



**Centre Universitaire  
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Agro-économie  
(CERDA)**

## **Rural Livelihoods and Labor Markets in Burundi**

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## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>3</b>
Scope of study.....	4
Methodology.....	4
Livelihoods and the Rural Labor Market.....	6
The context of Burundi.....	6
<b>Study Findings .....</b>	<b>9</b>
Livelihood Strategies .....	9
Manual Labor and the Rural Labor Market.....	10
Wages.....	12
Migration.....	14
Seasonality of opportunities, wages, and cash needs.....	15
Regional Characteristics .....	16
Issues facing vulnerable populations .....	16
Food For Work, Cash For Work, and Palm Plantation sites.....	17
Challenges to accessing manual labor opportunities .....	18
Other livelihood challenges .....	18
<b>Conclusions.....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Operational Recommendations.....</b>	<b>21</b>
Targeting.....	21
Timing.....	22
Payment and Wages.....	22
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Annex 1: Field Research Sites .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Annex 2: Food Security Monitoring System (FSMS) Zones ...</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Annex 3: Focus Group Interview Guide .....</b>	<b>26</b>

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## **Introduction**

Burundi is emerging from more than a decade of intense conflict that has disrupted the lives and livelihoods of its more than seven million inhabitants. While the peace process is by no means a *fait accompli*, the increasing security in the country necessitates a shift from emergency to recovery activities by intervening organizations. Addressing the evolving needs of individuals and households requires understanding their livelihood strategies and how these strategies have changed in response to the multiple shocks that have occurred since 1993: not only the destructive conflict that uprooted 1.2 million people and resulted in the deaths of more than 300,000, disrupted agricultural production, and decimated livestock herds, but also more recent natural shocks that have further devastated the agricultural sector through which the vast majority of Burundians make a living. While subsistence agriculture dominates the economic activities of Burundi, studies undertaken by the World Food Program (WFP) in 2004 indicate that manual labor is also an important source of income in rural areas, particularly among more vulnerable households. However, little is known about the rural labor market through which these Burundians access opportunities.

### *Scope of study*

Supporting recovery necessitates an understanding of the market structures shaping the context of interventions and their ability to support or withstand activities. In the case of manual labor, the labor market involves the supply and demand for manual labor and the dynamics of cash and in-kind pay structures. While information exists on formal and urban-based labor markets, much less is known of rural labor markets. WFP therefore commissioned a study on rural livelihoods and labor markets to help guide the implementation of WFP Global Strategic Priority 2: Protect livelihoods in crisis situations and enhance resilience to shocks. Because of the importance of addressing the realities confronting vulnerable households, the study specifically targets areas with high proportions of vulnerable households. It will closely complement a market profiling study, focusing on trade in food commodity markets, and a study on improving cash crop production to raise rural household incomes. Together these studies will inform decision-making on the complementary roles of food, non-food and cash-based interventions.

It is important to note the limitations of this study, which inevitably touches on a host of complex issues tied into those of livelihoods and employment. The ultimate goal is to inform programming that can enable households to cope with present and future shocks, not address the structural poverty and unemployment issues, which are numerous.

### *Methodology*

The study, jointly undertaken by the WFP Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping (VAM) Unit in collaboration with the Centre Universitaire d'Etudes et de Recherche/Développement en Agro-économie (CERDA) of the University of Burundi, took place between April and May 2007. The methodology consisted of a desk review of literature and qualitative field research. A qualitative approach was chosen over a quantitative one for various reasons. First, the goal is to describe the processes, dynamics, and reasons underlying trends in livelihoods and the rural labor market. Second, when taking into account the goals of the study and the amount of time and resources needed to perform quantitative household surveys, a qualitative approach emerged as the most sensible one. Questions were posed to groups and key informants regarding livelihood activities and manual labor, with the goal of understanding the scope of these issues. Proportions given

in response to these questions are therefore based on the subjective perceptions of participants. Secondary quantitative data is used to provide background information and complement the research findings. The desk review examined literature by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), World Bank, donors, and academics related to livelihood and labor market issues in Burundi.

To select the sites for field research, a combination of random and purposive sampling was used. Based on previous research, WFP and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) delineated five food security zones in Burundi: Lacustre, Plateau Nord, Bas, Collines and Sud Ouest (see **Annex 2** for map of zones). Because the Sud Ouest zone is generally considered the most food secure and least vulnerable, it was eliminated from the sample pool. From among sites designated as vulnerable through WFP Burundi's Food Security Monitoring System (FSMS), three collines each were chosen from Lacustre, Bas, and Collines, and four from Plateau Nord as research sites.<sup>1</sup> In order to gain insight into the dynamics of areas benefiting from projects offering manual labor opportunities, two collines with Food For Work and Cash For Work activities were also chosen (the former in Collines and the latter in Plateau Nord). Also, an area near a large palm plantation in Lacustre, known for receiving migrant labor, was also targeted.<sup>2</sup>

Focus group interviews and interviews with key informants were the primary data collection techniques employed in the field. Key informants were Sector Chiefs, Colline Chiefs, and NGOs. In each colline visited, focus group interviews were conducted with a group of married men and women, men only, women-headed households, and vulnerable persons/households.<sup>3</sup> The community itself identified the vulnerable persons and households, as opposed to the researchers. The vulnerable tended to fit into categories of vulnerability used in the development and humanitarian sphere: women-headed households (particularly older women), orphan-headed households, elderly, recent returnees, land-poor households, and handicapped. Focus group interviews were conducted with a total of 53 groups. The groups ranged in size from six people to more than forty. Researchers used an interview guide with thirty questions related to livelihood activities and manual labor.

Collines were notified in advance through administrative channels about the visit in order to ensure adequate participation. Upon arrival at the site, the purpose of the study was explained to those present, emphasizing that the goal was not to register people for assistance, but to gain a more clear understanding of their livelihood activities in order to better inform intervening organizations. People were then divided into focus groups. The number of people present often surpassed the number people needed for a manageable focus group discussion, so all did not participate. In cases where people had traveled to the

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<sup>1</sup> French for "hills," *collines* are the smallest geographic administrative grouping in Burundi. While populations vary, collines tend to have around 1,000 households.

<sup>2</sup> The data from this colline varied from other data gathered, owing to the presence of the palm plantation and increased manual labor opportunities. It was therefore examined separately and not mixed with data from other research sites. Because the Food For Work and Cash For Work sites data did not vary from the other sites visited (likely owing to the temporary nature of these projects) it was taken into account along with the other sample collines in the data analysis.

<sup>3</sup> The study can be said the focus much more on the supply of manual labor (workers) than the demand for it by employers, though some people participating in focus group discussions had employed others at one point. Interviewing rural employers about their employment practices (why they hire certain people, if they tend to hire the same people on regular basis, why they use certain payment structures, etc) would have been an interesting element of the study, but as rural employers are very numerous and diverse, the process of identifying them and including an employer interview component proved unrealistic.

site and waited specifically for the visit, telling them to leave was not always realistic. Many focus groups therefore had numbers larger than the originally planned 8-10 persons.

