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**Moving beyond the UNSCR 1325 framework: Women as economic
participants during and after conflict**

Tamara Antoinette Kool

Maastricht Economic and social Research institute on Innovation and Technology (UNU-MERIT)

email: info@merit.unu.edu | website: <http://www.merit.unu.edu>

Maastricht Graduate School of Governance (MGSOG)

email: info-governance@maastrichtuniversity.nl | website: <http://mgsog.merit.unu.edu>

Keizer Karelplein 19, 6211 TC Maastricht, The Netherlands

Tel: (31) (43) 388 4400, Fax: (31) (43) 388 4499

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Moving Beyond The UNSCR 1325 Framework:

Women as economic participants during and after conflict

Tamara Antoinette Kool

Maastricht University & UNU-MERIT; email: t.kool@student.maastrichtuniversity.nl

Abstract

Conflict has a detrimental effect on the structures of local communities. Current research shows that the direct and indirect effects of conflict are especially destructive for women. Although the call for a gender focus in (post-)conflict countries has garnered international attention with the adoption of Women, Peace and Security Resolutions by the UN Security Council, the issue is still understudied. Often, the interlinkage between the political empowerment of women, violence against women and the economic position of women is overlooked. Yet, coping strategies related to the direct and indirect effects of conflict result in political and economic participation. This integrated effect stresses the importance of understanding the role of women in the post-conflict economy and its relationship to 'social services justice'. This research aims at addressing this issue by looking at the obstacles and opportunities faced by women in terms of economic participation during and after conflict. The theoretical framework is supported by a case study analysis on the recent conflict in Burundi using in-depth interviews and desk research.

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Keywords: UNSCR1325; women empowerment; economic participation; Women, Peace and Security; economic development; conflict

JEL classification code: F51; N47 ; Z18

I. Introduction

Conflict often entraps a country further into a vicious cycle of violence and poverty resulting in a decline in human development. This setting needs to be further explored with regards to women. Too often, the international community tends to look at women as passive victims, thereby overlooking the fact that like men, women can be both victims and perpetrators of violence. During a conflict and its aftermath, women can take up various roles, such as caretakers at home, war combatants and displaced persons. A further distinction needs to be made between girls and adult women (see e.g. Brück and Vothknecht, 2011).¹ These different roles subsequently affect women's role in the aftermath of the conflict, as gender is a social construct that is shaped by cultural norms and values. In addition, it is a dynamic concept that is difficult to capture in its entirety as also indicated by the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Resolutions.

Following the call for the recognition of the different experiences of men and women during conflict, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, the first resolution on women, peace and security was adopted in 2000. It took almost another decade before the role of women in economic recovery was also recognised. Until the adoption of UNSCR 1989 in 2009, WPS Resolutions focused either on women as victims of sexual gender-based violence (SGBV) or on the role of women in conflict mediation and politics. However, a holistic approach addressing the various obstacles faced by women is required to prevent the "marginalization of women [which] can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation" (UN Security Council, 2009).

Economic participation is a crucial aspect to consider as it is more likely to be affected by the indirect consequences of war. These types of consequences are stated to have the biggest impact in shaping a post-conflict society. During conflict, the livelihood systems are altered by the mere fact that women often have to become the head of the household, and provide for the basic needs in the absence of their husband. Women are not merely passive victims but also active actors who engage in coping strategies. They become actors in the (in)formal sector despite their struggle with regards to access to credit and maintenance of assets (Mazurana and Proctor, 2013). The indirect effect of conflict on women (Plumber and Neumayer, 2006) further strains the economy that is already under pressure as a result of the unstable post-conflict environment.

These observations tie in with a recent working paper by Buvinic, Das Gupta, Casabonne and Verwimp (2013). The paper presents a two-stage model describing the effect of conflict on men and women. This model is based on a framework of the impact of economic shocks on women and is central to the analysis in this paper. This two-stage framework discusses the impact of violent conflict on men and women respectively, and on the adopted coping strategies following the violence. The integrated effect of direct and indirect consequences of violence suggests that particularly women and children are affected in the long-term. At the same time, women take up an important role during and after a conflict in ensuring the survival of their family. The interplay of these factors still needs to be explored.

¹ An issue not elaborated on in this paper but which should be briefly mentioned is the reintegration of former combatants into society (see e.g. Bouta, Frenks, and Bennon, 2005; Brück and Vothknecht, 2011; Sørensen, 1998). In this it is important to make a distinction between male and female combatants. However, the scope of this topic is beyond this paper and the issues related to the demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) require a paper of its own.

The early post-conflict recovery offers a window of opportunity to introduce structural changes in gender relations to prevent society from falling back into pre-conflict gender structures by addressing issues such as economic participation, political empowerment and rule of law. This also has the potential to address social cohesion.

As such, there is a need for a better understanding of the role of women in the post-conflict economy as this will enable international actors to engage in more effective programmes and action plans. While the conditions are likely to differ between each socio-cultural context and type of outburst of violence, this paper provides an insight into the interrelation between women, peace and economic reconstruction, which in turn, could be transferred and adapted to other contexts. Therefore, this paper aims to address the question: which obstacles and opportunities do women face in terms of economic participation during and after conflict?

To answer this question, this paper takes a twofold approach. First, by bringing together different strands of literature, it discusses the importance of looking at the economic participation of women in a conflict context by examining enabling and obstructing factors. Second, the research builds on the framework described by Buvinic et al. (2013) by applying it to Burundi. Thus, this research aims to contribute to the discussion on the underlying factors enabling or preventing economic participation of women.

Section 2 provides an analysis of the impact of conflict on women and ties this to the opportunities and obstacles underlying economic participation by women during and after conflict. Next, these elements are linked to the model of Buvinic et al. as this model is central to this paper. This model is relevant as it embodies “the gender-differentiated effects of conflict and the adaptive responses of household” (Buvinic et al., 2013, 111). Yet, as the authors also point out, the model fails to capture the household dynamics. Moreover, this paper argues that the model overlooks certain market dynamics and the sociocultural environment. Development economics focusing on women’s participation provides a framework to criticise this model. Therefore, this paper argues that the abovementioned elements – household dynamics, market dynamics and sociocultural environment – should not be overlooked even though the model is adapted to fit the conflict context.

To further the understanding of economic participation of women in post-conflict countries, this research applies Buvinic et al.’s model to the case study of Burundi to trace the elements that enable and/or hinder labour activities by women. Burundi in particular provides an interesting case study as it has recognised the potential of women since the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement of 2000. Nonetheless, until the present day, women are consistently in a worse position than men. Thus, Burundi provides an insight into the complexity behind the economic participation of women. Section 3 offers a background to the conflict in Burundi and sketches the policies and socio-economic conditions in the aftermath of the conflict.

Next, section 4 applies the model alongside the two stages to Burundi. Interviews and desk research form the backbone of this analysis. The analysis focuses predominantly on the role of women at home during and after conflict. Interviewees in this case study were selected through snowballing sampling via referencing from actors active on the UNSCR 1325. Interviews were conducted over the summer of 2014 with three diaspora organisations, five non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and four

representatives from the Dutch Government.² Six of the interviewees focused purely on local and national issues, while three were engaged in regional issues. Furthermore, the interviewees were involved in projects on a variety of topics: 2 on education, 5 on political voice, 6 worked specifically on gender-related issues, 6 on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, 5 on agriculture, 8 on economic opportunities, 4 on sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and 2 on the repatriation of refugees. Throughout this paper, no direct reference to the interviewees is given to ensure anonymity.

Section 5 combines the theoretical analysis with the case study to answer the question: which obstacles and opportunities do women face in terms of economic participation during and after conflict? The paper provides an alternative model to consider the various interrelationships between the contributing factors. Based on the findings in this paper, section 6 concludes by offering policy recommendations to create an environment that further stimulates female economic participation in post-conflict countries.

² The link to the Netherlands was chosen as the Netherlands has been active in Burundi since 2008 and before from Kigali, Rwanda. Furthermore, it is the 6th largest partner in Burundi in terms of bilateral relations (IMF, 2014) and Burundi is one of the focus countries of the second Dutch National Action Plan (NAP) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).

II. Towards a Socio-Economic Model

The first part of the paper provides a literature overview on gender, conflict and development. This section introduces the model by Buvinic et al. (2013), which is an important framework in that it seeks to encompass the various elements influencing coping strategies. As indicated, this paper predominantly focuses on the role of women remaining at home during and after conflict, in that it slightly defers from the model that seeks to present various gender roles. Yet, the position of women in society is not defined and may adjust over time as households may integrate additional relatives or women may seek refuge with male relatives during conflict. Moreover, as the case of Rwanda shows, widows tend to face additional restraints in terms of ensuring food security compared to other vulnerable households (Brück and Schindler, 2009). This serves as a further argument to make a distinction between the various roles.

This argument is also supported by policy papers discussing risk resilience and capacity support in fragile and conflict-affected situations, which often refer to the need for a gender-sensitive analysis (see e.g. Ghorpade, 2012; Mallet, Harvey, and Slater, 2014). Women play both a role in contributing to conflict by instigating men to partake in violence to defend their livelihood or group interests, and by maintaining order amid chaos (Sørensen, 1998). Nonetheless, while they play an active role in promoting peace and in protecting their families, women are overlooked as actors in the stages following conflict. As Brück and Vothknecht (2011) also highlight, economic recovery is one of the crucial elements behind sustainable peacebuilding; yet, women are hardly considered relevant actors even though they often engage in activities to ensure survival of their families during and after conflict. Therefore, it is important to consider the economic role of women.

II-i. Conflict and Its Impact

During conflict, the role of women becomes more complicated as they have to take up additional tasks and are confronted with violence in their community. Women often remain at home while men leave to engage in battle or they are not able to flee with their husband because they bear the responsibility for the children and the elderly (Bouta et al., 2005). During these circumstances, women are presumed to take up their husband's responsibility in providing income and food supply. The proactive role stretches beyond the household system and extends to the community level when it comes to decision-making (Brück and Vothknecht, 2011). However, a shift back to the pre-war, traditional gender roles is observed in the post-conflict phase (ibid.). The same socio-cultural norms and values, laws, family traditions and religious values that affect a woman's role in society are also likely to affect her economic opportunities. Next to these, education and health are said to impede a woman's position during and after conflict.³

Education facilities are destroyed or suffer from a decline in qualified staff due to displacement and HIV/AIDS during conflict (Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009). This results in declining enrolment rates. Post-conflict, education is perceived as an important issue to be put on the agenda as it provides people with the necessary skills for employment and may serve a purpose in tackling the rooted discrimination (ibid.; Sørensen, 1998). During the early period of the post-conflict phase, gender equality may be

³ To see how Africa countries in and after conflict fare compared to peaceful African countries, Brück and Vothknecht (2011) have developed and compared four main characteristics of the World Development Indicators as identified by the World Bank: Macro Indicators, Labour Market, Health and Education. As this data has been aggregated, it is not representative of Burundi and as such not discussed.

addressed as a window of opportunity arises. This period allows the government to put in place a system that prevents a return to pre-conflict social norms (Bouta et al., 2005).

