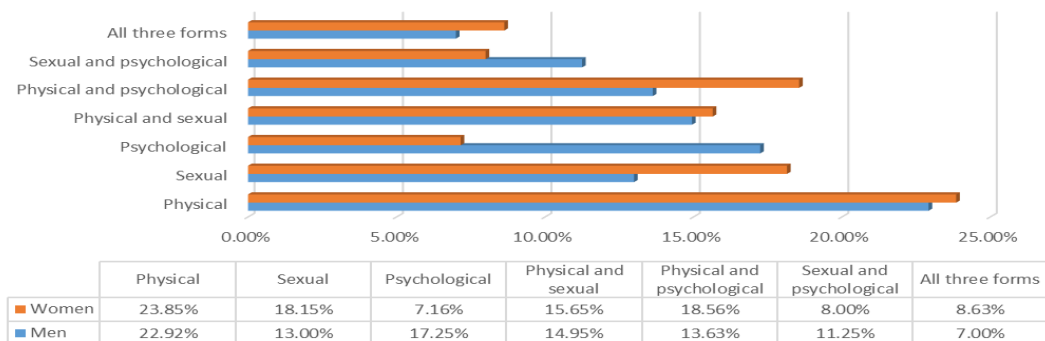
Both the male and female participants to the qualitative and quantitative data collection have in their vast majority either witnessed or have been authors of GBV at some points in their lives. The present section deals with the victimization by violence as children; witnessing of gender-based violence; gender related attitudes perceived in family and changes perceived from previous generation to the present.

4.4.1. Victimization by violence as children

Victimization by violence as a child refers to the situation of the respondents as having been either personally a victim of violence or having witnessed another person being a victim of GBV. Among the male respondents, 95.75% claim that as children they have witnessed some form of GBV while 83.95% of women claim the same. The three forms of GBV that they were cited the most are sexual, physical and psychological violence as shown on the Figure 6 below.

Figure 5: the most cited forms of GBV

Forms of violence experienced by the respondents



Sources: Collected quantitative data

The perpetrators of the acts of violence against women are often close relatives and husbands. According to the female respondents who claim to have witnessed GBV, 41.55% of the cases of violence is committed by the victims’ husbands, 33.5% by the fathers or brothers, 15.65% by acquaintances and neighbors and 9.3% by strangers. During the discussion with both the male and female participants to the FGDs, some of the respondents stated that they often witnessed spousal abuse perpetrated by their fathers on their mothers at home and that form of violence was often considered as normal in their communities although, thanks to the sensitizations, spousal abuse is becoming less and less acceptable.

One form of GBV which did not appear on the quantitative data but was considered among the most severe ones during the discussions with women is the economic violence which according to some of its victims has more lasting and consequential effects on the women who are subjected to it. Economic violence is exerted through the deprivation of the victims from accessing or using household assets, the crops harvested from the farms on which the women were the sole workers, the controlling of their access to health care, employment, and their exclusion from decision making on household expenditures. According to the women participants to the FGDs, the majority of women do not participate in the decision-making on their households’ income. Often the husbands waste family assets on alcohol and prostitution. The majority of men in the area have two or three women outside of their marriages. The reason why GBV persists is that the cases are only dealt with through mediation between the husbands and their wives, but there isn’t any serious penalty for men who mistreat their wives since many of cases are under the form of economic violence which is harder to address.

When asked about the prevalence of all forms of GVB within their households and communities during the group discussions, most of the men did acknowledge their existence but minimized their pervasiveness and stated that it used to be very common however because of the sensitization by the local administration and the International NGOs, it is happening less often.

Despite the sensitization from the various organizations and the administration, violence in households continues to be considered as private affairs, which leads to the silence that surrounds all forms of GBV. It takes courage for a woman who is a victim of GBV to complain to the police or other skilled instances because she often finds herself confronted with the judgment of her entourage and even the agents to whom she addressed her complaints.

4.4.2. Gender related attitudes

Gender related attitudes and perceptions are to a large extent shaped by the societal norms and cultural dynamics which delineate behavioural regularities, patterns of sanctioning, injunctive standards, and institutionalised practices and rules. In other words, the internalised rational choices related to gender based responsibilities and expectations are distilled by the social identities to the extent that they are often very difficult to alter. That is why the gender streamed responses pertaining to both men and women's attitudes towards gender equality show that domestic violence perpetrated against women is for instance accepted as normal by more than 30% of the female respondents and more than 40% of male respondents. Although GBV is denounced by most men and women, VAW is condoned by more than 50% of both men and women when it is due to women's unfaithfulness.

There is a wall of silence built around Violence Against Women within the households and that form of GBV is condoned by men as well as women. For the sake of keeping the cohesion of their households, 42.80% of women believe that women should not report violence exerted on them. During the group discussions both men and women stated that although violence against women is reprehensible and should be discouraged, domestic violence should be considered a private matter and that women should only discuss it with their close relatives who can mediate between them and their husbands. A male participant to a FGD in Busasa stated the following: *“Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, she becomes a full member of that family and her husband's father is like her own father so when there is a conflict between her and her husband, it is to him that she should talk to for mediation because he is the one who can resolve these kinds of problems for the sake of family cohesion. Talking to anyone outside of her husband's father is a way to disparage her husband and bring shame to her family and herself.”*

A woman from Mugozi in Gitega went further, *“the children come first in a family, if you think about their interest, you will not report their father to the police or cause him harm or shame in the eyes of the neighbours, that is why a woman who exposes the problems that she encounters with her husband at home is always regarded as not worthy of marrying. Being able to support beatings from your husband shows how dedicated and protective you are for your family and your children. If people know that your husband mistreats you but you are not going around disparaging him, they will have more respect for you.”*