Given the importance of the focus group interview methodology in the study, particular attention was paid to leading focus group interviews in a manner that encouraged participation from most members of the group and verification of responses through follow-up questions. The persons leading the focus group discussions all have substantial experience in qualitative field research.<sup>4</sup>

### *Livelihoods and the Rural Labor Market*

Examining rural livelihoods and the rural labor market first requires an understanding of these two concepts, which are far from synonymous. Livelihoods are generally considered activities undertaken in order to live and the resources used in these endeavors. Manual labor – performing tasks for compensation – is one such activity. Livelihoods are sustainable when they can withstand shocks while maintaining or improving capacities and assets.<sup>5</sup>

The buying and selling of manual labor occurs within the context of the labor market. The labor market is composed of two basic elements: the supply of manual labor (able-bodied persons looking for work) and the demand for manual labor (jobs). In general, the intersection of the supply and demand result in the price for manual labor, i.e. wages. However, in the context of markets that are not perfectly functioning, lack of information flow and barriers to mobility can create situations where wages are not uniform throughout or where they do not adjust in a timely fashion to changes in supply and demand, in addition to the more general presence of different pay scales for different tasks.

### *The context of Burundi*

The overall economic situation in Burundi has been one of substantial decline since the onset of the crisis in 1993. GDP has decreased substantially, with per capita income falling from \$214 to \$83 dollars in 2004.<sup>6</sup> Resorting to financing public debt through expanding the money supply, the resulting inflation has increased the prices of goods and chipped away at the real incomes of Burundians.<sup>7</sup> Burundians consulted for the country's Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper (PRSP) felt that poverty has increased significantly and that there has been a decrease in both production and access to economic resources.<sup>8</sup> Sixty-eight percent of Burundians lived below the national poverty line in 2002.<sup>9</sup>

The extreme poverty and lack of access to basic social services has established Burundi as one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. It is also one of the least urbanized; Burundi has a low urbanization rate of 7-10%.<sup>10</sup> The issue of rural livelihoods is therefore one that concerns the vast majority of Burundi's population.

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to the international consultant, the field research team was composed of 3 researchers from CERDA and two Assistant Program Officers from WFP Burundi Vulnerability Assessment Mapping Unit.

<sup>5</sup> DFID – Notes on Sustainable Livelihoods, Adapted from Chambers, R. and G. Conway (1992) *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century*. IDS, Working document n°296. Brighton: IDS

<sup>6</sup> Poverty Reduction Strategies Paper, 7

<sup>7</sup> PRSP

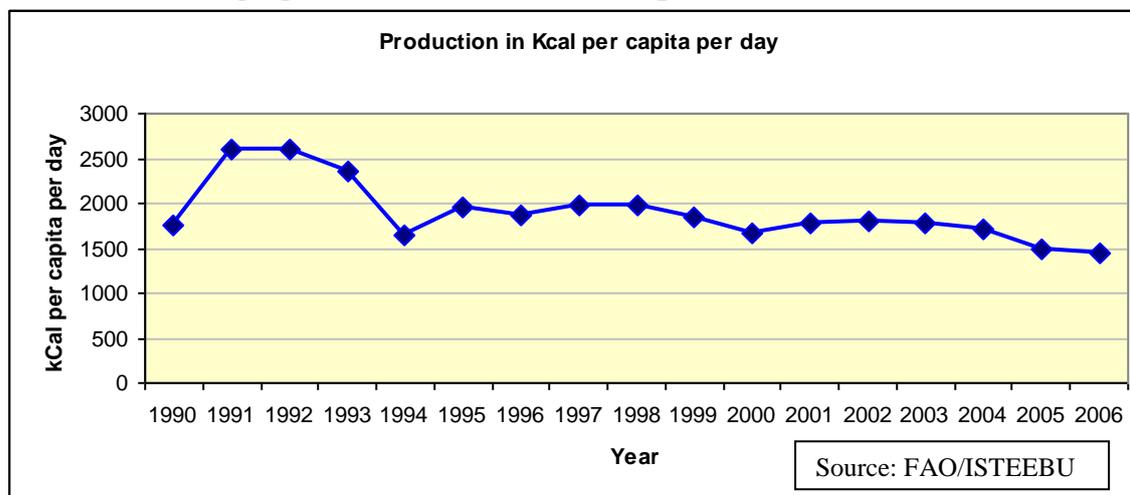
<sup>8</sup> PRSP, 27

<sup>9</sup> Garcia et. al, 6

<sup>10</sup> Nkurunziza et. al puts the rate at 7% and Garcia et. al at 10%

Agricultural production is the primary livelihood strategy in Burundi, both as the primary source of food for most households as well as an important source of revenue.<sup>11</sup> It is estimated that 90%-94% of Burundi's workforce is engaged in the agricultural sector.<sup>12</sup> However, agricultural production has not kept up with population growth, having decreased 15% in the last decade.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 1: Decreasing Agricultural Production Per Capita**



Given the dominance of agricultural production in terms of economic activities, employment opportunities are closely linked to food production. Accurate employment statistics are difficult to come by,<sup>14</sup> but there is little doubt that rural unemployment and underemployment are high, owing to both inefficient agricultural and livestock practices, as well as social conflict.<sup>15</sup>

In a context of reliance on agricultural production for food and income, the issues of environmental degradation and access and availability of productive land are crucial. Whether the problem is viewed as one of land scarcity or population abundance, the heart of the conundrum is one of high population density. Burundi is the second most densely populated country in Africa.<sup>16</sup> Rural families on average have less than a hectare of productive land, which will only continue to decrease because of land degradation and the shrinking of parcels through inheritance.<sup>17</sup> While hardly a new problem, the stress on natural resources has been increasing through the years.<sup>18</sup> The over-exploitation of parcels has led to increased farming of hillsides, which are vulnerable to erosion. Increased erosion of vulnerable areas and decreasing soil fertility has undermined agricultural productivity and contributed to food scarcity.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> WFP VAM Study 2004

<sup>12</sup> Oketch and Polzer (105) put this figure at 90%, Banderembako (3) at 94%

<sup>13</sup> Banderembako, 4

<sup>14</sup> The QUIBB study (Unified Questionnaire on Well-Being Indicators 2006) addresses the issue of economic activity, but does not distinguish between work remunerated and non-remunerated activities, and includes people aged 5-70. Information on paid employment makes reference to people who have worked in the last seven days and people who have worked in the last twelve months without clarifying to which category their information applies.

<sup>15</sup> Banderembako, v, 21

<sup>16</sup> Banderembako, 11

<sup>17</sup> Oketch and Polzer, 90

<sup>18</sup> Banderembako, 1

<sup>19</sup> Oketch and Polzer, 122

Lack of productive land also leads to increased unemployment and underemployment, since small plots are unable to occupy agricultural households at all points of the year. The shortage of both productive land and off-farm work opportunities means that unemployment and underemployment are chronic problems facing the rural population.<sup>20</sup> The issue of land scarcity will only become more tenuous in light of the impending repatriation of the more than 350,000 Burundians still living outside of its borders, as farmers have taken over lands belonging to people who fled the country since the 1970s.

The devastating impact of the crisis, decreasing access to land, and growing environmental issues have also been coupled with natural shocks affecting agricultural production. Flooding and drought have negatively impacted agricultural production since 2000 in certain areas of the country, though the root of rural poverty stems mainly from population pressures resulting in poor land productivity.