When discussing the impact of conflict on health, a distinction needs to be made between direct and indirect effects (Brück and Schindler, 2009). Literature discusses direct effects in terms of demographics, mortality, and fertility. The effects of violence on health include death, injury, severe psychological problems and impact of HIV as a result of rape that lead to an increase in mortality rates (Cockburn, 2013; Sørensen, 1998). Predominantly, men perish from the direct consequences of conflict (Plümper and Neumayer, 2006) and this affects women's ability to generate income as they may suffer from, amongst others, access to finance or barriers to land holding (Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009). In the aftermath, three elements are identified as affecting the quality of health, namely (1) economic damage, (2) sexual violence and (3) displacement (Plümper and Neumayer, 2006).⁴

Battle deaths, HIV/AIDS, disappearance during the conflict and/or fleeing by the husband result in various states of single-headed households. This leads to an increase in the amount of the amount of "female-male ratios, female-headed households and young women alone in cities" (Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009, pp.6-16). Women-headed households may even account for up to 30% of all households after a conflict (Brück and Schindler, 2009). Thus, causing higher dependency ratios (in *ibid*; Brück and Vothknecht, 2011).

The survival of the family is decided by their location, their access to assets and resources, and the trade-off between caretaking and economic activities. Often informal networks and childcare facilities that would ease the burden of women are destroyed (Brück and Schindler, 2009). Moreover, widows are often marginalised in society after a conflict (Sørensen, 1998), which further limits their options.

The other direct impact of conflict on health is the prevalence of sexual and gender based violence. Violence towards women may already exist pre-conflict and intensify during conflict. In the aftermath, violence against women has become normalised and may even increase further as violence shifts from the public domain to the private sphere. One explanation is that men returning from conflict come from cultures of violence and may feel uncertain in their role as breadwinners, which results in violent behaviour (see e.g. Brück and Schindler, 2009; Brück and Vothknecht, 2011; Greenberg and Zuckerman 2009; Sørensen, 1998). While women are on the one hand recognised as innocent victims, they are on the other hand stigmatised by the community. This restrains their options to fully participate in society (Sørensen, 1998).

Conversely, indirect effects on health may result from – but are not limited to – the destruction of infrastructure and health facilities, loss of qualified staff, sub-optimal health conditions, and the reallocation of government spending to the war department during conflict (see e.g. Cockburn, 2013; Iqbal, 2006; Sørensen, 1998). The provision of health then falls to the domestic sphere and thereby on the shoulders of women (Bouta et al., 2005). While public services, such as health and education, are

⁴ Economic damage includes malnutrition, infectious diseases, lack of safe water, damage to infrastructure and fluctuating price levels due to food shortage. As for the displacement effect, internally displaced persons suffer from worse mortality rates compared to the rest of the country due to poor conditions and bad infrastructure in the refugee camps.

said to be resilient and quickly reconstructed in the post-conflict stage (Bouta et al., 2005), good infrastructure tends to become an afterthought in the initial post-conflict stage.

The social and economic decline is said to impact the population in the long term as the increase of poverty and weak government structures (Iqbal, 2006) are unlikely to be targeted directly as prime issues once the country reaches the post-conflict stage. This affects predominantly women as they are the poorest of the poor and often lack access to facilities.

II-ii Economic Participation in Times of Distress

The worsening of these conditions affects the role women play in society and provides them with additional burdens. It may even trigger adjustments in terms of political and economic behaviour. The former may concern the often-discussed political participation on a formal or communal level; as for the latter, a distinction should be made between the primary, informal and private/public sector. Therefore, this subsection discusses the constraints and opportunities for economic participation of women according to the agricultural sector, informal sector and private sector.

With regards to the agricultural sector, women either cultivate their own plot or work as temporary labourers for landholders. Notwithstanding that, the recovery of the primary sector is generally affected by "destruction of essential infrastructure, the contamination of cultivable land with land mines, a lack of farming equipment, or on-going displacement" (Brück and Vothknecht, 2011, p.100). Furthermore, households might decide not to partake in certain activities, such as fetching water, due to the insecure environment or refrain from producing certain crops that are more likely to be looted by armed groups (Brück and Schindler, 2009). Research indicates that households residing in conflict affected areas are more risk-averse and tend to focus on low-risk crops, which is further impeded by the female tendency to focus on low risk cultivation (see e.g. Brück and Schindler, 2009; Brück and Vothknecht, 2011; Bundervoet, 2007).

The legal framework provides a further obstruction to female labour participation during and after conflict. Even if statutory law indicates equal opportunity in property and inheritance law, women may be disadvantaged by customary law dictating that property or inheritance only goes through men. In this scenario, women become dependent upon the goodwill of their husband's family (see e.g. Bouta et al., 2005; Brück and Vothknecht, 2011; Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009; Sørensen, 1998).

Apart from the issues identified above, women are further restrained in their opportunities because they have to combine economic participation with domestic tasks. These are often not alleviated (Bouta et al., 2005) and may increase in times of conflict as households expand or are faced with displacement.

One way to create some sort of safety net is through setting up self-help organisations (Sørensen, 1998) to improve women's socio-economic situation. These organisations are able to address issues, such as equal rights, and access to assets and education. Following a conflict, issues such as micro-credit, distribution of agricultural inputs and resources, land rights, training and restoration of communal assets will have to be addressed in the short-term to ensure that farmers are able to gain economic independence. In these programmes, a gender sensitive analysis ought to be made (Bouta et al., 2005).

The informal sector is a valid alternative for those residing in urban areas and/or not having access to land. Petty trade or small-scaled businesses have the advantage that they do not require access to land

nor require large investments. Petty trade may be seen as an additional source to the highly volatile agricultural sector that is not only subject to looting and burning but also dependent upon climatic changes. In the war economy, women may even take part in illegal activities, such as prostitution, as was the case in Cambodia (Sørensen, 1998). However, the case of Zimbabwe indicates that the women may also become a threat to the neo-patriarchal society and subsequently be marginalised (ibid.).

In addition, the formal sector may offer opportunities for women as war economies need to be maintained or positions open up once men leave. Nonetheless, women are also the first to go when the men return (Brück and Vothknecht, 2011; Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009). In the post-conflict phase, the women's lack of skills, education and experience make a position in the formal sector more unlikely and the skills obtained during the conflict are often dismissed. The issuance of diplomas and certificates would formalise the skills they developed and thus counter this issue to an extent (Bouta et al., 2005; Sørensen, 1998). Conversely, it is also noted that opportunities may open up for female employment as women have gained skills during the conflict that they are able to retain (Brück and Vothknecht, 2011). In particular, they might be employed by international organisations (ibid.; Sørensen, 1998). The activities and needs by international actors often trigger Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth (Brück and Vothknecht, 2011). However, employment in the formal sector remains scarce since most companies close down during the conflict (Sørensen, 1998). In addition, it often takes longer before investments in the formal sectors pick up again as investors prefer to wait for a stable political environment (ibid.).

The role women can play in the economic reconstruction should not be overlooked as women focus on both short-term and long-term objectives and can play an important role in the development of a country (ibid.). Nonetheless, the aftermath of a conflict is a period of many contradictions. Women remain predominantly active in the agricultural and informal sector. In their work, they are faced with both advantages – a means of earning a living and short rate of return – and disadvantages – the lack of education, access to credit, inheritance and property law, and domestic chores. This is withstanding the indirect effects of conflict on women.

II-iii. Model on Socio-Economic Role

The elements and issues identified above are incorporated into the following model, which seeks to encompass both gender-differentiating impact and resulting coping strategies. Buvinic et al. (2013) based this model on previous research into the effects of economic shocks on women (Sabarwal, Sinha, and Buvinic, 2010).⁵

⁵ This model was based on how women adapt to economic shocks during the financial crisis (Sabarwal et al., 2010). In this research, the authors found an added worker effect for low-income and less educated households and a discouraged worker effect for the more educated and younger women in the labour force. A similar effect was also noted for childbearing with the educated women postponing children. Nonetheless, a closer look at developing countries indicated postponement among the women at risk during childbirth. Lastly, they looked at the human capital of children in respect of education and health. These concepts were then incorporated into the current model and compared to existing literature from the conflict field. In addition, they considered public works programme and cash transfer to be possible state interventions. Neither of these are mentioned as possible post-conflict considerations in the conflict literature due to weak governance structures.

Figure 1 captures the different effects of conflict on the various roles men and women adopt during conflict and the consequent adaptation strategies by households and individuals. The first-round impacts combine both direct and indirect effects to conflict, namely mortality and morbidity, SGBV, forced displacement, and asset and income loss.