During the group discussions, some women argued that they prefer not to report their husbands to the police because, despite the violence that they face at home, they still need the presence of their husbands to help them to find money to assist in the household expenditures. According to one of the women who participated to the group discussions in Ngozi, *“unless you want to divorce, it is better to not have your husband locked up because you need him at home to help with the children and to find food. You do not want the neighbors to know about your problems at home because they may look down on your husband which is bad for you and your children.”*

This statement is indicative of how much traditional and cultural beliefs surrounding Violence Against Women within the households are building walls of silence around GBV in Burundi. Aside from the silence surrounding the phenomenon of VAW, there is a denial on the side of men who exert violence against their wives but deny doing so and even publicly condemn the practice. During the FGD with men in Budahunga, Kirundo, all the 8 men participants to the FGD claimed that GBV is bad and that none of them has ever beaten his wife. After they left, during the FGD with the women, one of the women participants stated: *“every one of the men who were talking to*

you during the FGD is known to beat his wife and to abuse her by taking the household money away and wasting it on alcohol or other futilities while his family does not have food to eat.”

However, there are more men and women who actually denounce VAW. Out of the 18 communities which were involved in the study, 13 are communities where CARE Burundi intervenes through its programmes which involve sensitisation on gender equality and women’s empowerment. Consequently, most of the respondents have been exposed to sensitisation on those issues and both men’s and women’ attitudes towards VAW is starting to change. More than 60% of the respondents, both men and women stated that there is not any situation which entitles a men to beat his wife and among them 55.75% of women and 58.86% of men disagree with the statement “A woman beaten by her husband should shut her mouth for the sake of protecting the household cohesion”.

However, even among the respondents who are opposed to VAW, only 39.10% of the male respondents and 42.55% of the female respondents disagree with the statement “If a woman is not faithful to her husband, he has the right to beat her”.

Among the causes of VAW in the visited communities, poverty has been cited as the main one. According to the participants to the group discussions, the meager available resources always lead to conflicts between husbands and their wives, because the children’s and the wives’ needs are not satisfied and according to a participant to the women’s FGD in Kayanza, “the husbands and the wives priorities are not always the same, therefore women blame their husbands and vice versa and this leads to physical and psychological violence and women are often the ones who suffer from it”.

Table 4: Perceptions about Violence against Women

	Men				Women			
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
There are situations when a man is entitled to beat his wife	11.10%	28.10%	0.71%	60.09%	12.25%	19.25%	1.25%	67.25%
A woman beaten by her husband should shut up for the sake of protecting the household cohesion	14.08%	24.01%	3.05%	58.86%	17.25%	25.55%	1.45%	55.75%
It is normal for a man to beat his wife is she refuses to have sexual intercourse with him	15.25%	32.23%	1.55%	50.97%	4.35%	9.25%	2.45%	83.95%
Domestic violence is a domestic affairs and nobody else’s business	15.25%	30.55%	0.25%	58.95%	17.50%	24.25%	1.50%	56.75%

The priority for a woman is her husband's sexual satisfaction	3.25%	15.25%	7.45%	74.05%	9.25%	11.2500%	1.65%	77.85%
If a woman is not faithful to her husband, he has the right to beat her	29.25%	31.20%	0.45%	39.10%	27.95%	28.250%	1.25%	42.55%

Sources: Collected quantitative data

4.4.3. Knowledge of and attitudes towards policies

The Burundi government has enacted laws which prohibiting VAW, and has developed strategies and policies which seek to empower women to participate in the political process and promote women's rights.

However, Although Burundi has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), it has still not ratified the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Maputo Protocol), or the Optional Protocol to CEDAW. Moreover, there are still some impediments to gender equality due to persistence of legislative provisions that discriminate against women; the legal vacuum in the area of succession, marriage regimes and gifts; the perpetration of sexual and domestic violence with almost total impunity; and women's limited access to education, the labour market and health care.

During the FGDs with both the men and the women questions pertaining to the participants' towards the gender related laws and policies were addressed. All the women participants to the group discussions decried the fact that they are not entitled to equal rights to land inheritance and that their status as members of their families is traditionally determined by tradition which makes it such that they stop being members of their biological families to become members of the husbands families as soon as they get married. That situation makes it impossible for them to inherit the most important income generating resource because they are not able to inherit from the biological family nor can they do so from their husbands' families.

When asked their opinions about women's right to inherit land from their biological families, even the men who condemn VAW stated that it is better to not grant women equal rights to inheritance, according to one of the participants from Kiremba *"the land is very scarce here and it has been divided and subdivided so many times through inheritance that we often end up only owning less than one thousand square meters per household to grow food. Men are responsible for providing for their families and the main source of income is the land, if we have to share the land with women that means we will end up with nothing to feed our families. It is better to leave it as it is now. If you marry a woman who comes from a very poor family and she does not inherit any land at all and your family has some land and you have many sisters, and your sisters inherit most of your father's land, then you end up with very little land which is very unfair to you. Above all if your sisters are married to some rich families with a lot of land."*

4.4.4. Relations at home

Gender attitudes are forged or enforced at home according to the roles attributed to each household member which eventually grant particular status to the husband, the wife, and the sons

and daughters. The present section deals with the marital cohabitation, the division of labour, the use of time in specific domestic chores and family care including child care, the division of labor should include all agricultural work, the ways in which the participation in production (income generating) activities, reproductive activities, and social activities is determined and the activities that are reserved to each gender.