While most households are engaged in subsistence agriculture, manual labor presents an important livelihood strategy because of declining production per capita. A study by WFP in Burundi showed that manual labor was as an income source for 25-40% of households in various provinces. In six out of sixteen provinces, it was primary source of income for the majority of households.<sup>21</sup>

The labor market is characterized by a large supply of unskilled labor. It is extremely dependent on the agricultural sector,<sup>22</sup> which provides employment through work in fields, plantations, processing plants, and the transport of agricultural goods. The lack of productive land and decreasing production per capita therefore poses a serious constraint to employment opportunities because of this dependence. Rural unemployment and underemployment prevent the rural population from earning money that could be used in improving their production,<sup>23</sup> and an able workforce remains idle during periods outside of the growing season.<sup>24</sup> With a growth rate of 2.3% per year, approximately 90,000 new people enter the workforce each year.<sup>25</sup>

The legal, regulatory, and procedural environment in Burundi is one that has not facilitated the development of the private sector and job creation. According to indices that rank the ease of doing business in countries,<sup>26</sup> corruption and numerous barriers to starting businesses in Burundi pose notable challenges to attracting investments, particularly when it is compared to the neighboring countries of Rwanda and Uganda. One article describes Burundi's procedural framework as "outdated, inefficient, open to misuse, and poorly implemented."<sup>27</sup> In comparison to urban areas, rural ones have been even more neglected in terms of private sector development and subsequent employment opportunities. Investment decisions regarding the location of factories and skills needed to work at them have not benefited the rural population.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Banderembako, 21-22

<sup>21</sup> WFP Burundi Food Security and Vulnerability Assessment Report 2004, 21

<sup>22</sup> PRSP, 24

<sup>23</sup> PRSP, 24

<sup>24</sup> Banderembako, 5

<sup>25</sup> Garcia et. al, 29-30

<sup>26</sup> World Bank Rule of Law Index, World Bank Corruption Index, "Doing Business" series

<sup>27</sup> Webber, 15

<sup>28</sup> Oketch and Polzer, 126

Declining agricultural production per capita and the dependence of the labor market on the agricultural sector creates evident challenges for Burundians seeking to meet their basic needs as the country transitions into a recovery context. Even with less information available on the labor market in comparison to the multitude of facts on land use and agricultural production, it is evident that rural unemployment and under-employment are high. Households utilizing manual labor as a livelihood strategy in addition to or instead of agricultural production have serious difficulties accessing opportunities. Lack of income also causes some households to leave productive land idle because they cannot afford seeds and tools, relying on manual labor to provide their daily needs. The wages often do not permit them to save enough money to purchase agricultural inputs that would allow them to become less dependent on manual labor.

## Study Findings

### *Livelihood Strategies*

Given the dominance of agricultural production in the economy, it is not surprising that the vast majority of groups interviewed stated that agriculture was their primary livelihood activity. Ninety percent of groups stated that agricultural production was the principle means through which they meet the needs of their households. Eight percent of groups allotted it second place. Second to agriculture, manual labor emerged as the most important activity for households. Ten percent of groups stated manual labor was their most important livelihood activity. Sixty percent of groups said it was their second most important. According to focus groups, between 50-95% of households in each colline had a member who did manual labor, with the overall average being about 80%. Even given the limitations of groups in citing precise percentages, the importance of manual labor as a livelihood strategy used by households is undeniable.

Other livelihood activities include raising livestock, assistance (family, community, and humanitarian), small businesses, skilled labor (carpentry, masonry, sewing), mining, selling wood, associations (agricultural and livestock), crafts (making baskets and mats), borrowing, and salaried work.

**Table 2** shows the principle livelihood activities in order of importance as cited by focus groups.

The picture emerged that households and individuals, while very reliant on subsistence agriculture (and a small amount of cash crops in the form of coffee, tea and vegetables) are unable to meet their basic needs through agriculture alone because of declining household production. They therefore compliment their agricultural production with other activities, mainly manual labor, and to a more limited extent livestock herding.

**Table 2: Principle Livelihood Activities**

Activity	% of Groups Ranking Activity as most import, second, most important, etc.				
	1	2	3	4	5
Agriculture	90%	8%	0%	0%	0%
Manual labor	10%	60%	6%	6%	4%
Livestock	0%	18%	28%	12%	0%
Assistance	0%	4%	4%	2%	0%
Small business	0%	2%	30%	30%	4%
Skilled labor	0%	2%	6%	10%	14%
Mining	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Wood	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Associations	0%	0%	6%	0%	2%
Crafts	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%
Borrowing	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%
Salaried job	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%

## Manual Labor and the Rural Labor Market

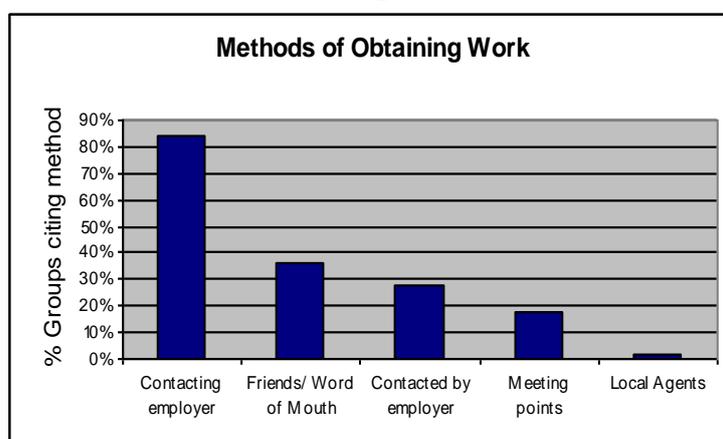
Confirming the dependency of the labor market on the agricultural sector, manual labor primarily consists of working in the fields of other people within and in many cases outside of their commune. One hundred percent of the groups interviewed cited remunerated agricultural activities outside of their own fields as a form of manual labor done in their community. Work related to coffee production (Burundi's main cash crop) was available to varying extents in nearly half of the collines visited. Non-agricultural manual labor exists but is less common: fetching water and firewood (cited by 17% of groups), construction (12%), brick fabrication (12%), transport of merchandise on foot or by bicycle (8%), domestic work (8%), and guarding livestock (6%).

There are very few processing plants, businesses, and development projects within or near the collines visited, thus they are not a significant source of jobs. According to those interviewed, factories outside of their colline or commune are difficult to get work at because they privilege people from surrounding areas, though migration for opportunities does exist. In one colline with a nearby coffee processing plant, the groups expressed that only a few people from their colline worked there. The work at the processing plants is mainly done from May to July (timed with the coffee harvest), and the plants normally only hire men. Men have traditionally dominated activities related to cash crops in Burundi, including working at processing plants associated with them.

The sites selected deliberately because of Food For Work (FFW) and Cash For Work did evidently have projects that provided manual labor opportunities for a significant number of people, but the work was temporary (the FFW project visited employed people for four working days, while the Cash For Work project employed for 20 working days). In another case, a school was being constructed, employing 34 people<sup>29</sup> for a period of approximately three months. A final case of employment through non-agricultural activities was Ryamukona colline, where a man employs some of the local population in small scale mining. People who work for him in turn hire people to do manual labor in their fields. The overall tendency is one of very limited opportunities for manual labor through projects, processing plants, and businesses, and when jobs are available through projects, they are of a temporary nature.

The question of "who gives jobs" is one that the study approached by asking those looking for work and not the employers themselves. Employers are numerous and diverse.

**Table 3: Methods of Obtaining Work**



Essentially, they are people who can afford to pay someone to work in their field. This does not necessarily mean that the employer is very well off: they may even be working alongside the person they hire. Many people participating in group discussions have at one point or another employed someone

<sup>29</sup> This number will increase for certain phases of construction. Mainly men were being employed by the project, but women will eventually be employed to fetch water.

to work in their field. Several cases were noted where people before the crisis would hire others to help them in their field. Now the situation has reversed, meaning that some people who used to provide employment opportunities are now seeking them. On the other end of the spectrum, there are large landowners who have such a need for manual labor that they employ someone who takes care of hiring daily laborers. People within communities know who has an amount of land significant enough to hire people to work it and who has the means to pay. Employers tend to be larger land-owners and people with herds, businesses, or salaries (teachers, administrators, etc.).