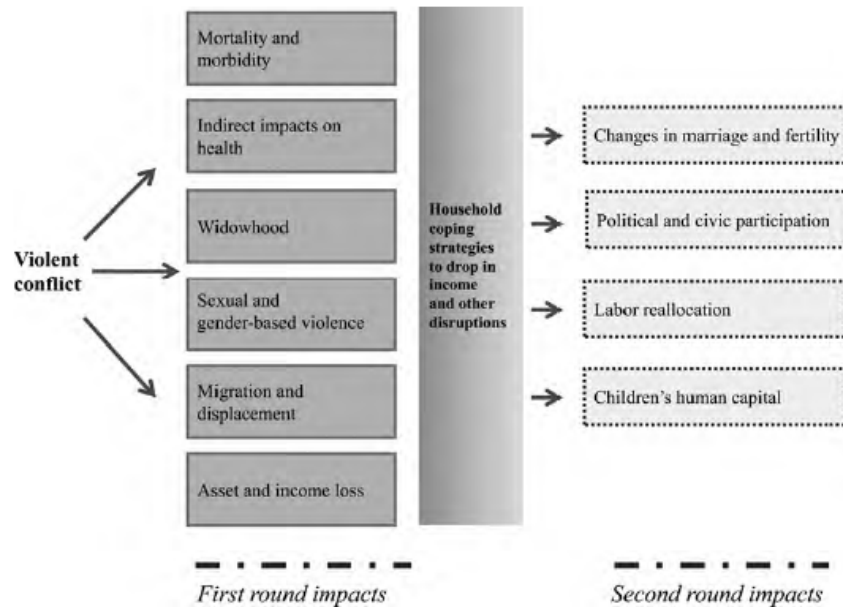


Figure 1: Possible Transmission Channels for the Gender Impacts of Conflict (Buvinic et al., 2013, p.112)

As described above, men tend to have higher mortality rates as a result from the direct effects of conflict, whereas women suffer more in the long-term from the indirect consequences of war, such as mental illnesses, diseases and reduced access to health facilities. The former also results in a higher number of widows. These female-headed households are identified as more impoverished and more vulnerable during and after a conflict. As a result, these households have encountered a change in the prevalent gender roles. However, it can be argued that this is due to necessity rather than conscious adaptation of behaviour.

SGBV is a phenomenon entwined in the various gender roles. From a traditional perspective, men are assigned the role as protector, whereas women ought to be protected. Cockburn describes this as “a social, relational phenomenon, with complex meanings” (2013, p.441) that results from, amongst others, opportunistic behaviour.

Migration and displacement have naturally affected the position of households, as families had to leave their assets and property behind. They face strong economic and social difficulties, not just in the refugee camps but also in the resettlement process (Buvinic et al., 2013). The high levels of widowhood that are widespread among the refugee households further intensify their experiences. In addition, children are impacted by displacement since they lose valuable years of schooling (Buvinic et al., 2013; Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2013).

The assets are affected by the damage and destruction of public goods and infrastructure. As military spending is intensified, investment in basic services, such as health and education, is impacted. These

trends in turn heighten the vulnerability of people and affect the population in the long-term. Private assets are also affected as personal belongings are looted or destroyed.

In the first round, the gender gap is severely affected. The responses chosen in the coping strategies may have a long-term positive consequence for the household. People insure themselves against risks in various ways. The strategies adopted depend on people's vulnerability to poverty and their vulnerability to violence (Justino, 2013). Often, women take up an important and active role in ensuring the basic needs of the family.

Overall, coping strategies applied during conflict differ from those in peace times and are said to be less effective. Families may look to social safety nets and remittances, or decide to alter the household labour supply and/or reduce the schooling of their children as a way to insure themselves against loss of income. Other risk-reducing strategies may include voluntarily or involuntarily relocation to areas less affected by conflict and selling of visible assets, including livestock (Ghorpade, 2012). However, the selling of livestock is less secure during conflict as property may be stolen or killed by roaming groups (Bundervoet, 2007). Sometimes, households even provide armed groups with resources, shelter and information to protect themselves, and to avoid becoming targets of violence (Justino, 2013). Due to the complexity of coping strategies in conflict and the absence of an effective state structure, a position is left open for international agencies (see e.g. Ghorpade, 2012; Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009). However, the effectiveness of such agencies has been widely criticised (see e.g. Justino, 2013).

In the second round, households may decide to build on these experiences and take up a pro-active role in civic and political participation. In addition, due to conflict, they may decide to delay marriage and childbearing until after the conflict or to increase their family size despite the low socio-economic conditions. Another potential impact is labour reallocation through the added worker effect in which women join the labour force. Lastly, the model focuses on the negative effect of violence on children's human capital, especially regarding education and health.

In general, women and children are the most affected by the poor access to basic services and needs, and are hence more vulnerable to disease, which in the long-term, would affect their economic position. Their vulnerability to poverty is further aggravated by the loss of income and assets. Therefore, the negotiation period for peace accords and the immediate aftermath of a conflict proves to be a window of opportunity to improve women's rights and the role of women in economic reconstruction.

II-iv. Critical Reflection on the Model

The model by Buvinic et al. is interesting as it covers a two-stage impact rounds for the various gender roles. Yet, the model fails to overlook elements that in addition to the identified impacts, play a significant role in enabling coping strategies as identified in conflict and development literature. While the argument could be made for the economic potential of women (see e.g. Kabeer, 2009; Klasen, 2003), there is only a small period in the transition stage that offers a window of opportunity for change. Even if legislation in favour of gender equality is adopted, the social inequalities that underlie the ruling norms and values continue to affect the position of women.

As the literature indicates, marginalisation and stigmatisation continue to take place. These combined with social inequalities affect the position of the women. However, these issues are not considered in Buvinic et al.'s model. Development economics literature mentions that the higher the inequalities in

assets, the less likely growth will lead to poverty alleviation (Eyben, Kabeer and Cornwall, 2008). Often, gender segmentation already occurs at the market level. Women may be overrepresented in certain segments and underrepresented in others (Kabeer, 2012). Furthermore, a majority of the employed women work in a vulnerable position as unpaid family workers, agricultural labourers, factory workers or domestic servants. Research indicates that women tend to smaller farms and have less access to credit, resource, and are disadvantaged by property law (Buvinic, Lunde and Sinha, 2010; OECD, 2012). Targeting these inequalities proves to be challenging because inequalities are ingrained in traditions and sociocultural beliefs, and tend to persist in social discrimination (Kabeer, 2009).

Other challenges that Buvinic et al.'s model overlooks include literacy, access to resources, control of resources, access to network and supporting systems, and vulnerability to SGBV. For example, Klasen (2003) highlights the understudied issue of high fertility as a risk factor for poverty traps and indicates that female education and awareness of SRHR are likely to reduce fertility. As such, policies aiming at economic growth should incorporate these aspects.

Microfinance, public works programmes, training and awareness rising are aspects that may address and stimulate the participation of women. Regardless, socio-cultural and political factors can further restrain empowerment and, if not addressed, are likely to hamper any evolvment. Even if vocational training programmes are given, these often build on stereotypical perceptions with typical male (e.g. construction and mechanics) and female subjects (e.g. secretary, tailoring and beauty care). Yet, to make individuals more employable, broad-based education and training should be given in ICT and problem solving skills (Kabeer, 2009).

Thus, to reduce poverty, gender equality should be addressed at various levels from the family and the society to the market (Buvinic et al., 2010). As development economics highlight and as can be seen in figure 2, an interplay between the various components affecting gender equality occurs.

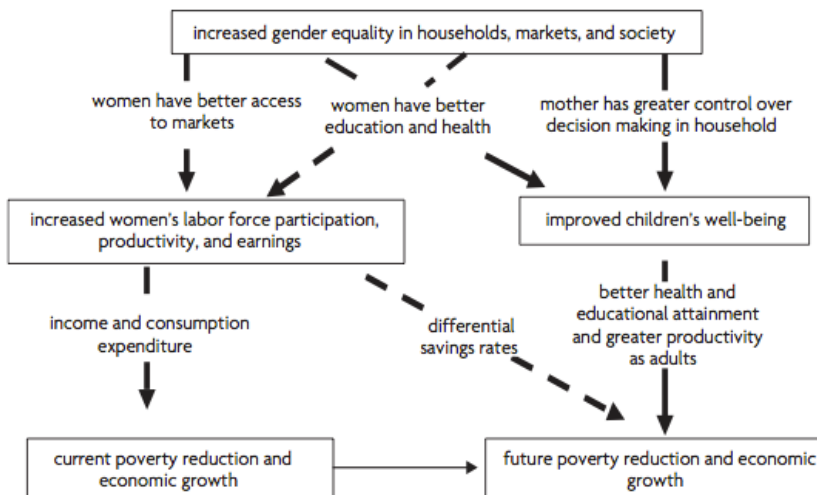


Figure 2: The Gender Pathways. (Buvinic et al., 2010, p.276; quoting World Bank, 2007)

In the model by the World Bank, education and health in combination with access to markets are said to impact economic growth and poverty reduction. These concepts are widely recognised (see e.g. Kabeer,

2009). However, the model indicates that increased gender equality in households, markets and society underlie these elements. This contributing factor was also identified in Kabeer's paper on women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth (2012). She indicated that a lower participation rate of women reflects the gendered norms, rules and roles in family and kinship, as well as the hidden norms in the supposedly gender-neutral state and market institutions. Thus, even in a peaceful society, the socio-economic and cultural context determine the extent to which women are able to participate in society. Therefore, women should organise themselves and through collective action aim at implementation of the ILO standards for labour (Eyben et al., 2008). Political empowerment of women plays a role in bringing these changes about.

The inclusion of women through gender quotas (Bouta et al., 2005) and the bridging of the gender gap in education (Greenberg and Zuckerman, 2009) could make a difference in the perception of women. In addition, other elements need to be addressed for an effective inclusion of women in the political process, including land rights, institutional structures, and the sharing of political and domestic responsibilities. Should these be successfully addressed and implemented, they have the potential to positively affect economic inequalities.

Lastly, the model by Buvinic et al. also overlooks the components of infrastructure, such as electricity, running water and access to transport infrastructure. These elements would not only relieve some of the women's care responsibilities and increase their opportunities to engage in trading, but it would also open up access to basic health and education services (Kabeer, 2009). Thus, this raises the following question: does the model fail to include certain important elements that should be incorporated if one wishes to capture the impact of conflict and its resulting coping mechanisms? By applying the model to Burundi, the next section seeks to comprehend the dynamics between the various components.

III. Background to Burundi and its Conflict

This case study seeks to highlight essential elements affecting women's participation that are or are not comprised in the model by Buvinic et al. (2013). This section starts by providing a background to Burundi and seeks to answer the following questions: why are women integral to an analysis of the peace process, how is their role recognised in policies that are related to economic development, and how are they positioned in the economic situation in Burundi until 2014.

After Burundi gained independence in 1962, the country found itself in a spiral of ethnic related conflict. In 1966, a Tutsi faction had seized a military coup d'état and maintained a political hegemony until 1988 under dictatorial regimes. This was despite only 15% of the population being Tutsi and the majority being Hutu (84%).⁶ Nonetheless, the Hutu majority has on occasion risen up against the rule of the Tutsis. The 1972 genocide in South Burundi serves as epoch of the clash between the Tutsi-led army and the Hutus. While about 100,000 to 150,000 Hutus have been murdered as reprisal for the Gatumba massacre of Tutsis, the international community did not speak up until the massacre of 1988, when the army retaliated to a rebellion by murdering 20,000 Hutus.