The authority of societal norms has imposed upon the communities the enforcement of the protective mechanisms of the cultures and traditions which, to a large extent promote gender based roles and expectation in order to keep stability in society and perpetuate societal legacy and heritage. Through formative experiences such as childrearing, traditional education and initiation, both men and women are made to believe that each individual has a specific role to play within the household according to his gender.

According to 73.25% of male respondents 28.60% of female respondents, it is more important for men than for women to find work outside of the home. Women are more 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. The same ratios of the respondents agreed to the statement “*there should be professions reserved to men and professions reserved to women*”. The kinds of professions reserved to each gender were explored during the FGDs with men and women. They all agreed that women spend more time working in the farms than men. They do all the work starting from preparing the land to sowing the seeds weeding out the fields to harvesting the crops. Once the crops are harvested, they decide with their husbands on how to divide it between what will be dedicated to household consumption and what will be sold at the market. Both husbands and wives will participate in the sales of the crops but the money generated will be managed by the men and all the expenditures made from it will be done at their discretion since they ultimately own the farms on which their wives work.

Men also have categories of work that are reserved to them, these include brick making and masonry, handcrafting, transportation of goods and using bikes, making banana beer, and making charcoal and wood crafting. Women are not expected to build houses or make furniture. While women work at the farms, men work also producing their goods and selling their products. However, they have full ownership on their revenues which they spend at their discretion. Both women and men stressed that within the households, each member has a specific role to play depending on their gender. Household chores are reserved to women while reparations made on the buildings for instance are reserved to men.

Table 5: division of household chores

Respondents	Who within the household should be doing the following chores?						
		Head of household	Men	Women	The girls	The boys	Everybody
Men	Do the laundry	0.00%	0.00%	85.00%	93.45%	0.00%	0.00%
	Do the bed	0.00%	0.00%	78.25%	95.65%	0.00%	0.00%
	Prepare lunch	0.00%	0.00%	65.95%	67.95%	0.00%	0.00%
	Wash the children	0.00%	0.00%	85.95%	67.68%	0.00%	2.00%
	Clean the house	0.00%	0.00%	78.95%	78.95%	0.00%	5.00%
	Work in the farm	15.00%	15.00%	70.25%	65.45%	15.95%	32.00%
	Wash the dishes	0.00%	0.00%	89.65%	87.45%	0.00%	5.65%

		Head of household	Men	Women	The girls	The boys	Everybody
Women	Do the laundry	0.00%	0.25%	72.95%	45.95%	15.25%	22.25%
	Do the bed	0.00%	1.35%	65.58%	68.45%	22.25%	13.60%
	Prepare lunch	0.00%	4.35%	93.45%	87.50%	13.25%	23.65%
	Wash the children	0.00%	3.25%	72.95%	69.50%	15.65%	19.50%
	Clean the house	0.00%	0.00%	69.85%	86.90%	55.65%	25.60%
	Work in the farm	9.50%	45.00%	67.50%	75.95%	65.25%	88.95%
	Wash the dishes	0.00%	4.95%	77.00%	76.50%	34.50%	45.95%

Sources: Collected quantitative data

The communities which were visited are all very poor and they rely on the yield from very small subsistence farming. Both men and women actually do work long hours to find means of subsistence, however, both the qualitative and quantitative data have shown that women spend more time working and a lot less time resting than men.

According to the quantitative data, while men and women do agree that the actual division of the household chores is such that women *actually do* most of the tasks in addition to the work at the farms, the opinions about who *should* do the different tasks at home differ according to the gender of the respondents. While women are more inclined to see more gender equality with regards to household chores, men tend to be comfortable with the way things are currently. The distribution of the roles based on gender puts the burden on women and girls and has an impact on girls' education as it was noted during the group discussions, more girls are compelled to drop out of school in order to assist their mothers with the chores while their brothers stay in school. Moreover, the combination of farm work, child care and household chores leave very little time for women to rest.

4.4.5. Parenting and men's relationship with their children

Both the husband and the wife in the household are involved in all the aspects of the children's upbringing within the households and in their schooling. However, each one of the parents has a particular role to play in the children's upbringing at different stages of their lives. Six days after a baby is born, a ceremony called "ugusohora" is observed in which he is presented to the family. The mother receives presents and money from relatives and friends. The infant is then named in the "kuva mu kiriri" ceremony. The paternal grandfather bestows on the child a proper name, a clan name, and one or two nicknames.