People mainly obtain work by contacting employers directly to see if they have available jobs (84% of groups said that people seeking manual labor opportunities use this strategy). Also, they use networks of friends, family, and neighbors in order to find out about opportunities. While less frequent, there are cases of employers directly contacting laborers, particularly those who have worked for them in the past and most often during busy planting and harvesting periods. About one-fifth of the groups mentioned meeting points both within and outside of Burundi where daily laborers go on a regular basis with their tools. Employers (or their representatives) come to these points to choose people to work for them. Women are often the last chosen, since there is a preference to hire men. Employers may engage workers for periods of a day, week, or longer, but in general people work on a day-to-day basis with nothing in the way of job security.

Manual labor is far and away the most common way that households with little or no land are able to meet their basic needs, but it is not the only one. Renting parcels and assistance by family, the community or humanitarian organizations also presents an important strategy for land poor households. However, community and family assistance has declined as the overall poverty situation has worsened; now households can less afford to help one another when compared to previous times.

Renting land in addition to farming one's own parcel (paying with cash, sharecropping - splitting the harvest, or paying through manual labor in the owner's fields) is a common strategy to address decreasing productive land access of households. Groups were asked about the percentages of households who farm only their own land, who only rent land, and who rent land in addition to farming their own parcels. People who rent land in addition to farming their own parcels are by far the largest group. The parcels that a household farms are often dispersed because of land rental. Owing to their lack of resources, vulnerable households often cannot rent land, or only do so against manual labor or through sharecropping. Completely landless households are uncommon, but the cases do exist. For instance, a head of household might have sold the land because of poverty. There are also children without inheritance rights and women who were abandoned by their husbands. Because women cannot inherit land under Burundian law, women-headed households face unique land access challenges. The return of refugees who fled the country in the 1970s will undoubtedly exacerbate land tenure issues. Land-poor households that are not labor poor rely heavily on manual labor as a means to rent land and earn cash.

The people not engaging in manual labor are divided into two categories: those unable to work and those who do not need to work. Elderly, handicapped, and people with chronic illnesses do not do manual labor. On the other hand, people with means (businesses, large amounts of land, salaried jobs) not only abstain from manual labor, they are the people who hire others to work in their fields.

The number of people able to survive solely or even principally through their own agricultural production has decreased in comparison to before the conflict, though natural shocks of droughts and flooding were often brought up as the main causes for falls in production. Because most households lost livestock and other assets that previously allowed them to weather shocks, manual labor has become an important strategy for households to address their declining per capita production. The proportion of people doing manual labor has therefore increased in comparison to before 1993. Every group interviewed felt that the proportion of people looking for work now is greater than before the conflict, often stating that it has more than doubled or tripled. At the same time, the decreasing per capita production and income reduces the capacity of people to employ others. Using a supply and demand framework, the supply of manual labor has increased while the demand for it has either decreased or grown at a significantly lower rate.

### *Wages*

Wages are predominantly paid in cash (as opposed to in-kind). Workers are paid either by day or by task performed. Daily wages range between 350-700Fbu/day. The average wage of all of the sites visited was 450Fbu/day. Laborers who work full days are usually given midday meals along with the wage. Wages may be adjusted according to whether a meal is given. Groups expressed that employers prefer to pay them in cash rather than food because cash is less valuable than what they would receive if they were paid in food. During harvest periods, laborers may negotiate with their employers to be paid in food.

Women make the same wages as men, except when they bring small children with them, taking time out of the day to feed them. In this case they are paid less. In areas with work being paid according to the task, more challenging tasks (such as working in the wetlands and harvesting) may be paid slightly above other work, though this tendency was not universal. These tasks are also more likely to be performed by men than women. Construction and transport, done only by men, pay higher than agricultural labor.

**Table 4: Wages by Colline and Secondary Data on Average Provincial Wages**

<b>Wages by Colline</b>				<b>Avg. Provincial Wages from 2007 Survey</b>	
<b>Colline</b>	<b>Commune</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Fbu/day</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Fbu/ day</b>
Kiramira	Rugombo	Cibitoke	500	Karusi	319
Nyeshanga	Gihanga	Bubanza	600	Ngozi	344
Kabarore	Ryamukona	Kayanza	350	Muyinga	379
Kinyovu	Ntega	Kirundo	400	Kirundo	422
Rwibikara	Busoni	Kirundo	400	Kayanza	426
Kigomero	Tangara	Muyinga	350	Rutana	527
Mugano	Giteramiyi	Ngozi	400	Cankuzo	595
Kibara	Kayagoro	Makamba	500	Ruyigi	619
Kinanira	Gisuru	Ruyigi	425	Makamba	839
Bumba	Gisagara	Cankuzo	500	Bururi	981
Bukirasazi	Shombo	Karusi	400		
Ntunda	Gishubi	Gitega	500		
Busimba	Muramvya	Muramvya	600		
Kavya	Muramvya	Muramvya	500		
Kanenge	Rumonge	Bururi	1000		

Source: WFP/UNHCR Survey on Sustainable Reintegration of Returnees (2007)

Wages do not vary throughout the year, despite the seasonality of employment opportunities. They do vary within provinces and even communes. Two collines were visited that were located within ten kilometers of one other. The daily wages differed by 20%. As with daily wage data collected by a WFP/UNHCR assessment, zones known for having larger numbers of work opportunities had wages that were higher than other zones (see **Table 4**). Workers migrating to Rwanda and Tanzania also make higher wages than those available on their colline of origin, though the wages were lower than those earned by nationals. As stated earlier, manual labor done in exchange for renting land also occurs, as does sharecropping, where a person farms the land of another and shares the harvest with him.

While the amount of money earned per day has increased in the last 15 years, the sharp decline in purchasing power means that real wages have decreased overall. Before the crisis one day's wage could feed a household for two to three days. Now this work does not necessarily buy a full meal ration for the family. Participants often said that "money no longer has any value." Women-headed households in Gisuru stated that before the conflict they earned 200Fbu/day, but added that beans cost 25Fbu/kg and 50Fbu bought enough manioc for two kilograms of flour. Now they earn 500Fbu for a day's work, which can buy one kilogram of beans. Most groups gave specific food prices from more than a decade ago to show the decline in real wages, usually mentioning the concomitant decline in income from other sources, such as agricultural production and livestock.

In two-headed households, men generally control money earned from manual labor (regardless of whether the husband or wife worked) and almost always control money earned from the sale of agricultural commodities. Cases exist where the person who works keeps the money they earn, even if it is the wife, but typically the husband has the final word on expenditures.

**Table 5: Payment Preferences**

Focus Group	% of groups who preferred		
	Food	Cash	Food/Cash
General	54%	8%	38%
Men	30%	20%	50%
Vulnerable	55%	0%	45%
Women-headed	46%	0%	54%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>46%</b>

Groups were asked whether they preferred to be paid in food or cash. The preference to receive compensation for work in the form of food at some point during the year was predominant. Almost half of the groups interviewed stated that they would prefer to be paid in food 100% of the year. Only six percent of the groups preferred to receive cash as compensation at all periods of the year. No vulnerable or female-headed household focus groups preferred only being paid in cash. **Table 5** summarizes the responses from focus groups.

Regarding the preference for food, participants emphasized the food insecurity that their households have faced in recent years. They often said that nearly all of their money goes to food, so being paid directly in food saves them from dealing with market fluctuations in price and food availability.<sup>30</sup> They feel that when they are paid in food they make more than they would if they were paid in cash. Two groups actually stated that they would prefer to be compensated with a hoe, which is a crucial agricultural tool in Burundi. When asked why not work for cash and use the money to buy a hoe, the group reasoned that they might not spend the money on the hoe if they are given cash, particularly with all the needs in the household.