President Major Pierre Buyoya was then urged to move towards a democratisation process that was set to be completed in 1993 with the first democratic elections. The 21st of October 1993 marked the day when the first elected President Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated in a coup d'état. This was followed by a 12-year conflict that ended with the 2005 elections.⁷ After the 2005 parliamentary elections, President Pierre Nkurunziza was elected by the parliament. The conflict brought over 200,000 casualties⁸ and over 100,000 refugees. Despite the 2006 cease-fire agreement with the Palipehutu-FNL, the fighting continued until approximately mid-2008 before the cease-fire took effect.

At the peak in 1999, over 800,000 people had been displaced by the war, which is approximately 13% of the population (IDMC, 2014; FAO, 1999). While the camps comprised of 65.85% women, the heads of the camps were men (Boddaert, 2012). Furthermore, about 687,000 people sought refuge in neighbouring countries, with the majority situated in Tanzania (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2012). After the Arusha agreement, between 2002 and 2011, an estimated 500,000 people repatriated to Burundi (ibid; IDMC, 2014). Though the security has been said to have improved after the 2008 cease fire agreement with the Palipehutu-FNL, up to 100,000 IDPs were still living in 100 settlements in northern and central Burundi in 2011 (IDMC, 2014).

III-i. Peace negotiations and recognition of women

At the peace negotiations in Arusha between 1998 and 2000, no women were initially invited to the table because the negotiators felt that it was a men's affair. This reasoning followed the pre-conflict patriarchal structure. After a push from civil society, seven women were accepted as permanent observers. Before the signing of the peace agreement, the All-Party Women's Conference was organised

⁶ Traditionally the Tutsis as cattle-holders were generally better-off than the Hutus who were farmers. The remaining 1% of the population is Twa, a highly marginalised group.

⁷ Hereafter referred to as Arusha Agreement.

⁸ Estimations on the casualties range from 200,000 to over 300,000. However, 200,000 appears to be the accepted number referred to.

in July 2000 to draft recommendations that incorporated a gender focus. Various recommendations were then incorporated in the Arusha Agreement (Falch, 2010).

The parties to the Arusha Agreement have expressed concern about the negative impact of conflict on women. In addition, they have expressively stated that they recognise “the unique potential of women to contribute to the healing, reconstruction and development of Burundian society” (Arusha Agreement, 2000, Protocol V). The Arusha Agreement (2000, Article 2.5.2.1) indicates that thousands of women have been affected by the war, as they have become either widows, their husbands have fled Burundi and/or their property has been looted. Therefore, women ought to be addressed in particular on issues relevant to the restoration process. Elements identified include meetings, inclusion in management bodies, restoration of entitlements, the establishment of a body focused on their issues and the stimulation of income-generating activities (Arusha Agreement, 2000, Annex IV, Article 2.5.2.2). This was then taken up in the recent policies of the Burundi government.

According to Article 13 of the 2005 Constitution of the Republic of Burundi, all Burundians are equal under the law and no one may be discriminated. This is reflective of international policy. Since 1990, Burundi is party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and since 1992, to the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Boddaert, 2012). Nonetheless, to date, Burundi has only signed and not yet ratified the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the African Women’s Protocol) (personal communication, November 17, 2014).

Burundi’s first Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP) addressed women in the context of vulnerable groups. Issues where women were specifically indicated as a vulnerable group include: political participation, legal rights in terms of sexual violence and land rights, and access to education (Republic of Burundi, 2006, p.ix). Although these elements are linked to empowerment, the first PRSP should be criticised on grounds of excluding women as purely economic actors after the conflict in their indicators. The second PRSP incorporates a more specific gender-focus as it was drafted in consultations with civil society organisations (CSOs); however, international organisations have expressed concern as to whether this policy will be implemented (see e.g. El-Bushra, 2012).

This PRSP focuses much more on the development of the private expenditure, institutional capacity and infrastructure deficits. In addition, it applies four axes to fight poverty in Burundi. The first axis specifically refers to gender equality in the title of the pillar. Though gender equality has explicitly been referred to in the pillars, a gender-sensitive plan seems to be absent. Furthermore, the percentage of budget allocated to the promotion of gender equality over the timeframe of the second PRSP is very low compared to the expressed dedication – between 0.04 and 0.13% (Republic of Burundi, 2012).

The second PRSP has been developed in line with Vision 2025. The Vision 2025 focuses on 8 pillars addressing all aspects in society from demographics to regional integration and economic growth. Vision 2025 indicates that increased productivity, a stabilised macro-economic framework and improved trade are crucial for economic growth (Republic of Burundi, 2011). Also, the National Agricultural Investment Plan (NAIP) has been developed alongside Vision 2025 objectives. The NAIP seeks to increase crop and livestock production, and to strengthen human resources of national institutions and farmers organisations from 2012 to 2017 because the growth rate for the agricultural sector was 2% in 2011, which was below the demographic growth rate of 2.7% – see appendix 1, table 1. Likewise, the NAIP

aims to create jobs in the industrial sector, food processing and service sector. Throughout the implementation of the plan, gender issues are considered as set out in the second PRSP. For that reason, it aims to establish safety nets for those who are categorised as vulnerable and marginalised groups,⁹ and by establishing farmer field schools that address both men and women (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012).

These policies underlie the development of the 2012-2016 Burundian National Action Plan (NAP) to ensure an integrated approach. In particular, CSOs played an important role in pushing for the implementation of the WPS Resolutions. Eleven years after the Arusha Agreement, the Burundian NAP was adopted by the parliament. The global objective of Burundian NAP is as follows:

Promouvoir une paix durable qui tient compte de la pleine participation des femmes et qui intègre la démarche sexo-spécifique dans les différents domaines de la vie nationale (politique, économique et social).¹⁰

(Republique du Burundi, 2011, 9)

Both in their global and defined objective, the consolidation of peace and economic relief are specified. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the intermediate objectives are more centred on the political and judicial aspects of the position of women. According to Article 129, 164 and 180 of the Constitution, a minimum of 30% of women should be part of the Government, National Assembly and Senate. This was also put through the legislative reform of the Electoral Code on communal councils. Yet, a minimum percentage of women on the level of the collines, was excluded in the legislative reform. This is concerning as the collines levels are closest to the population (Boddaert, 2012; Niyongaho, 2012).¹¹

Economic empowerment of women is only implicitly integrated in the intermediate objectives. According to the Burundian NAP, women's role in the decision-making process to consolidate peace, economic relief and promotion of equal rights is needed "to enjoy the fruits of post-conflict development" (Republique du Burundi, 2011, p.6).¹² Nonetheless, the capacity to implement the NAP has been criticised due to its limited funding. According to one interviewee, in order to be effective, it "must be politically and legally representative in strategic offices and institutions to create solidarity".

III-ii. Country Profile anno 2014

When considering the economic outlook, Burundi's GDP per capita fell by 3% annually from 214 USD per capita in the early 90s to 83 USD in 2004 based on the ISTEEDU database (Bundervoet, 2006). In 2012, the Republic of Burundi indicated that it rose to 140 USD according to the Atlas Method.¹³ Although the

⁹ These include landless poor, orphans, widows, HIV/AIDS affected families and those with a plot less than 0.25 ha.

¹⁰ To promote a sustainable peace which takes into account full female participation and which integrates sex-specific measures in the different domains of national life (political, economic and social). My translation.

¹¹ Burundi consists of 17 provinces, 117 communes and 2638 collines.

¹² My translation.

¹³ There are differing figures between the statistics adhered to by the IMF and the World Bank, and the statistics adhered to by the Burundi statistical office and other research papers. As there is no explanation behind the differing figures, I adhere to the national figures.

levels of GDP per capita are still below those before the conflict started, its potential to return to previous GDP levels is further restrained by the geographical location of Burundi as a small and landlocked state.

Burundi as a state with a population of over 10 million people and a population density of 375 persons per km² faces strenuous land pressure. In 2000, Burundi had an average agricultural holding of 0.8 hectares per household (Arusha Agreement, 2000). Today, this is even smaller as the population has increased in size and the country has a high rural population – only 10.9% of the population lives in urban areas. Its urbanisation process accounted for merely 4.1% in 2013 (FAO, 2014). Combined with the claims by returnees, land scarcity remains a source of conflict (Simpson, 2011; Specker and Briscoe, 2010).¹⁴ The increasing population could the politicisation of while it is simultaneously indicated in policy strategies as a means for socio-economic recovery.

The population of Burundi is expected to double in size by 2025 – with a population growth of 3.3 %and 6.14 children per woman. Approximately 45% of the total population comprises of children under 15 (CIA Handbook, 2014). Roughly, 51% of the population are women (IMF, 2014) and according to a 1995 survey, approximately 22% of all households were female-led (Republic of Burundi, 2006).

The woman-headed households tend to have small-scale plots (less than 0.5 hectares) and are dependent upon food crops. As such, women are in particular vulnerable to poverty (Bundervoet, 2006; Republic of Burundi, 2012). Off-farm agricultural employment became a way for both poor and non-poor households to generate income, as livestock was severely affected during the conflict (FAO, 2014).¹⁵ Combined with the high dependency ratio, these elements further complicated labour market participation by women.

Despite their exposure to poverty and the high dependency ratio, Burundi has a high labour participation rate of women. The country has a reported 84.2% female participation in the labour force compared to a male participation rate of 82.7% (IMF, 2014). While 55.8% of agrarian sector are female labourers (FAO, 2014), a much smaller percentage of the labour force in the public and private sector consists of women (Republic of Burundi, 2006).

During the conflict, Burundi had a poverty headcount ratio of 81% (Republic of Burundi, 2006); of these, 83.2% was located in the rural areas and 41% in Bujumbura. Especially, the provinces of Kirundo, Kayanza, Gitega and Ruyigi were affected by the conflict and as such, had a poverty headcount of over

¹⁴ See Franssen and Kuschminder (2012) for an insight into the friction between returning refugees and those who stayed behind. This paper also discusses the concept of Rural Integrated Village or Peace Village for landless returnees, which mostly comprises 1972 refugees.