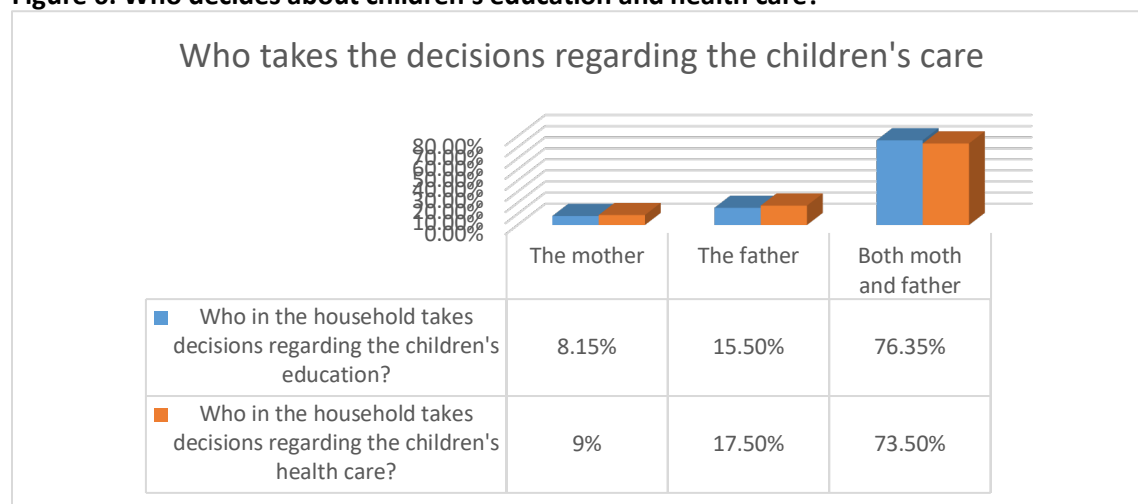
During their infancy and early childhood, both the boys and the girls are under the care of their mothers with little involvement from the fathers. When the children reach the age of six years and ready for school, the decision to enrol them is taken by both parents and while they are in school they are still mainly under the care of their mothers. Despite not being the main family providers, mothers are caregivers, responsible for their children wellbeing, daily hygienic household activities and meal preparation.

In the rural areas where agriculture is dominant, the work ethic is inculcated early; both boys and girls begin to be assigned chores at around the age of five. They also are schooled in proper behavior and in communal and family values. Those values include treating elders with supreme

respect and responding promptly and willingly to their commands. Both the mothers and fathers participate in educating the children on traditional values. However, the girls remain closer to their mothers whom they accompany in the farms daily and help with the household chores.

The quantitative data show that all the households are monogamous. The Figure 6 below shows who takes the decisions regarding the children’s care. While the data show that decisions pertaining to the children’s education and healthcare are taken by both parents, during the group discussions, both men and women admitted women are the only ones who normally take the children for doctors’ visits when they are sick and they are the one who generally take the children to school for enrolment. Men seldom take their children to the hospital and they claim that the wait time to see the doctor is often too long. As far as buying school books, women are often the ones who buy them.

Figure 6: Who decides about children's education and health care?



Sources: Collected quantitative data

4.4.6. Attitudes towards women and masculinity

People follow norms to avoid social sanctions since the cultural norms provide repertoires, restrictions, resources as well as constraints. Beliefs such as the necessity for women to obey their husbands to the extent that even when they are suffering from violence perpetrated on them and their children by the husband, they have to remain silent are deeply entrenched in the collective psyche. The attitudes and perceptions about gender roles and masculinity are therefore shaped through the ages by societal beliefs and norms that are stringent and hard to alter, however, during the past decades, with the interventions from International NGOs such as CARE Burundi, there has been some changes although both men and women are generally still holding on to their cultural and traditional perceptions.

One of the tools used during the quantitative data collection was the Gender Equality Men Scale through the inclusion of a set of questions that compare women and men attitudes towards gender equitable norms. In order to measure attitudes toward gender norms in intimate relationships or differing social expectations for men and women, gender norms and power dynamics between men and women have been studied in the context of gender-based violence. Questions such as their roles in contraceptive use and their influence on reproductive health behaviors have been addressed and adapted to the Burundian context.

The answers show that despite the efforts made by the Civil Society Organisations and the International NGOs to sensitise about gender equality, a lot remains to be done because the men's answers show that they are still opposed to gender equality. There is a wide gap between the responses given by men and by women.

Table 6: GEM scale statements

	Men	Women
Statements	Totally agree or agree	Totally agree or agree
Gender roles		
It is a woman's responsibility to clean the house, cook, wash the children, clean the house,	81.25%	61.85%
The husband must decide on all household expenditures	78.25%	31.25%
A man should be free to spend the household income without asking his wife's opinion	66.50%	11.40%
It is not normal for a man to his baby's diapers	77.65%	38.25%
It is not normal for a woman to get out of the house without her husband's permission	41.50%	28.60%
In times of financial duress at the household, it is better to keep the boys in school than the girls	52.95%	17.95%
As the head of the household, the man should have the final say on everything	71.45%	31.95%
Gender Norms		
A woman's priority within the household is the sexual satisfaction of her husband	41.65%	19.50%
During sexual intercourse, it is up to the woman to make sure that she does not get pregnant	62.84%	29.75%
A woman who is not a virgin on the day of her marriage is a shame for her family	81.65%	72.50%
When a couple cannot have children it is the woman's fault	32.50%	27.90%
Masculinities		
A man who behaves like a woman is repugnant	67.15%	51.35%
A real man should have more boys than girls	11.95%	7.80%
A man who cannot have children is not a real man	13.95%	5.60%
In a household, it is better to have boys than girls	19.20%	4.25%

It is normal for a man to have sexual relationship out of his marriage	62.30%	3.45%
The husband should be the one to decide on how many children his household should have	45.00%	13.85%
Health and quality of life		
A man has the right to refuse when his wife asks him to use condoms to protect against STDs or for contraception purposes	81.32%	62.15%
A woman who keeps condoms in her purse is most likely a prostitute	68.60%	52.23%
It should be up to the men alone to decide on everything about sex	75.85%	16.56%

Sources: Collected quantitative data

The data show that traditional beliefs still have a great deal of influence on both men and women when it comes to sexuality. Girls' virginity before marriage is still viewed as very important with 81.65% of men and 72.50% of women still believing that a woman who is not a virgin on the day of her marriage is a shame for her family. The negative perception about women who give birth out of wedlock and those who lose their virginity before they get married was expressed during the FGDs with both men and women. A woman who gives birth out of wedlock would find it very difficult to get married and according to the participants to the FGD with the men in Muyinga, she is often chased from her family's home and left to fend for her child on her own.