<sup>30</sup> The proportion of income spent on food is a criteria used by FSMS to designate vulnerable areas. In these areas, households spent between 67-77% of their income on food in February 2007.

For the groups who preferred a combination of food and cash, they preferred payment in cash when non-food purchases and investments needed to be made. These periods were mainly September (for school-related expenses, seeds and agricultural inputs for Season A) and January/February for seeds and inputs for Season B. Other groups were vaguer, citing a need for cash when more unpredictable expenses arrive, such as illnesses within the household. There were certain periods of the year when payment in food was described as essential, the most notable being the month of April. This month, during the lean period represents a period when household food stocks are largely depleted, food availability in markets is low and food prices high.

The six percent of groups preferring to be paid in cash throughout the year described cash as being more flexible and allowing them to make investments.

### *Migration*

Internal and cross-border migration for labor opportunities has traditionally occurred, but it has increased in correlation with the growing number of Burundians seeking labor opportunities. The main internal receiving areas are those with large plantations, notably Imbo (Nyanzalac, Rumonge, Kigwena, Bubanza, Cibitoke) and Moso. Migration into Rwanda and Tanzania for work opportunities is common for areas located close to their borders. Migration can be done on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis.

Some men leave for entire agricultural seasons within and outside of Burundi. Migration for longer periods is typically done by younger and stronger people, and men as opposed to women. This is not to say that no women migrate for work opportunities: for collines visited bordering Tanzania, women do go to Tanzania to work in fields, but only on a daily basis. Security issues, needs within their own households, and traditional gender roles make migrating for longer periods a less viable option for women as compared to their male counterparts. The only exception is women who leave for urban settings to work as domestics.

Working outside of the country can provide advantages regarding wages and work availability. Those doing work in Rwanda and Tanzania reported that daily wages are higher in comparison to what they can make on their colline of origin, even if they are paid less than Rwandans and Tanzanians. In Gisagara for example, people can make 50-100% more money by working in Tanzania than they would make locally, and more jobs are available. Women return to the colline at the end of each day and only work close to the border, but men often migrate farther into Tanzania and stay for up to three months. Most of the people who work locally are those who do not have the strength to travel for work in Tanzania.

However, there are also risks related to theft and expulsion for those working across the border, including examples of Tanzanian police taking money earned by Burundians when they cross back into Burundi. Some people pay for *Laisser Passer* documents while other simply cross the porous borders unofficially. The issue of expulsion was not raised, but pressure from Rwanda and Tanzania to reduce the amount of migrant workers along the border undoubtedly calls into question the sustainability of cross-border manual labor activities.

Internal migrants not only make higher wages in areas outside of their colline, they often make more than locals because they are known for being younger, stronger, and harder workers (as they seek to maximize earnings in a limited time period). Internal migrants commonly leave for several months at a time for agricultural work in other regions. The issue of internal migrants taking jobs away from locals was sited in areas receiving migrant labor. In the context of surplus labor and a shortage of opportunities, it is an evident source of tension.

People may migrate knowing of an opportunity through a friend or through work that they have done in the past, both of which will generally result in a higher wage than if they show up with no link to the employer. On the other hand, people also simply take their hoe and go, heading for the zones known for agricultural manual labor opportunities.

### *Seasonality of opportunities, wages, and cash needs*

Because of the dependence of manual labor on the agricultural sector, work opportunities wax and wane in rhythm with the planting seasons. Opportunities are most available from September to December (Season A) and January to March (Season B).

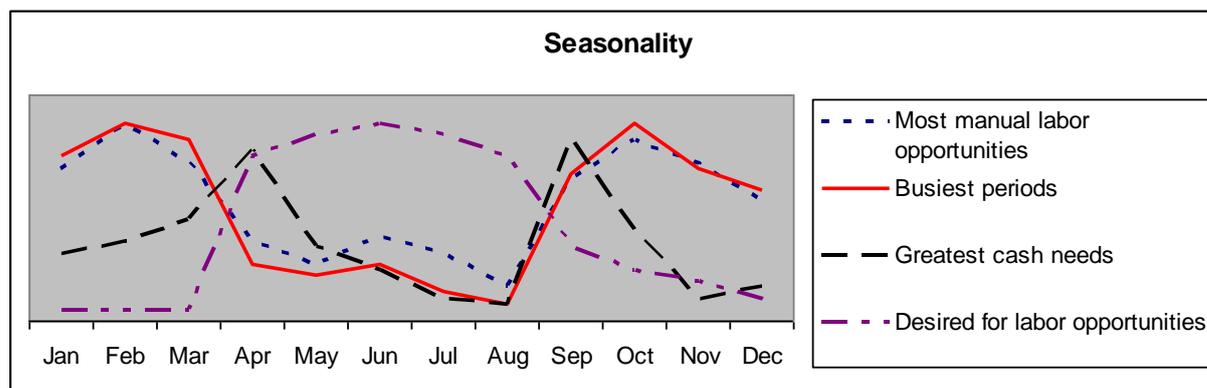
Access to wetlands (“*marais*”) not only affects the ability of households to produce food in Season C (June – September), but their proximity to exploitable wetlands also impacts the amount of agricultural work available outside of the September to March period. The same is true for areas with coffee and other cash crops. In Ntega, work is done November through April for Seasons A and B, April to May for coffee activities, and July through August for wetlands crops. In Kabarore, work related to coffee picking and transformation takes place between April and July. Coffee field maintenance occurs at other times of the year. In Tangara, work was most available from May to July because of coffee and crops in wetlands. However, the vulnerable group stated that they were not as involved in coffee production and mainly worked from September to February. Groups in Muramvya discussed vegetable cash crops as a source of revenue and jobs from June to October, and men in Gihanga harvested rice from May to June. While tea was rarely mentioned, it is also a cash crop in Burundi. Refer to Annex 5 for a Seasonal Calendar and Calendar of Activities in collines visited.

In areas where doing manual labor on wetlands farmland was not an option because they were non-existent or not exploitable due to heavy rains, construction, brick-making, transport and other non-agricultural jobs were the only summer working options. The vast reliance on the agricultural sector for manual labor opportunities means that work is difficult to find in the summer months in these areas.

Considering the lack of farming and manual labor activities, June - August is the least busy period for households. These months also correspond with the times when cash and food are most available to households as they are just after the Season B harvest.

Household agricultural production may be affected by the timing of manual labor opportunities. In Kayogoro, the vulnerable group described being chronically late for Season A planting because they do manual labor at the beginning of the season in Tanzania in order to purchase seeds to plant. If households are unable to make enough money for seeds or their production is impacted by late planting, they become enter into a cycle of relying heavily on manual labor.

**Table 6: Summary of Seasonal Opportunities, Busy Periods and Cash Needs<sup>31</sup>**



People would most like increased manual labor opportunities between April and August, though groups constantly reinforced that they need more opportunities year-round. The need for work in April coincides with periods of diminishing household food stocks, while the June – August is the time of year when jobs are least available, even if households do have food due to harvests.

April and September were cited most frequently as the months where households had the greatest cash needs. In April, with low food stocks, households need cash in order to purchase food. In September, they need cash in order to pay for school expenses and purchase seeds.

Responses on seasonal issues did not vary significantly between men, women-headed households, and vulnerable group, though nearly every vulnerable group mentioned April as a period with significant cash needs. In contrast, April was cited by approximately half of the non-vulnerable focus groups. This implies that the cash needs of the vulnerable are closely associated with their food needs.