One interviewee focused on pan-Africa even noted the land-grabbing by multinationals as a further threat to the existing land scarcity. As women are the main cultivators, they are in particular affected by this. Yet, I do not discuss this in further detail in this paper as I have no information on specific cases in Burundi and the level of involvement by foreign companies is seemingly non-existent as reflected by the low levels of FDI.

90%.¹⁶ In 2006, 67% of the population was estimated to live in poverty (Republic of Burundi, 2012). The rural areas were faced with higher levels of poverty compared to Bujumbura Mairie. In particular, Kirundo, which borders Rwanda, had the highest poverty rate at 82% (Republic of Burundi, 2012). In 2012, an estimated 70% of the total Burundian population still faced food insecurity (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012).

Bundervoet's research (2006) is enlightening in this regard as it shows the importance of literacy and landownership in correlation with poverty. The literacy rate amongst women is in general lower than that of men is. Likewise women have on average less access to land than men have.¹⁷ Only 17.7% of women hold land compared to 62.5% of all men (Republic of Burundi, 2012). Hence, female-headed households are affected quite drastically during and after conflict.

This information needs to be considered in light of Burundi's economic performance. The agricultural sector – in which the largest group of women is active in –, accounts for 95% of the food supply in Burundi (Republic of Burundi, 2006). Coffee, tea and cotton are deemed as the dominant export products (World Bank and IFC, 2011) and bananas, beans, sweet potatoes and cassava are the main crops (Bundervoet, 2007). Coffee employed about 750,000 households in 2006; however, its output is highly subject to fluctuations (Republic of Burundi, 2006). All three export segments indicated to have suffered from the conflict (ibid.) In addition, the privatisation of coffee and tea enterprises as identified in the Arusha Agreement (2000) has hardly been acted upon (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Today, the progress of agricultural growth is hampered not just by socio-economic and agricultural constraints, but also by climate-related issues, technological constraints including the lack of technological knowledge and institutional constraints (Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, 2012). Input markets for fertilisers, pesticides and seeds are quite dependent upon import. Any procurement has been subject to price speculation, black markets and low quality of inputs; however, an effective market for inputs is still lacking (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Despite the difficulties THAT the agricultural sector faces, the sector has been regarded as a main driver for economic growth. Regardless, this focus has also been criticised as there is high density of unpaved roads (89%) and limited electricity access (2%), which further hampers economic progress (Specker and Briscoe, 2010, quoting African Development Bank). Specker and Briscoe (2010) identify the development of infrastructure and energy – which are both labour intensive industries – as key sectors to economic growth.

Conversely, the private sector remains underdeveloped – accounting for only 2.5% of all employees in 2007 of which, only 35.6% are women. This sector is affected by access to funding, an unstable political environment and vague legislation. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is as such close to zero (IMF, 2014) and foreigners with access to politicians dominate the private sector (Specker and Briscoe, 2010).

¹⁶ Bundervoet (2006), on the other hand, estimated 71.5% of the rural population was considered poor in 1998, with a poverty gap of 32.5% and a severity index of 19.02%. Both Bundervoet's research and the PRSP are based on the 1998 Burundi Priority Survey. This difference stems from the poverty line adhered to.

¹⁷ As with the figures for GDP per capita and life expectancy, differing figures exist between the IMF, World Bank and Republic of Burundi for the literacy level. In general, all agree that a higher percentage of women is illiterate compared to men.

The public sector is considered as the only stable source of income. It accounted for 7.5% of the entire workforce in 2007 (Republic of Burundi, 2012). Yet, traces of authoritarianism remain as political patronage and thus networking is considered as the key to receiving funding or to be considered for a job (ibid.). This is also reflected by Burundi's rank on the Corruption Index, namely rank 157 out of 177 in 2013 (Transparency International, 2014). Nonetheless, according to the Economic Policy Research Institute (EPRI)(2011), a position in the public sector proves to be a way out of poverty as formal employment is one of the main criteria for participation in the social protection programmes.

IV. The Changing Role of Women

There seems to be an improvement in the position of women in society on paper; however, this is still dependent upon macro- and micro-economic conditions. The model by Buvinic et al. offers a framework in which to study the changing role of women and highlights certain conditions underlying their socio-economic role. This framework gives a first insight into the interactions between the various elements. These are analysed alongside the first round and second round impact.

IV-i. First Round Impact

During the conflict, the life expectancy at birth dropped from 51 years in 1993 to less than 42 in 2005 (Republic of Burundi, 2006).¹⁸ The 1993 massacre already caused a sharp increase in widow-headed households; these were estimated to have risen by 14.2% between 1990 and 1993. Pre-war wealth proved to be a determinant of asset and income loss of a household.

In general, households that had more livestock before the conflict were the households where the husbands died during the conflict (Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2013).¹⁹ According to a 1995 survey, women led 22% of all Burundian households (Republic of Burundi 2006). The violent experiences of these women could severely affect any further participation. According to an interviewee, “discrimination affects people’s mindset, they do not participate the way they should”. According to another interviewee, “these women were victimised in their heads which they kept in their hearts”.

Widows in contrast to widowers are socially not allowed to remarry and thus are dependent upon the goodwill of others as they cannot inherit their husband’s property (Boddaert, 2012). One interviewee even described it as “widows are often treated as someone who has no rights”. The area of inheritance remains to be governed by customary practice, which puts women at a disadvantage and is considered as a product of the patriarchal society (Ochieng, Oguttu and Kezie-Nwoha, 2013). Despite having equal ownership rights of property for both men and women, whether married or unmarried, inheritance rights favours the male surviving spouse or son over women (World Bank and IFC, 2011). If women were allowed to inherit land, this would put further restraints on the already existing land scarcity and is argued to further destabilise society (personal communication, November 17, 2014). This argument is concerning as women are predominantly active and dependent upon income from agricultural activities. Thus, being illegible to inherit affects women’s primary activities.

Secondly, linking the long-term effects caused by limited health facilities to morbidity suggests that in 2012, Burundi women have a slightly higher morbidity rate (Republic of Burundi, 2012). Already in 2000, the Arusha Agreement identified the following problems regarding health: immunization coverage, childbirth attendance by qualified medical staff, increase in acute malnutrition among the vulnerable

¹⁸ Also, there is a discrepancy in the figures for life expectancy between the PRSP, EPRI, UN Population Database and IMF data. The IMF data (2014) and the UN Population Database (UN, 2014) never reach the low figures indicated by the PRSP, yet the EPRI (2011) does. The lower figures are more in line with Burundi’s place on the Human Development Index and hence, I follow the PRSP rapport figures. Nonetheless, it should be noted that all remain an estimation as no census has taken place since the start of the conflict.

¹⁹ This corresponds to Bundervoet’s article: Bundervoet, T. 2009. Livestock, Land and Political Power: The 1993 Killings in Burundi. *Journal of Peace Research*, 46, 357-376.

groups, and an increase of AIDS and HIV incidence. All these appeared to have worsened during the conflict.

Overall, infrastructure was impacted by the conflict. In 2003, there was only one doctor for 38,461 people and 1 hospital per 200,000 people (Republic of Burundi and EAC, 2009). The immunisation coverage went down from 80% in 1992 to 55.3% in 1997 and rose again until 78.6% at the end of 2004 (Republic of Burundi, 2006). The delivery of a baby in an assisted environment rose by 4.9% to 22.5% between 2002 and 2004 (Republic of Burundi and EAC, 2009).²⁰ Post-conflict, the population's health remains to be affected by the lack access to facilities, the lack of qualified staff due to death or displacement by the conflict, and the health sector's dependency on foreign aid (56% of the budget), which prevented the health sector from addressing those issues that need to be targeted (ibid.). Next to the lack of health care services, children and women-headed households were in particular affected by malnutrition (FAO, 2000; Republic of Burundi, 2006).

Furthermore, the number of those affected by HIV/AIDS affected and malaria rose during the conflict. In 2006, AIDS was particularly prevalent in urban areas and women comprised 56% of all affected persons (Republic of Burundi, 2006). Those with AIDS are scorned by society (Boddaert, 2012), which puts them at an additional disadvantage in societal participation. However, the increasing availability of antiretroviral drugs has led to a decreasing trend of those with HIV and AIDS (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

An interviewee indicated that dialogue with the church leaders is needed as the institution is still very against the use of condoms (see also Sommers, 2013). If this were to be addressed, it would not only limit the spread of HIV/AIDS but would also make an effective contribution to birth control and minimise the population growth rate. As the family size will be smaller, the high dependency ratio that hampers a woman's economic participation will be decreased. To date, the influence of religion is high as highlighted by the lack of ratification of the Africa Women's Protocol. Part of the reluctance to ratify the protocol has to do with Article 14, which is related to SRHR and abortion in case of rape, incest, or threat to the life of the mother (personal communication, November 17, 2014).

In line with literature, interviewees confirmed that SGBV is another cause for stigmatisation. While domestic and sexual violence have become punishable by law with the reform of the Penal Code in 2009, the access to justice in actual life appears to be more complicated, due to mistrust, corruption and impunity remaining high (see e.g. Bareguwera et al., 2010; Boddaert, 2012). This is concerning as Burundian women are hampered by SGBV in their social and economic participation.²¹ A report on rape by Amnesty International (2004) indicates that it was dangerous for women to plough the land or to get water from the sources as they could be subjected to rape. Officially, 60% of the victims of human rights violations during the war were women (El-Bushra, 2012). Women are among the most affected due to

²⁰ Again I maintained the figures as maintained by the Burundi government as these are more likely to be correct. The IMF, on the other hand, contradicts these figures – indicating that about 78% of all pregnant women have access to prenatal care in 2000. These figures are highly unlikely due to the intensity of the conflict at that time and the accompanying destruction of facilities.

²¹ SGBV can be classified in two groups: 1) sexual, physical and psychological violence, and 2) economic and estate related violence (Niyongaho, 2012).

manipulation, looting and fighting. Sexual violence especially became prevalent in the latter part of the conflict, when the rebel groups turned rogue as if a taboo had been broken. The raping of a woman was associated with claiming a man's property and thus the humiliation of the man (Sommers, 2013).