Gender inequality is also expressed in sexual relations as well as perceptions about male sexuality. According to 75.85% of male respondents it should be up to the men alone to decide on everything about sex while only 16.56% of women agree to that.

5. Conclusion

The communities in rural areas of Burundi which were targeted for the present study are very patriarchal with social norms which are still rigorously enforced and the exemplary standards of conduct which direct behaviours leave little room for gender equality, although, with the sensitisation programmes developed in those areas by CSOs and NGOs, the exemplary norms are starting to produce their own resistance. However, women's agencies and aspirations are still constrained and determined by their sociological environment which determines the values and levels of autonomy and independence regarding conformity, power, and authority as delineated by the prevailing cultures and traditions.

Men's perceptions about their roles and women's roles within their households still tends to relegate women to a lower status. Although the data show that men's perceptions about Gender Based Violence have improved (compared to previous studies done on men's perception on gender equality in Burundi¹¹), inequitable norms still prevail and all forms of Gender Based Violence remain widespread throughout the communities involved in the study.

¹¹ CARE Burundi, UMWIZERO 2009-2013, Endline Study
CARE Burundi GEWEP 2014 Baseline Study: Qualitative report on main findings based on analysis of qualitative data

The roles assigned to the husband, the wife, the daughters and the sons within the household are determined and justified by the differences in the powers of each one of them. Women's roles as care takers of all household chores and farm work are subordinated to men's role as decision takers everything pertaining to the household, which makes women submissive to the men's control.

In the rural areas, the societal norms are such that women work both in the farms as bread winners and at home as the main childrearsers and they are the ones who take care of the household chores. While both men and women contribute to the family income, the household finances are still managed by men who determine the expenditures and ultimately have the last say on what to spend the income with women being only informed. The study has shown that men do not perceive the ways in which they manage household finances as being a form of economic gender based violence although in practice, it limits women's ability to enjoy the fruits of their labour and the money that they have contributed to generate is used to constrain them and limit their ability to empower themselves.

Although progress has been made in the area of education to improve girls' enrolment, the retention rates and the transition from primary to secondary levels remain low for girls compared to the boys. Girls are still victims of the societal norms and cultural dynamics which shape behavioural regularities and institutionalised practices and rules. These norms set gender based expectations in such a way that women and girls carry the burden of not only helping find resources to feed the families but also to do all the household chore. This leaves them with very few time for leisure or for studies and in times of financial difficulties girls are made to drop out of school to assist their mothers with household chores while boys to continue with their education.

Girls' inability to pursue their education due to societal constraints and social norms keeps them and their communities in a vicious circle of poverty and perpetuates their victimisation. The absence of education leads to less opportunities for income generation aside from farm work. Given that the farms belong to men, women are more dependent on their husbands, which creates more economic GBV and this makes women more constrained to farm work and girls are more needed to help their mothers in the farms and with the household chores and consequently more girls have to drop out of school.

Attitudes that promote gender inequalities and GBV are still prevalent and condoned by large sections of the communities. Both men's and women' attitudes towards masculinity still justify gender inequality and gender based roles within the households. Certain behaviours such as washing children and taking them to doctor's visits or cooking meals are still perceived by men as a sign of weakness and resorting to physical, psychological or sexual violence are also being still perceived as private matter by both men and women. That situation is creating deliberate silence around the domestic violence that the women are undergoing without the adequate intervention of social or protective services.

6. Recommendations

The analysis of the collected data has shown that there are differences between men's and women's perceptions about gender equality and the roles traditionally assigned to men, women, girls and boys within the household and the community at large. However, both men and women are to a certain extent still entrenched in cultural perceptions which promote gender inequality whereas the need for comprehensive programmatic actions based on sensitisation at community level and advocacy for policy and legislative changes at national level. This can be done through a five year comprehensive advocacy and sensitisation campaign.

The nationwide comprehensive sensitisation and advocacy campaign should aim at supporting and spearhead both men and women towards attitude change for gender equality. The areas on which the five year comprehensive campaign should focus are positive masculinity, education, women's economic empowerment and justice. In every aspect of the campaign, men and women must be equally engaged for the creation of inclusive spaces for the promotion of change.

➤ Positive masculinity

That aspect of the programme should focus on improving men's and women's perceptions about their different roles in their relationships and within their communities and society at large in order to abate all the factors in the Burundian society which fuel negative masculinity. The objective should be to deconstruct the norms which uphold patriarchal values in order to instil more gender equality at all levels of society.

- The awareness raising campaign should not just focus on GBV but rather on the promotion of gender equality and the necessity for more inclusiveness of women on decision making both at home and at community level.
- The promotion of gender parity in decision making bodies at community level will help set women's concern among the communities' priorities. Community Based Organisations must be leveraged to address equality.
- All the harmful traditional practices which lead to gender inequality must be identified and addressed in the framework of the awareness raising campaign for gender equality.
- Awareness must also be raised regarding the existing law, policies and legal provisions pertaining to abuses based on gender.
- Men will play the role of peer educators in the framework of the sensitisation programme.

➤ Transforming the VSLAs into a powerful tool for advocacy and sensitisation

CARE as an organisation has been at the forefront in leveraging the VSLAs that it creates to empower women. The VSLAs are an opportunity to drive changes beyond just helping women save and borrow money to improve their livelihood. Because they are disciplined forms of associations which meet regularly and regroup many people in every community where they are present their activities can be linked to the campaign for gender equality. Moreover, their members actively participate to the meetings, the VSLAs can be federated to create other forms of organisations which depend on them to address issues such as gender equality.