### *Regional Characteristics*

The study findings establish characteristics of zones where populations have more access to labor opportunities. People living in areas bordering Rwanda and Tanzania have increased opportunities because of work across the border. However, the sustainability of cross-border migration is fragile given previous attempts of Rwanda and Tanzania to reduce or halt this practice, as well as security issues when crossing the border. Areas with cash crop production and large plantations (notably Imbo and Moso) provide more manual labor jobs than areas with only subsistence farming, and those with access to wetlands have more year-round opportunities. Zones that are isolated because of poor infrastructure and significant distances from urban areas are dependent on local opportunities or migrating for longer periods, as short-term migration is not practical. Isolated non-border areas with only subsistence crop production and no access to wetlands therefore have the least opportunities for manual labor.

### *Issues facing vulnerable populations*

Certain categories of vulnerable households are prone to land access problems and therefore rely more heavily on manual labor as a livelihood strategy, notably women-

<sup>31</sup> This chart was created by assigning one point to each month stated by a group as corresponding to the period in question. The chart therefore shows the frequency of responses as a proxy for intensity.

headed households, recent returnees, and land-poor households in general. The importance of manual labor depends on whether they have access to productive land. If the process of being widowed, abandoned, orphaned or displaced resulted in decreased land access, then manual labor is a crucial activity. Recent returnees do appear to rely more heavily on manual labor as a source of income in comparison to the rest of the population, though those living in border areas might even have advantages when it comes to manual labor opportunities, as they have networks established in their zones of displacement.

Other vulnerable populations, including elderly, chronically ill, and handicapped, rely less on manual labor because the lack of capacity to perform such activities is at the root of their vulnerability. Manual labor is therefore not a strategy used by labor-poor vulnerable households.

### *Food For Work, Cash For Work, and Palm Plantation sites*

Three of the collines were chosen purposively because of the presence of UN and NGO projects (one Food For Work and one Cash For Work) and the proximity of palm plantations. The presence of projects or activities providing manual labor opportunities to large numbers of people creates a significant departure from the other collines, which rarely had opportunities outside of agriculture and not on the same scale as those provided by projects and plantations.

Participants in the Cash For Work project (Busoni Commune, Kirundo Province) were in the process of working twenty days over a period of month, after which the project employs other groups of participants for twenty day cycles. The daily wage of 1000Fbu was more than double what they would make locally. The project was hailed as an opportunity to make a higher wage, have steady income for a month, and keep them from migrating. Many of the participants said that without the project they would have left for Rwanda or other locations to look for work for this period. When asked whether they preferred to receive food or cash for as payment, this group expressed a preference for food from their general agricultural employers (not NGO projects) and cash from projects. Even with the temporary nature of the employment, participants felt the project made a difference by providing a boost income that would otherwise take months to earn. Some even employed others to work on their field during their participation in the project.

The focus group interviews conducted in Rumonge (Bururi Province), a commune with significant palm plantations, revealed that manual labor is a more important strategy than agriculture for many households. Two of the three focus groups ranked it as their most important livelihood strategy, including the women-headed households, none of whom had access to land. They depend on manual labor, selling palm oil and branches, and assistance rather than agriculture. The importance of manual labor was also evident in the daily wage of 1000Fbu. Compared with wages from the more vulnerable collines, this rate is almost 50% higher than the highest wage from the other research sites. It is nearly three times higher than the lowest wage. Even with more jobs available locally through plantations and factories, finding employment was seen as a challenge, precisely because the palm plantations attract migrant laborers. Before the economic situation worsened, driving more people to look for manual labor, the issue of migrant workers was not a problem. Now several of the focus group participants expressed that they want a law passed prioritizing local labor over migrant workers.

The Food For Work project (Muramvya Commune, Muramvy Province) yielded more insight into the perceived importance of associations than of the FFW project itself. The Association Femme and Environment of Burundi undertook their anti-erosion activities before all the details of the project agreement were worked out and received the food more than a month after completing the work. Because a WFP visit determined that the work could be done by 300 people, the 1500 people who participated (working a total of four days each) split each ration five ways. The focus groups emphasized the importance of building up their association in order to have more opportunities in the future for income through agriculture and manual labor. Their association received money from President Nkurunziza, which went into livestock, seedling multiplication, and anti-erosion activities. Both of the FFW focus groups (one of women-headed households and one of general FFW participants) stated that they prefer to be paid in food because for two reasons: they always need food, and they can always sell some of the vegetables which they grow, in order to meet their cash needs (vegetables are a common cash crop in this zone).

### *Challenges to accessing manual labor Opportunities*

The dearth of work opportunities in comparison to the significant number of people seeking them poses the overall challenge to accessing manual labor opportunities. The supply of workers exceeds the demand for them, resulting in chronic underemployment. Groups expressed that the most significant obstacles to accessing manual labor opportunities are the lack of development projects, factories, and businesses that could provide jobs, lack of training in skilled labor (carpentry, masonry, sewing, and pottery), and adult illiteracy. One-third of groups also blamed poor infrastructure (roads, water resources, and electricity). Their reasoning was two-fold: the poor infrastructure prevents business and investments that would lead to jobs, and projects that would improve infrastructure would themselves provide jobs. Other challenges to accessing employment opportunities were the lack of income-generating activities and investments and the presence of migrant laborers.

**Table 7: Challenges to accessing work**

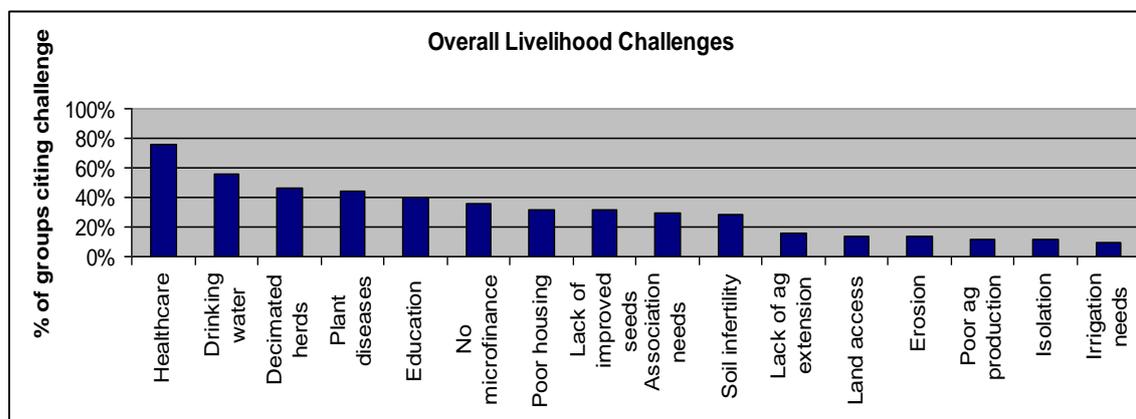
<b>Challenges to accessing work</b>	<b>% groups stating challenge</b>
Lack of development projects or factories	82%
Lack of training for skilled labor and literacy for adults	50%
Lack of infrastructures (roads, water resources and electricity)	34%
Lack of Income-generating activities	14%
Lack of investments	10%
Migrant labor coming from other provinces	6%

### *Other livelihood challenges*

Livelihoods concern more than the economic activities that people undertake: they also concern the capacity of people to pursue these activities in terms of skills, know-how, and health. Groups were therefore asked about the broader challenges confronting them in the pursuit of their livelihoods.