Women living alone, particularly employed as *domestiques* (maids) or nannies, or coming from the poorer families, widows and female IDPs were in particular victims of SGBV (Amnesty International, 2004; Dijkman, Bijleveld, and Verwimp, 2014). Unknown men, neighbours and acquaintances were the main perpetrators of the sexual violence that young girls experienced. Those who were above 20 and married appeared to suffer from abuse by their husbands. Notably, armed or uniformed men were hardly mentioned in the 2002 survey, which may be due to fear for retaliation and stigmatisation (Dijkman et al., 2014).²²

After the conflict, the violence moved inside the house. Interviewees and literature both indicate a rise in SGBV cases (see e.g. Bareguwera et al., 2010; Republic of Burundi, 2012). This increase in reporting may result from the war impeding on the reporting mechanism or a rise in awareness in the post-conflict phase. The continuation of sexual violence may be attributed to ineffective judicial institutions or damage to the social cohesion, poverty increase, or ineffective integration of former combatants (see e.g. Dijkman et al., 2014). Furthermore, as one interviewee described, the man comes home to a woman who made the decisions while he was away and who ensured the daily necessities. He "wants to take up the traditional role whereas the woman is used to making the decisions", which leads to underlying tensions. Considering the prevailing mentality sees the man as income-provider, the man feels confronted in his position as the head of the household, as he currently lacks economic opportunities. This may contribute to alcoholism, drug abuse and domestic violence, and may even result in suicide.

Simultaneously, the figures on SGBV may be underreported due to the fear of retaliation and stigmatisation (Bareguwera et al., 2010; Dijkman et al., 2014). According to Amnesty International (2004) and the interviewees, aside from being ostracised, elements preventing women from seeking redress include state inaction. This is another indication of how legislation may be considered an ornament, illustrating that the state aims for gender equality but in reality, the legislation is not adhered to.

The impunity of the judicial systems and fear of retaliation have been identified as challenges that should be addressed. As one interviewee puts it, the lack of legal aid available for victims maintains the vulnerable position of women. Despite the implementation of the law, there is limited application. While the largest part of crimes reported consists of SGBV, only a small percentage is followed upon (Niyongaho, 2012). Even if compensation is sought, this is often addressed through traditional, patriarchal systems; or the bribing of the policy by the perpetrators to avoid punishment. Several interviewees have stated that the redressals should be addressed through the justice department and security sector. One of the possible solutions proposed by an interviewee is to ensure the presence of at least one woman in each police station.

Therefore, SGBV is a product of the first and second round impacts on men and women. It continues to affect the opportunities of women as their security cannot be guaranteed. As a result, labour opportunities for women are limited, since they face an insecure situation both on the way to the fields

²² For an insight in the research on SGBV and the prevalence in Burundi during and after the conflict, please refer to the report by Dijkman et al. (2014) and Amnesty International (2004).

and when cultivating their fields. Moreover, educational attainment becomes more difficult due to dropouts as a result of pregnancy. This not only leads to a poverty trap, but over time, a person suffering from SGBV is also more susceptible to ill health (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano, 2002). Thus, this further affects his or her options to educational attainment and labour participation.

SGBV is only one of the elements threatening the work situation of women. The violence and consequent insecure environment lead to a deficit in food availability. Women- and child-headed households faced malnourishment, especially as legislation to date still prohibits women from holding land. Other elements hindering households from cultivating land include looting, insecurity, and limited access to fields (FAO, 2000). Furthermore, cash crops reportedly suffered from theft and fire during the conflict (Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2013).

In a 1996 report by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),²³ Bubanza, Bujumbura Rural, Cibitoké and Karuzi were the provinces where the crop production in particular was affected by the conflict. The trade embargo of 1996 further impeded agricultural development due to the lack of fertilizer and pesticides. Furthermore, the conflict resulted in a substantial decline in the cattle population. For example, the FAO report indicated that since the outbreak of the war, milk production had gone down by 80%.

Overall, especially those areas affected by the conflict and burdened by a large number of IDPs faced a significant decline in food. The other areas suffered from increased prices and diminishing purchasing power due to the trade embargo and failed harvest of food and cash crops (FAO, 1996). The removal of the embargo in January 1999 did not help to revive the economy in the desired way. Due to the on-going conflict, external aid was restricted to emergency operations (FAO, 1999) and thus continued to constrain economic opportunities needed to stimulate food security.

IV-ii. Second Round Impacts

Any coping mechanism as such is subject to continuous fluctuations. During the conflict, Burundi had a dependency ratio of over 100% with a peak in 1997 at 110.5. Since 1997, a decreasing trend set in. Nonetheless, to date, the figure remains above 85%, which indicates an alarmingly high ratio (IMF, 2014). This trend is in line with the high fertility rate noted above. Moreover, it serves as an indication that poor SRHR remains an issue of concern.

While contraception measurements have been on the rise, the fertility rate remains high. A report by the Embassy of the Netherlands indicates that coverage of 40% is needed for contraception measurements to effectively affect the current fertility rate (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). The high fertility rate results from the concept of replacement effect. Therefore, not only the use of contraception should be stimulated, but also the mindset of society needs to be addressed alongside the perspective of the church according to interviewees and the Republic of Burundi (2012).

Another element explaining the decline of the dependency ratio is that despite the stigma attached to widows (Boddaert, 2012), women suffering from the persisting inheritance laws and prevailing poverty rate may seek to remarry to ensure the survival of the family (Niyongaho, 2012).

²³ The FAO only published Special Reports on Crop and Food Security Assessment Missions till 2000. After the signing of the Arusha Agreement none appeared to have been undertaken.

Despite the decline, the high dependency ratio remains concerning as it hampers economic growth. Economic participation remains a blind spot and is hindered by the high fertility rate and sociocultural norms that prevail in Burundi. Government policies are needed to stimulate secondary enrolment rates among both men and women²⁴, and to stimulate employment opportunities. The inclusion of young women is crucial as it raises awareness of SRHR. Furthermore, it serves as an investment in skills and labour participation (Buvinic et al., 2010). However, interviewees highlighted that many young women do not enrol in secondary education. Some even linked the lack of uptake of secondary education²⁵ and the prevailing poverty rates to crime rates, sexual violence and/or early pregnancies.

The interviewees stated that a focus on SRHR is important, as this is closely interlinked with food security, hard security and justice. As indicated in the above section, women have been the dominant actors in the agricultural sector since before the conflict. Aside from working in the agricultural sector, they took up roles in trade and construction jobs (Boddaert, 2012). To date, the role of women remains limited as they lack land rights, and access to capital and resources. In addition, they have to balance their economic responsibilities with their domestic role.

According to Bundervoet's research (2006), female-headed households in Burundi are more vulnerable to poverty. Nonetheless, access to land is indicated to have a positive effect on the household. While land and property are considered as the underlying elements for any peace, one is only able to attain land through inheritance or purchasing. The 2011 reform of the Land Code did not address the issue of female inheritance and women are still ineligible to inherit land. While female parliamentarians have pushed for the incorporation of inheritance by women, to date, the Presidency has been hesitant in addressing this issue (Boddaert, 2012; personal communication, 17 November 2014). At the same time, the reform is problematic considering the low level of literacy amongst women, which further constraints economic security for women-headed households.

Aside from holding land, another element that restrains women in terms of agrarian livelihood is the keeping of livestock. This proved to be an additional burden to women next to their existing responsibilities. Moreover, many farmers lost their livestock during the conflict (Republic of Burundi, 2006; Republic of Burundi, 2012). Even if the livestock is replaced, women generally do not have the financial capacity to replace them when they perish (Ochieng et al., 2013). This is concerning as it restrains them from being active participants in the market.

Projects by diaspora organisations aimed at labour in Burundi tend to be small-scaled and focused on self-sufficiency. While these projects do not address the single-headed households, they target women in poor households. Overall, poverty is seen as an obstacle that can lead to a reoccurrence of violence

²⁴ After the conflict, the Government of Burundi has made primary education mandatory which led to an increase in enrolment of both girls and boys (Boddaert, 2012; Republic of Burundi, 2012; World Bank and IFC, 2011). After primary school, those who do not continue education either end up in unemployment or predominantly work in the agricultural sector (Republic of Burundi, 2012).

²⁵ As indicated this paper specifically focuses on women as head of the household. The importance of education and investment in children's human capital is referred to as it adds to the dependency ratio and thus, affects women's economic participation. For more information on children and education, please refer to Verwimp and Van Bavel (2013); Sommers (2013).

according to the majority of interviewees. One interviewee identified the lack of access to inputs and fertilisers as a contributor to the economic struggles. Moreover, interviewees indicated that the available products are often of poor quality and seeds are expensive as they depend upon import. The long production chain causes the final value of the product to be more than what the female-headed farmers can afford. As an illustration, the development of edible potatoes consists of 5 stages. In the market, stage 2 and 3 are available. Yet, potato seeds from stage 4 are needed to grow potatoes that when harvested, can both be eaten and sold as dried seed.

Therefore, one of the approaches to ensure food security would be to provide better quality products. In addition, interviewees have indicated crop diversification as an approach to ensure food security. The FAO also recognised these issues. Therefore, it is involved in capacity development to set up a mechanism for seed quality certifications, seed fairs and crop diversification. However, they noted that institutional capacity remains a constraint (FAO, 2010).

Local initiatives have the potential to play into the abovementioned issues and simultaneously strengthen society. Interviewees agreed that any inclusive growth should include gender and diversity, as the ethnic divide between the Hutus and Tutsis still affects the social fabric. This is also highlighted in projects by AFRABU²⁶ (Myrntinen, Naujoks, and El-Bushra, 2014) and International Alert (2006). To create social cohesion, trust needs to be created. A space for the people on the community level could help in this regard.²⁷ Simultaneously, men and women need to be brought together to establish mutual understanding. This is an essential element to any successful empowerment. One interviewee highlighted the concept of solidarity groups, such as the village loan system by CARE, which both improves the economic position of women and creates a level of self-confidence that is needed to actively participate in society. Participation in solidarity groups reportedly led to several cases where economic empowerment had resulted in political participation in municipalities. It is therefore important to analyse the following key questions: what is gender in the culture and how is it perceived.

Moreover, interviewees indicated that local groups or spaces allow women to share their stories and process their traumatic experiences during and after conflict. Empowerment of women in these groups also leads to a reduction in intra-household sexual violence. However, part of the sexual violence result from the unemployment of men and women as income providers, the economic empowerment of women also has the potential to positively address the internal relations. As such, it is important to not only address women but also address men through, for example, separate programmes or by including them in programmes to improve relations, and to address certain negative behaviours.