Mixed VSLAs which include equal numbers of men and women should be created for that purpose. A training will be given to all the VSLA members and advocacy and awareness raising action plans developed towards the promotion of gender equality. Each VSLA member will become a peer educator for the community. At the end of every VSLA meeting, 15 minutes will be dedicated to discussions about gender equality.

➤ Education

✚ At national level

Empowering women and girls through education would enable them to participate in decision making at all levels - within households, locally in their communities and nationally - to influence the allocation of resources in a gender-sensitive manner. These efforts can contribute to higher productivity, which increased economic growth. Promoting girls' education will lead to facilitating poor women's access to productive and financial resources, while promoting gender equality in the household and in society results in large development returns. When women are more educated, they protect their daughters against harmful traditional practices such the norms which promote gender inequality, they delay marriage and pregnancy, leading to fewer deaths of mothers and babies during childbirth. Highly educated mothers better understand the value of education and have the skills and are better prepared to compete effectively for high skilled, well remunerated income generating activities and will thus be more able to feed their children, care for them and send them to school. Educating girls is essential for the empowering women and girls which is central to promoting rapid and equitable economic growth and long-term stability at community level as well as at national level.

Therefore the campaign will also focus on maintaining girls in school. It will aim at increasing the proportion of girls who complete nine years of education and receive a quality learning experience throughout the country. The campaign will call for State institutions, international NGOs and the UN agencies to enable girls to develop the assets required for, and eliminate the barriers against, a quality education. That component of the advocacy and sensitisation campaign will rely on the creation of a platform of organisations involved in education and the promotion of women's rights in order to raise funds and develop action plans to fight girls' illiteracy and above all for the increase in the rates of girls transiting from secondary to tertiary education.

✚ At school level

- Training for teachers in role modelling of positive masculinity and femininity.
- Creating teachers and parent committees for purposes of bringing together teachers, parents, students, and stakeholders to address issues of gender and GBV.
- Including gender equality into the civic education curricula

➤ Women's economic empowerment

There are very few economic opportunities in the rural parts of Burundi aside from farming and the land is becoming scarcer and unlikely to contribute to women's economic empowerment in a sensitive manner, above all given that they often do not own any land. Other ways of creating wealth must be devised. One approach used by an International NGO which has helped pull thousands of people out of poverty and improve their livelihood with small budgets is the "Passing on the Gift" approach.

The "Passing on the Gift" approach consists in organizing beneficiaries so that they can receive gifts and pass them on to others. At first, a group of 25 beneficiaries are given 10 hens and 2 roosters each along with an egg incubator which is operated with a small solar panel. They are trained on how to raise chicken and how to use the incubator. Every time the hens lay eggs, those eggs are put in the incubator so that they hatch, they never let the hens brood the eggs. every week, the ten hens would lay on average 25 eggs which are put in the incubator and after 21 days, they hatch and the beneficiary acquires about 20 new baby chicken (after a loss of about 5 on average). They raise the babies until they reach 6 months and then, they "Pass on The Gift",

in other words, they give 10 hens and 2 rooster to another beneficiary who does the same. On average, the beneficiaries may in one year about 500 chicken of which they can sell some to buy goats, sheep and cows. This leaves them with an important yearly revenue.

This approach can be very well combined with the VSLAs in order to economically empower women with a low budget. Women who earn their own money will see their status within their household and their community improve.

➤ Justice

The legal aspects of the comprehensive campaign will be addressed through its advocacy component. Advocacy should be led from the bottom up. In other words, those who should be the most dynamic and active in the promotion for change in the framework of the campaign should be the members of the Community Based Organisations such as the VSLA members through their federations because they are many and they would have already been trained and sensitised on gender equality. While at community level, their members become peer educators, at national level, their federated organisations become advocacy actors who will lead the campaign for change towards the provincial and national authorities such as members of parliament and government ministries in charge of the promotion of women's rights and gender equality.

The issues that they will address with that regard are the following:

✚ **At community level, for both trained men and women peer educators:**

- Explaining to their community members the laws pertaining to gender equality with positive messages.
- Targeting married couples in disseminating the content of protective laws on gender based violence.
- Provide women and men a safe space to discuss gender related issues and find solutions together.
- Creating drama groups which focus on the promotion of gender equality. Use theatre role plays at strategic places within communities and give space for debate after the plays.
- Training of religious leaders and carrying out of campaigns at community levels that tackle aspects and practices
- Promote good practices and examples of fatherhood. Men should be encouraged to be involved in family life, as caregivers and role models.
- Mentoring programmes for young males are needed, on positive and transformative masculinities.
- Promoting positive values, which seek to restore, respect and promote equitable and healthy relationships with their counterparts.

✚ **At province level**

- Training police, army and legal professionals on the laws and national policies pertaining to gender equality and the provisions of legal assistance service to GBV victims
- Creating networks of public services between police, health, social affairs and psychosocial support organizations in order to make support for victims and families affected by GBV accessible at community levels.

- Working with communities stakeholders on strengthening legal mechanisms and processes in responding to SGBV

At national level

The advocacy campaign should be developed and addressed to the governmental authorities and to members of parliament for the enforcement of existing laws and against GBV and all forms of discrimination against women.

The advocacy campaign should also promote the enactment of the laws promoting equal rights for men and women to land inheritance.