Lack of access to public healthcare was the most commonly cited general livelihood challenge, followed by lack of drinking water and the decimation of livestock herds because of the war. The loss of animals means not only decreased income, but lack of manure with which to fertilize fields. Just less than half of the groups stated that plant diseases were a major challenge, particularly cassava mosaic. The lack of credit at reasonable interest rates poses a challenge for investing in productive assets. Also, when households are forced to take on debts to meet immediate needs, they do so at an extremely high cost. Interest rates are commonly 100%. Borrowing against future crop production,

the rates can be much higher. Many of the challenges were linked to agricultural production: erosion, lack of agricultural extension agents, land access, plant diseases, lack of improved seeds, and irrigation needs. Forty percent of groups cited barriers to education access, either through school overcrowding, absence of secondary schools, or distances to schools. While the question of livelihood challenges provided a forum for a long list of grievances and obstacles, it gives a snapshot of the importance that Burundians place on health, sanitation, livestock, agriculture and education as means to living productive lives.



**Table 8: Overall Livelihood Challenges**

## Conclusions

The information gathered from the study leads to numerous conclusions of interest to organizations launching interventions that take into account rural livelihood strategies and the dynamics of the rural labor market.

**There is an increasing need for manual labor opportunities in a context of excessive supply of labor and growing importance of manual labor as a source of income for households.**

The rural population can be divided into two dominant categories: landowners who work their land and sell some of their labor, and landowners who work their land and hire labor. The line between these groups is fluid: people who once hired labor to work in their field now seek work in the field of others. Completely landless households are rarer but do exist, and they survive by selling their labor or through assistance.<sup>32</sup> As more households have fallen below the poverty line and cannot survive only through agricultural production, the supply of labor has increased. The swing towards manual labor might be viewed as a positive coping strategy in response to the shocks impacting agricultural production, but the overall backdrop of population growth and decreasing land productivity indicates that the importance of manual labor as a livelihood strategy – and therefore the number of people seeking labor opportunities – will only increase in the long run.

While supply has increased, demand for manual labor has not kept pace. If anything, it has decreased as those formerly able to hire labor shift into the category of those seeking it.

<sup>32</sup> This is also a general division in developing countries. As Ranis discusses: “Given the normal case of heterogeneous land ownership, the population of any LDC’s traditional sector can be partitioned into three classes: large landowners who work their own land and hire labor, small landowners who work their own land and sell some of their labor, and landless workers who sell all of their labor in the rural labor market.”

The result is chronic underemployment in rural areas. In other words, people are involuntarily working less than full-time because of the lack of opportunities.

The supply of labor is inelastic, meaning that an increase or decrease in wages does not have an effect on the number of people looking for work. Their subsistence existence motivates them to take opportunities even if wages decrease.

**Wages are stable throughout the year, but have gone down in real terms as compared to before 1993 and vary between and within provinces.**

The strong seasonality of opportunities does not result in nominal wage differences throughout the year. However, because food prices decrease after the harvest and increase during the lean season as food becomes less available on the market, real income does vary accordingly.

Wages vary significantly between regions, with areas with large plantations and stronger demand for manual labor having higher wages. Lack of standard wages between zones with similar characteristics shows that labor markets are localized, with either poor flow of information between zones or a labor market that does not adjust to the information. In real terms, the labor market has responded over time to the increase in supply and decreased demand for manual labor: real wages have decreased significantly as compared to before 1993.

**While manual labor has become an increasingly important livelihood strategy, wages, lack of opportunities, and seasonal nature of opportunities prevent households from making enough income through manual labor alone to cover basic needs.**

Daily wages of 350-700fbu/day do not permit Burundians to live above the poverty line through manual labor alone. The seasonal availability of agricultural manual labor opportunities hinders the rural population from working outside of the principle agricultural seasons, and shortages of opportunities in general mean that they cannot always find work even during the agricultural seasons. Areas with coffee and tea cash crops, off-season vegetables, and other crops grown outside of the two principle seasons have a double advantage of income diversification through the sale of crops and through labor opportunities at multiple periods of the year. Because men dominate cash crop production, opportunities associated with cash crops likely favor men more than women. Because opportunities coincide with the times when people are working their own fields, there is also a risk of delaying their own planting in order to obtain money for seeds through manual labor.

**The high proportion of money spent on food, the volatility of prices, and a “famine mentality” have led to a dominant preference to be paid in food or combination of food and cash.**

The strong preference to be remunerated in food at some point of the year is closely linked to volatile, increasing food prices and recent shocks devastating subsistence agricultural production. **Annex 4** shows the evolution of bean and sweet potato prices since 2002. The preference for food was also often described in terms of food having a higher value than cash, while also being paid directly what they needed most. The emphasis on value indicates that most people will prefer the pay structure with the highest value, assuming

that food is available in markets. The possible exception is women in two-headed households who might not control cash income.

**While men and women generally paid the same, women have fewer opportunities and are less likely to migrate for opportunities, putting them at a significant disadvantage in the labor market.**

Women make the same money as men when performing the same work, with the exception of women who bring their small children. However, men are privileged for certain work that is seen as requiring stronger laborers. Men can migrate for work opportunities for weeks and months, while women are restricted to working on their colline or daily migration. They are therefore disadvantaged within the labor market.

**Health, drinking water, and agricultural efficiency issues are pressing concerns for households undermining their livelihood security.**

The findings and conclusions on livelihoods, manual labor, and the rural labor market in vulnerable zones in Burundi will help inform organizations considering manual labor interventions to help protect livelihoods and strengthen the ability of households to cope with shocks through increased and diversified income. However, food production remains the main livelihood activity of Burundians, and challenges to accessing healthcare, drinking water, and education impact their livelihood security. Interventions that address the pressing needs of cassava mosaic, erosion, and low agricultural productivity will ultimately help Burundians increase their household production and income. Interventions promoting access to healthcare, safe drinking water, and education will increase the capacity of individuals and households to pursue livelihood activities, including manual labor.

## **Operational Recommendations**

The findings of the study can be used to inform targeting, timing, and payment structures for interventions offering manual labor.

### *Targeting*

Geographically, interventions should target zones with high levels of food insecurity. Concerning the selection of participants, Food For Work and Cash For Work interventions are often done on a self-targeting basis, meaning that in theory only the poorest families opt to participate. However, there is a very strong demand for labor opportunities remunerated in cash or food, meaning that participation rates will be very high if self-targeting is used. Ultimately the level of targeting depends on whether the goal of the project is to supply work opportunities to a large percentage of households in a given area or a limited number of opportunities to more vulnerable (but non-labor poor) households. Given the importance of manual labor among women-headed households, land poor households, and other vulnerable non-labor poor households, these households should be given priority in interventions. Vulnerable labor poor households need other assistance mechanisms as participation in work projects is not an option. While taking into account the disadvantaged position of women in the labor market is important, interventions should allow households to decide which member(s) participates in the project, as the income will most likely be controlled by the husband regardless of who participates.

### *Timing*

Interventions should take into account the times of year when households have the greatest food and cash needs, as well as when the least manual labor opportunities are least available. The months of April to September cover these periods (April and September because of food needs and cash needs, June to August because of lack of opportunities). Access to marshlands and cash crop production should be considered, since these two factors can influence whether jobs are available between June and August. While these times of year emerge as most appropriate for interventions, the overall shortage of work opportunities on a year round basis should not eliminate the possibility of interventions between December and March.

### *Payment and Wages*

The hand-to-mouth existence of people doing manual labor means that frequent payments are necessary for them to meet their daily needs. Projects offering manual labor opportunities should pay no less frequently than a weekly basis or, in the case of food rations, provide the first ration within a week of the onset of the work. This issue is particularly crucial during times of the year when households have low food stocks. Otherwise it is likely that some households will take on debt in order to meet their immediate needs, defeating the purpose of providing an income boost. Interventions must also ensure timely payment and should not divert resources to emergency activities if a project agreement has already been established.