Despite these projects, Burundi continues to suffer from a low economic growth and hardly knows any FDI, which prevents the formal sector from being a suitable alternative to the agrarian existence. The high poverty rate makes the stimulation of the market more difficult, which leads to unemployment (unemployment is a trigger of sexual violence). Any growth is further restrained by the broken infrastructure (water, electricity and roads). These elements are seen as key to any stimulation of growth

²⁶ The Burundian Association of Repatriated Women.

²⁷ While the social divide between Hutus and Tutsis had its impact on society, an in-depth analysis lies beyond the scope of this research. It was indicated on several occasions that the trust remains thin and the ethnic divide is still visible. Please refer to Myrntinen et al. (2014) and International Alert (2006) for further information.

and social integration in both interviews and literature. In that sense, international actors play into this niche by stimulating public works programmes by the World Bank (Rakotoniaina, 2013) and the creation of Farmer Field Schools (FAO, 2010). However, these programmes often lack a gender focus.

Another contributing factor to the low economic growth identified during interviews was the lack of desire for entrepreneurship. The population of Burundi lives on a day-to-day basis as noted by the majority of the interviews. The lack of financial capacity and the mistrust that people have in the institutions (Sommers, 2013) limits future planning.

Literature, interviewees and the Arusha Agreement (2000) view good governance and strong institutions as essential to social cohesion and economic development. The Arusha Agreement stipulates that women should play a role in the development of Burundi through parliamentary access, improvement of social and legal status, aid to CSOs, integration of women in rural development programmes, and access to land and credit. As abovementioned, their socio and legal status continues to be an element hindering effective participation by women in the economic spheres. Likewise, the above section highlights the fact that most policies aimed at rural development fail to effectively include women in their programmes.

While the 30% quota for women has been successful in the division of parliamentary seats and the division of ministerial posts, it should be noted that for those positions, where the constitution remains vague, women do not make up 30% of the positions (Falch, 2010; Niyongaho, 2012).²⁸ This gives rise to questions regarding the effectiveness of the quota principle.

Furthermore, the affirmative action through quotas is not deemed as a success by interviewees; however, they did state that it is an improvement compared to pre-conflict government. Women in decision-making positions are a select group of women, namely the privileged and educated women (Boddaert, 2012). Female politicians are often rendered futile in promoting gender issues, as they are either not aware of women's issues or are limited in bringing forth women's issues and ensuring gender sensitive policies. According to one interviewee, "the traditional structure is men-oriented, it does not take into account the vulnerability of women". These issues were touched upon several times in the interviews and were seen as serious determinants to effective top-down approaches. Part of the incompetence to bring forth a gender perspective was attributed to the lack of education or the lack of awareness as to what the function entails. Therefore, organisations represented by several interviewees have set up training programmes in the 2010 elections or have raised gender sensitivity amongst female parliamentarians by developing a gender action plan.

From a cultural perspective, interviewees also stated that women continue to be stigmatised for speaking up as the notion of a patriarchal society still prevails (see also Falch, 2010; Ochieng et al., 2013). "Men only speak to men due to elements prevalent in society". According to an interviewee, as "a man never makes mistakes and has to be respected"; this continues to affect the political arena. As another interviewee described, "[t]he men used to be gods". The men should not be overlooked and just focusing on women would therefore constitute a threat to the dominant group. As long as women do what men tell them to do, they cannot be helped. Thus, women are in a difficult position. An interviewee even

²⁸ For a further insight into the number of women represented in parliament, please have a look at the annual monitoring reports by GNWP at <http://www.gnwp.org/what-we-do/policy-advocacy/in-country-and-global-monitoring-of-united-nations-security-council-resolution-1325>.

criticised it as “[t]heir rights are day to day violated and we do not hear women raising their voice in favour of these women”. This further illustrates the lack of affirmative action by female representatives.

On a communal level, conflict training was provided to women to make them become a mediation person for any local conflicts before authorities were approached. In addition, this creates a space for women on a communal level to organise themselves. Interviewees indicated that women are thereby able to address not just elements of the project in a more private setting but also to discuss SRHR, governance, leadership and other issues that they encounter daily. The political, social and personal power women gained through participation in women’s groups has been a stepping-stone to a political position for some (see also Falch, 2010). It was noted that economic participation helps women to gain a voice in agrarian communities because they are able to finance themselves and are thus not dependent upon others. One interviewee described it as a two-track approach comprised of both the political sphere and the socio-economic sphere that starts at the household level.

Nonetheless, the educational attainment, the lack of economic independence, the inability to inherit land and the sharing of domestic and professional burdens continue to be an obstacle to both political and economic participation by women.

V. Analysis of the Framework

As abovementioned, there is not a clear boundary between first and second round impacts and how these affect coping strategies by women. Many elements have been identified that affect women's positions and capacity to engage in economic participation. In particular, the direct and indirect effects of conflict in terms of infrastructure, health, education and government infrastructure play an important role in the social, economic and political empowerment.

While at times, the link to economic participation of women is not that apparent, the connection becomes more clear when the element is placed in context. During peace times, female labour participation proves to be dependent upon many elements. The model by the World Bank indicates that at the origin of any empowerment, gender inequality in households, market institutions and the society will need to be addressed.

Literature on economic participation during conflict regards agriculture as the primary sector in which women partake, followed by the informal sector. Participation in these sectors is already restrained by many elements from the socio-cultural environment, including land rights, access to resources and assets, and property and inheritance law. While there appears to be a role for women in the formal sector during conflict, this appears to be limited.

Once the country reaches a post-conflict phase, women return to the persisting gender relations that existed before the conflict or they have to find means to provide for income, as they have become widowed during the conflict. The two alternatives are accompanied by tensions. In the first case, tension plays out predominantly in the private domain of the household. When women have become widowed, they face additional constraints by the community and prevailing sociocultural norms and values on a formal and informal level.

Therefore, Greenberg and Zuckerman (2009) indicate that a post-conflict approach should hold three components: "women's programmes, gender mainstreaming and addressing gender roles to transform societies steeped in violence into the promise of peaceful prosperity" (pp.6-26). These would contribute to the social services justice as envisioned by Ní Aolain, Haynes and Cahn (2011), which seeks to link immediate post-conflict humanitarian aid and longer-term development measures while incorporating a gender perspective.

VI-i. Expansion of Model

While the model by Buvinic et al. (2013) incorporates various effects that the conflict literature discusses, it tends to overlook the sociocultural environment underlying the society. If these issues are not addressed, they will negatively affect any opportunities women may have in pursuing labour activities after a conflict has reached the post-conflict stage.

The case study of Burundi illustrates this in particular. The clear-cut distinction between the first and second round impact as it appears in their model cannot be made. Many of the first round impacts continue to play a role post-conflict and thus cause reorientation of any coping strategies. Furthermore, a reciprocal link between various elements needs to be made. Even though this paper focused predominantly on the role of the women in non-displaced households, the adaptation of the framework already refers to many aspects applying to other gender roles and implies that there is an interrelation even for other roles.

Burundi found itself in intrastate conflict for 12 years between 1993 and 2005. The colonial regime under Belgium is said to have left its traces in present day society; in particular, in the ethnic divide and patriarchal society. The role of women has been changed in part during the conflict. Women played an important role during the peace negotiation processes. Their role was formally recognised in the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement. Afterwards, the local CSOs pushed for the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Resolutions, which resulted in the adaptation of the Burundian National Action Plan in 2011. However, it should be noted that while the inclusion of women appears to be stressed as a key element for any economic growth and political stability in legislation and policies, progress remains to be seen. The inheritance law still distinguishes between men and women. This is a source of concern as Burundi is faced with 22% widow-headed households that are dependent upon the goodwill of their sons or male relatives of their deceased husband. In addition, women are still not able to inherit property.

Burundi is a country that suffers from low literacy rates and a high fertility rate and thus explosive demographic growth. This puts additional pressure on the already scarce land. All these elements further affect the economic situation. The economy of Burundi already suffers from high poverty levels and high dependency upon the agrarian sector. However, the growth of the agrarian sector does not match the levels required by the demographic growth. Furthermore, the weak institutional capacity is a constraint to any economic growth in Burundi.

This sketch refers to underlying dynamics in Burundi. As has been indicated in the above sections, women tend to face many obstacles to effectively participate in society. Socio-cultural perception seems to lie at the base of most obstacles. When looking at the conflict phase and its aftermath according to the socio-economic framework by Buvinic et al., it should be noted that many of the elements in the first round still prevail in the second round and vice versa. The interaction between the various elements and coping strategies is continuous. For example, the prevalence of SGBV is a significant contributor to any coping strategies and is not stagnant in its occurrence. During conflict, SGBV tends to take place in the public domain and after a conflict has ended, it moves inwards into the private spheres. In the aftermath, women do not suffer from the hands of bandit troops seeking food but also from husbands who return home and who are confronted with their lack of purpose, as there is no employment and/or their wives have become breadwinners. Thus, SGBV relates to the element of both assets, namely income loss and labour reallocation.

Widowhood as such is closely linked to mortality. The survival of widow-headed households depends on their coping strategies to ensure a certain level of food security. The widows and victims of SGBV face stigmatisation by society. Furthermore, survival depends on the indirect effects of conflict on health, such as access to health centres and infrastructure. Malnourishment is said to have an indirect effect on health and depends on coping strategies. As women have more difficulty gaining access to land due to customary practice, their ability to ensure a certain level of food security for their household is affected. This is closely linked to asset and income loss. Thus, a triangle relation seems to exist between food insecurity, assets and infrastructure.

Furthermore, the issue of labour reallocation, political participation and health issues are also closely interlinked. Many interviewees identify the concept of space as a place where women could be among each other to share their experiences and discuss a multitude of issues from SGBV to governance and economic experiences. This allows for social, political and economic empowerment. In a way, it could be

compared to the role of Inararibonye in the pre-colonial times.²⁹ Economic empowerment has also been said to support political empowerment and vice versa. They furthermore have the potential to affect the policies and allow for the construction of gender-sensitive infrastructure.