Annexes

Secondary data analysis report

The secondary documents which are studied address the study's criteria, they pertain to women and poverty and their participation in the labour market; gender mainstreamed data on education; relationship and Gender Based Violence; health, quality of life and masculinity.

A) Women and Poverty

With a Human Development Index estimated at 0.404 in 2015¹², the Republic of Burundi is in the category of the countries with the lowest human development, ranking only 184 out of the 188 countries which were tracked and that score puts it well below the average of 0.523 for the Sub-Saharan African countries. When the HDI for Burundi is adjusted to account for the inequalities, the resulting Inequality Human Development Index, shows a loss of 31.5 for the HDI which falls from 0.404 to 0.276 due to inequality in the distribution of the HDI dimension indices. The factors which contributed the most to the low IHDI are the inequalities in life expectancies at birth, the inequalities in education and income inequality. These inequalities are reflected in gender HDI disparities with the female HDI value of 0.388 in contrast with 0.422 for male, resulting in a Gender Development Index (GDI) value of 0.919, which places the country among those with the highest gender inequalities.

Table 7: Factors contributing to high GDI in Burundi

	Female	Male
Expected Years of schooling	10.2	11.1
Mean Years of Schooling¹³	2.6	3.6
GNI per capita	632	752
HDI values	0.388	0.422

Sources: UNDP Human Development Report 2016

¹² UNDP Human Development Report 2016

¹³ Average number of completed years of education of a country's population aged 25 years and older, excluding years spent repeating individual grades.

Gender Inequality Index measures gender-based inequalities in three dimensions – reproductive health, empowerment, and economic activity. It estimates the loss in human development due to inequality between female and male achievements in the three GII dimensions. Burundi's Gender Inequality Index score was 0.474, ranking it 108 out of 159 countries. One of the factors which contributed to improving that score is the fact that the Burundian constitution makes it mandatory that the national parliament should be composed of at least 30% women.

However, Empowerment and Economic Activity are lagging behind. In Burundi, 37.8 percent of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 7.1 percent of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 9.6 percent of their male counterparts. For every 100,000 live births, 712 women die from pregnancy related causes; and the adolescent birth rate is 28.3 births per 1,000 women of ages 15-19 years. Female participation in the labour market shows that more women than men are actually active in the labour market with 84.6 percent compared to 82.7 percent for men. However, although female participation to the labour market is slightly higher than that of men, the score does not elicit the ownership of the means of production and what role women play in the appropriation of the results of the sale of the goods produced.

B) Participation in the labour market

Burundi is a landlocked country covering 27,834 km² with a population 12 914 976 and a demographic growth rate of 2.4%, it is the second most densely populated country on the African continent with about 464 people per square kilometer, which ranks it 45th in the world¹⁴. Out of the country's 27,834 Km² the cultivated land covers about 15,000 Km². The demographic pressure is such that the population per square kilometre has grown by 20.69% in seven years, between 2010 and 2017 (368 and 464 respectively).

Land in Burundi is generally acquired through two ways: it inherited or bought. Burundian custom excludes daughters from inheritance. Whereas traditional laws grant widows a lifetime use-right, such custom is fading given increasing land pressures by a growing population. Repeated displacement in Burundi's conflict and post-conflict environment further compromises women's access to land.

The concomitance of the scarcity of arable land and women's limited ability to access to it is such that although female participation to the labour market is slightly higher than that of men, women work on land that does not belong to them.

C) Right to inheritance

The question of inheritance is the only important subject in Burundian legislation which is still not governed by law¹⁵. Customary laws and practices are applied when it comes to inheritance above all in the rural areas. However the customs in Burundi considers a girl as someone who is meant to live somewhere else, for the Kirundi saying goes: « *umukobwa akura iyo agiye* » which means that girls grow up where they are going to get married. Customary practices in Burundi exclude

¹⁴ <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/burundi-population/>

¹⁵ RCN Justice & Démocratie, Etude sur les Pratiques foncières au Burundi, Essai d'harmonisation : Enquêtes menées dans 10 provinces du Burundi en février, mars 2004 p 55, (Study on the land practices in Burundi, Attempt at harmonisation) Study carried out in 10 provinces in Burundi in february, March 2004 p 55)

girls from inheritance as, according to the patrilineal system, “they do not perpetuate the family line”¹⁶.

A women living in the countryside has absolutely no possibility of obtaining property. In her parent’s home the land belongs to the clan. In her husband’s home she is the custodian of her children’s property. As land has been split up so many times through inheritance, some people look to other resources such as livestock breeding or a small business, but they must still find the capital and this is something which women cannot do. The sole ownership of land by men puts them in a position of the main money earners within their households and therefore confers to them financial superiority which they can leverage to manage the household assets as they see fit without any accountability towards their families.

The imbalance in asset ownership within households which results in men having financial power over women is also one of the reasons why gender inequality is wilfully being upheld by men in Burundi. A study conducted on behalf of CARE Burundi¹⁷ has revealed that young men in general are against gender equality because it would lead to equal access to inheritance and property ownership between men and women. This is one of the hurdles faced by the newly proposed law which promotes gender equality but cannot pass before the Parliament despite the fact that more than 30% of the members of parliament are women.

D) Education

During the last decade, Burundi has made tremendous effort to achieve parity between girls and boys at primary school. However, the progress made at the primary schools has not been duplicated in the secondary schools where the disparities remain important. At the secondary level, the parity index between girls and boys has not made any significant progress since 1990, staying at the stationary level of 7 girls for every 10 boys enrolled. Disparities are widening as we move forward in the educational pyramid¹⁸. The low level of schooling of girls can be explained in particular by common usual reasons: early marriage, secondary school completion rates relatively low compared to boys, early pregnancy, costs of education which causes parents to sacrifice girls if one has to make a choice between continuing education for the boys or for the girls, physical distance which makes the parents show some resistance to leaving their daughters alone in the cities.