Projects should pay with food or cash above the going rate for local labor, as these rates do not permit households to meet basic needs. While projects should assess food prices at the time of intervention, the rate of 1000Fbu/day, currently paid by NGOs implementing CFW projects, is a good starting point. Given the excess supply of labor and the fact that wages already differ within provinces and communes, it is unlikely that temporary work interventions, whether food or cash-based, would have any negative lasting impact on the local labor market in terms of wage distortion or shortages of manual labor for local employers.

The findings of this study are meant to be assist organizations seeking to help reinforce livelihoods and help households resist shocks. Ultimately, the preference of beneficiaries to be paid in food or cash is only one component of planning interventions. Cost effectiveness, institutional capacity, and the potential impact on markets of cash and food injections are examples of other crucial issues that projects need to take into account when deciding on appropriate intervention strategies to assist Burundian households as the country shifts from an emergency to recovery context.

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## Annex 1: Field Research Sites

Date	Colline	Commune	Province	Food Sec Zone	Focus Groups
4/4/2007	Kanenge	Rumonge	Bururi	Lacustre	General Group, Men, Women-headed households
4/5/2007	Kiramira	Rugombo	Cibitoke	Lacustre	General Group, Men, Women-headed households
4/6/2007	Nyeshanga	Gihanga	Bubanza	Lacustre	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/10/2007	Ryamukona	Kabarore	Kayanza	Plateau Nord	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/11/2007	Kinyoavu	Ntega	Kirundo	Plateau Nord	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/12/2007	Rwibikara	Busoni	Kirundo	Plateau Nord	General Group, Cash For Work participants, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/13/2007	Mugano	Giteramyi	Muyinga	Plateau Nord	General Group, Women-headed households, Recently Repatriated
4/13/2007	Kigomero	Tangara	Ngozi	Plateau Nord	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/16/2007	Kibara	Kayogoro	Makamba	Bas	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/17/2007	Kinanira	Gisuru	Ruyigi	Bas	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/18/2007	Bumba	Gisagara	Cankuzo	Bas	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/19/2007	Busimba	Shombo	Karusi	Collines	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/20/2007	Ntunda	Gishubi	Gitega	Collines	General Group, Men, Women-headed households, Vulnerable
4/23/2007	Kavya	Muramvya	Muramvya	Collines	FFW, FFW Women-headed households
4/23/2007	Busimba	Muramvya	Muramvya	Collines	General Group, Vulnerable



## Annex 3: Focus Group Interview Guide

### Rural livelihoods study and labor market

Date :

Colline :

Group :

Commune :

# persons :

Province :

- 
1. What are the major livelihoods? (prioritize)
  2. What is the proportion of the population who mainly rely on their own production?
  3. Are fields generally dispersed?
  4. Do they have access to the swamps?
  5. What is the proportion of the people who only farm their own land, the proportion of people who only rent land and those who do both?
  6. How do people without/with little land meet their needs?

#### *Those who work (out of their farm)*

7. What is the proportion of the people who work out of their farms?
8. What is the proportion of the people who work with projects, companies, factories, etc?
9. What are peak periods of those activities?
10. What do they do? At which period of the year?
11. How do they get the job?
12. What do they earn? (money/food)? How does income change throughout the year?
13. Did they prefer to be paid in cash or in food? Are there periods of they year when they would prefer to receive money or food?
14. Who in the household controls the earned income? Does this vary per activity? (i.e.: subsistence agriculture, cash crop agriculture)?
15. Do people leave their collines to work? Where do they go and why? For how long?
16. Who employs them?
17. Do children work? (in fields, within or outside households)? Do they work during some periods of the year?

#### *For the people who do not work outside their farm*

18. Why don't they work? (Try to discern if it is because of lack of opportunities, remote opportunities, lack of free time to work, because they have enough income or they do not find the job interesting).

#### *Other strategies*

19. What are the other strategies to meet basic needs (i.e.: transfer, humanitarian assistance)?

## **II. Background**

20. How have labor opportunities changed since the beginning of the conflict?
21. How has the income changed?
22. Are there more job seekers now (compared to pre-conflict period)? Is the demand satisfactory now?

### **III. Seasonal characteristics**

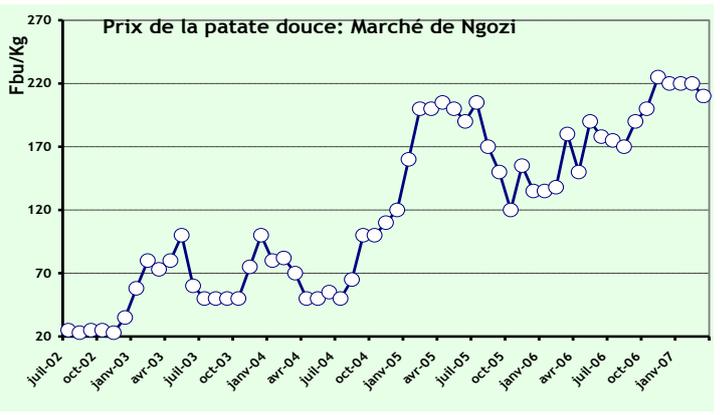
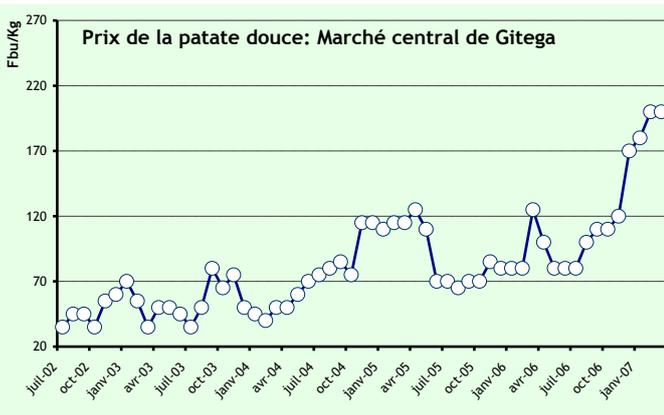
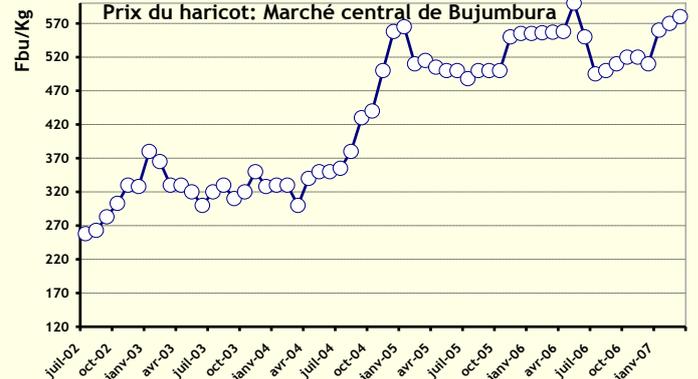
23. What are the busiest periods of the year/when they have free time the least?
24. What are the periods of the year when there are more labor opportunities?
25. Which periods of the year would you like to have more labor opportunities?
26. Which periods of the year do you need money the most?
27. Which periods of the year do you have money? (whatever source)

### **IV. Majors challenges**

28. What are the major challenges to meet households' needs?
29. What are the most important challenges to access labor opportunities?

### **V. Other comments**

## Annex 4: Prices of beans and sweet potato in Ngozi, Bujumbura and Gitega (July 2002 – March 2007)



Source: SAP-SSA Bulletin, May 2007

## **Annex 5 :Summary of Findings by Colline**