Therefore, this complexity needs to be addressed in the model. If one effectively wants to understand the role of women during and after conflict as well as how they adjust, it is important to remodel the various elements. A combination needs to be sought between the elements identified by Buvinic et al. and the other frameworks referred to in this paper. Thus, this paper proposes to adjust the model as can be seen in figure 3. This model indicates the interrelations between the various elements. As a starting point, the model positions the role of socio-cultural norms and values at the centre of how these affect the application of legislation, governmental decisions and access to financial markets. These three elements consequently all play into the position of women in households and in the market. From there, the model moves to Buvinic et al.'s model in that the prevailing gender equality in households, institutions and markets determine the elements they identified in the first round of impacts. These elements find themselves in a field where there is endogeneity between the various elements. None of the elements solely determines the other; however, they do play into each other, which is something that should be considered if one wants to discuss how they condition any coping strategies. The extent to which they play a role depends on the level of violence as these elements are affected by conflict. This results in coping strategies by the household; however, any coping strategy continues to interact with the other factors and may adjust over time.

²⁹ In traditional Burundi society, the community had a strong role in teaching values of humanism, goodwill and social responsibility. The Bashingantahe, a group of men who were deemed the most mature, wisest and most responsible among men, settled conflicts. The female counterpart was the Inararibonye. Please see: UNESCO (2003).

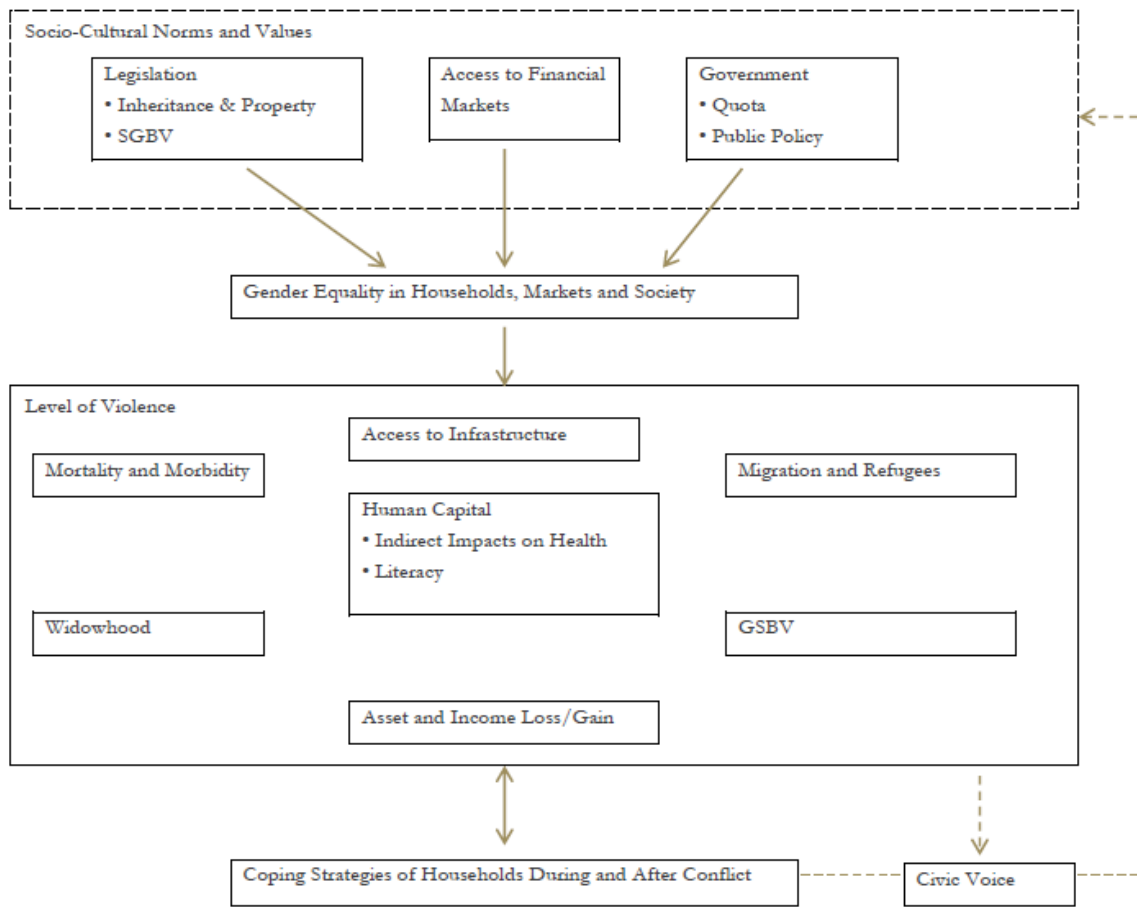


Figure 3: Adapted socio-economic model indicating the various interrelationships (By author).

VI. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The Women, Peace and Security Resolutions have played an important role in raising the awareness surrounding the role of women in peace-building processes. Over the past years, economic participation has become recognised as a critical component of gender, peace and security; sexual gender based violence; and a woman's political empowerment. However, the enabling factors to realise these objectives appear to be lacking in peace building.

To fully realise gender equality, one needs to analyse the underlying factors beyond these three elements. Elements hindering gender equality include amongst others, the regulatory framework in place, the sociocultural environment, the access to infrastructure and access to the credit market.

Gender sensitivity is needed at all levels to truly incorporate a gender equal objective. Without awareness, a quota may accomplish the division of seats among men and women; however, the policy proposals put forward would likely fail to address gender issues present in the society as the politicians tend to follow the party's line. Thus, this should be addressed accordingly by allowing space for networks or by additional training to raise awareness.

Combined with a large informal market in recovering nations, the population, in particular women and children, continue to be affected post-conflict. A shift tends to take place from violence in public to domestic violence. Without gender awareness, the returning husband may feel threatened by his wife as she became the sole income provider during the conflict. A gender sensitive environment would enable local acceptance of their position, which in turn, would restrict the husband's actions. Next, widows are facing constraints as a result of the inheritance and property law, and access to credit market. If social protection is in place beyond the role of safety nets, this is often restricted to those in the formal market. Thus, food security becomes a problematic issue.

The space and voice of women in the community tends to be relinquished to men after a conflict. International organisations addressing one or two of the issues at hand have the potential to provide this space by creating solidarity groups or by holding weekly gatherings where women have the opportunity to discuss issues beyond the programme's objective. This in turn would strengthen their position. However, it is important not to exclude men in this regard as they are needed to truly create a transformative environment.

Therefore, this paper proposes an adaptation of the model in which one looks at gender in conflict. This model is focused on the role of women in a household and as such, excludes many of the role men and women may take up during conflict. Thus, further research needs to be conducted in these areas. Moreover, this research does not provide a complete picture of Burundi. Burundi served as a case study in this report and as such, the areas discussed in this report should not be seen as complete. Although many excellent in-depth papers on these independent topics exist, the issues addressed provided an insight into the complexity behind the concept of female economic participation (post-) conflict.

VI-i. Policy Recommendations

Many recommendations have already been developed regarding conflict, gender and development (see e.g. Bouta et al., 2005). The developed framework would have the following additional policy implications to stimulate female economic participation in post-conflict countries:

International Organisations

- Apply a gender relational framework to any context analysis as a basis for programmes in which women are not just approached as victims but also as active actors. In this framework, ensure an understanding of the gender relations ingrained in institutions (household, market and government).
- Ensure a short-term and long-term focus by including follow-up objectives in the project proposals and indicating a source for budget for the next stages.
- Advocate to the Government on issues and steps to undertake in order to stimulate economic growth by the adaptation of legislation or by following up on proposals while ensuring that the opportunities for women are not undermined.

NGOs

- In order to stimulate the adaptation of social behaviour and expectations, develop SRHR and SGBV awareness programmes, and engage with people.
- Collaborate with local grassroots organisations to stimulate local ownership.
- Create space for women to gather and discuss issues encountered in the programme, and to voice their concerns and thoughts. Stimulate collaboration with men to allow gradual societal adaptation.

National Government

- Critically assess legislation and policy in place to understand how they subvert legislation.
- Address the underlying causes for the conflict through awareness programmes.
- Ensure that the reintegration element of male and female demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) programmes are not overlooked. The reintegration element has the potential to address adjustment of the former combatant in the household and thus improve intra-household relations.
- Invest in infrastructure to improve transportation, health and education facilities, and to stimulate further economic growth. This could be through public works programmes that would also address the issue of unemployment. Furthermore, it would allow for those who dropped out during or after primary school to develop further skills.
- Put in place effective legislation on SGBV by not just focusing on violence against women but also on violence against both men and women. Promote this through awareness raising, ensuring that reported cases are followed up on, and by combating impunity.
- Ensure incorporation of widow-headed households in any programmes addressed to vulnerable people.

- Put in place a quota for women's participation in political bodies at all levels in the Government and provide additional training or a network to enable them to make an effective contribution to the position of women.

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Appendix 1: Agricultural Production in Burundi

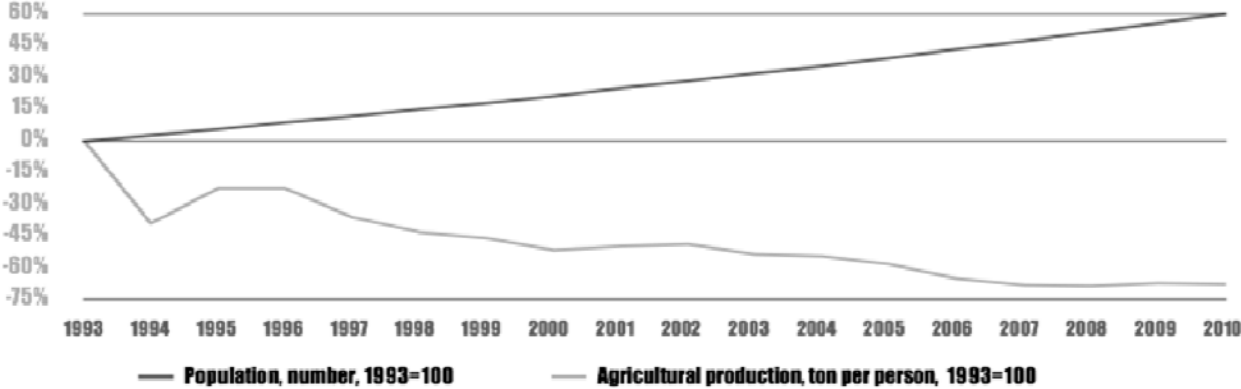


Table 1: Comparison of Population and Agrarian Production, 2003-2010 (FAO, 2010, p.14).

Appendix 2: List with Acronyms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DDR	Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration
EPRI	Economic Policy Research Institute
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
IDP	Internal Displaced Person
NAIP	National Agricultural Investment Plan
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SGBV	Sexual Gender Based Violence
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

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