Table 8: Evolution of Girls’ and boys’ enrollment at primary and secondary schools

	Primary Schools				Secondary Schools			
	Girls	Boys	% Girls	%Boys	Girls	Boys	% Girls	%Boys
2011	984114	972175	50.31%	49.69%	160421	212928	42.97%	57.03%
2012	1000586	976800	50.60%	49.40%	192504	226442	45.95%	54.05%
2013	1057691	1030274	50.66%	49.34%	192504	226442	45.95%	54.05%
2014	1096391	1069931	50.61%	49.39%	216400	239303	47.49%	52.51%

Source: Statistiques de l’enseignement préscolaire et secondaire, Ministère de l’Education (2015)

Since the decision not to enroll children at school is made at the household level, the higher level of girls dropping out of school after completing their primary education points to the conclusion

¹⁶ Gertrude Kazoviyo Pékagie Gahungu Researchers Ligue Burundaise des Droits de l’Homme (ITEKA): The issue of inheritance for women in Burundi

¹⁷ L’INITIATIVE SIS VIJANA (“NOUS LES JEUNES”) : EXPLORATION DES DIMENSIONS DE LA MASCULINITE ET LA VIOLENCE

¹⁸ BURUNDI - Rapport national sur les OMD 2015

that a gender bias takes place at the schooling-decision level. Among the main reasons found through the literature studied is teenage pregnancy. Data shows that from 2009 to 2015, almost 12,000 girls dropped out of school due to pregnancy¹⁹.

In Burundi, most young girls who become pregnant before they are married are left to rely on themselves. Some girls choose to abort the baby while others throw their babies at birth. According to UNFPA, around 3000 girls in Burundi dropout of school yearly due to unwanted pregnancies.

E) Masculinity, relationship and gender based violence

Gender relations and the place given to them in society are largely determined by sociocultural factors²⁰. Gender roles in Burundian society are rooted in a strong patriarchal culture. It is a patrilineal culture in which man incarnates authority within the household, makes crucial decisions, and provides livelihoods to the members of the household. As for women, they are reduced to taking charge of domestic chores: housework and caring for children and other members of the family. In reality, there is a role of authority for men and a position of subordination for women which is perfectly translated in the following proverb: "*The hen does not sing when the cock is there*".

Throughout Burundi's long civil war (1993-2005), Gender-Based Violence (GBV) - defined as physical, psychological, and/ or sexual violence - was widespread. Although there are not accurate data available to estimate the level of pervasiveness of GBV in Burundi following the conflict, the scanty data that are available suggest that sexual violence remained a widespread phenomenon (ACAT Burundi & OMCT, 2008). The Seruka Initiative for rape Victims is a local non-profit organization which provides comprehensive care for victims of sexual and gender-based violence. In Burundi, violence against women has been increasing steadily for several years. For example, in 2013, 6,000 cases were recorded in only 6 of the 17 provinces, and the Seruka Centre reported an average of 1,500 cases of sexual violence per year. According to the Centre Seruka 2016 Report, the Centre has provided services to an average of 120 victims of sexual assault or other forms of gender based violence every month in Bujumbura alone. The 2016 Annual report from Nturengaho Centre which is an Association fighting for the protection of victims of sexual violence shows that it received a monthly average of 20 cases of teenage victims of sexual violence during that year.

According to a report on research commissioned by CARE Burundi²¹, "The tales of violence told by the men were all related to how violence was used as a means of punishment as well as a pre-emptive measure to ensure that the woman performed her duties as these were perceived by the man. Domestic violence is not only a pervasive problem, but a mainstream expectation within family life and something which is seen as a necessity and, to a certain extent, as a good thing. It reflects the woman's status as being inferior and as a means rather than as an end in herself. The woman is expected to carry out a disproportionate amount of the burden of the family's work, whatever the man assigns to her. Additionally, she is expected to give birth within about a year

¹⁹ <http://reliefweb.int/report/burundi/school-pregnancies-drop-burundi>

²⁰ International Alert, Etude sur les pratiques et les coutumes discriminatoires à l'égard des femmes au Burundi, 2007 ; Politique nationale genre du Burundi (2011-2025), adoptée le 9 septembre 2011, p. 7, 8 et 13.

²¹ Engaging Men: The Abatangamuco and Women's Empowerment in Burundi

and a half of the wedding. If a couple are unable to conceive, it is always perceived as a fault of the woman.”

F) Health and quality of life

Sexual violence is not only a concern in terms of human rights, but is also linked to HIV infection and other serious health problems (Ellsberg & Betron, 2001). Burundi is confronted with a widespread HIV epidemic, with a prevalence of 1.4% in adults (ISTEEBU, MSPLS, & ICF International, 2012). A study conducted by CARE Burundi²² has shown that women do face constraints with regards to expressing themselves on issues pertaining to their own sexual reproductive health for fear of being stigmatised in cases of sexually transmitted diseases. The report of the baseline study for the GEWEP 2014 indicated that “cross sections of men do not yet understand the importance of family planning. Furthermore, some men do not accompany their wives to health centres, in cases of SRH services.” Moreover, according to the same report, the church leaders sometimes preach against the use of contraceptives and marginalize women who use them.

²² CARE Burundi Baseline Study GEWEP 2014: Qualitative report on main findings based on analysis of qualitative data