

SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF BURUNDI AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

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GLOSSARY

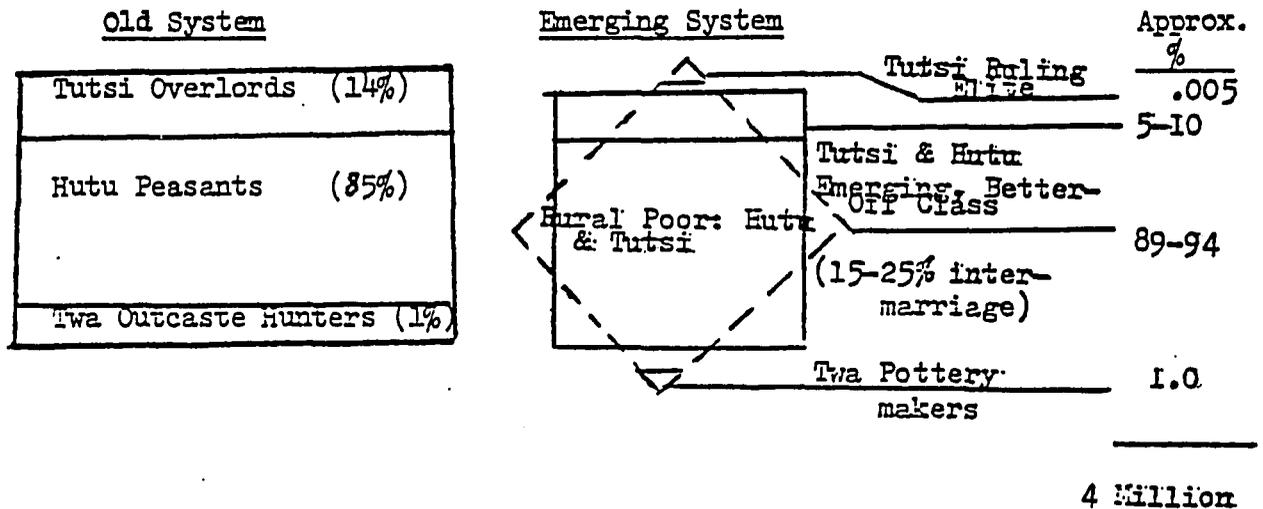
- AGACUPA : "The bottle", usually referring to a bottle of 'PRIMUS' BEER, the locally-brewed drink which presently and traditionally, in the form of homemade banana beer, forms an integral part of Murundi social relations.
- COLLINE : (French) literally hill, on which is located the rugo and its lands; colline de recensement is a group of collines grouped together for administrative and census purposes.
- IMAN : Murundi concept of single God, synonymous with 'religious harmony'.
- INCUTI : Traditional clan sub-section with economic, legal, inheritance functions; nuclear family once highly dependent on this sub-section.
- KWASHIORKOR : Condition of malnutrition resulting from shortage of protein; often sets in after weaning of child from mother.
- ITONGO : Totality of peasants property, including homestead, land, and livestock.
- MURUNDI : A person of Burundi.
- MUKURU : Superior in strength, social superiority, simply superior.
- MWAMI : The Tutsi monarch, whose authority ended in 1962
- RUGO : The Murundi homestead, the human settlement, including the people living in it.
- RUNDIKAZI : Woman of Burundi; Marundikazi is a Murundi woman.
- Transversal de paysannat (French) - single line settlement of peasant homesteads, each including the same fields as others in a straight line for ease of mechanization.
- UBGENGE : Intelligence, successful cleverness; traditionally attributed as innate to Tutsi but attainable by Hutu by chance.
- UPRONA : (French) - Unité Progrès National; Single Government controlled Party.

National Social and Political Setting of Burundi Agriculture

As Burundi is the "Heart of Africa", so the peasant is the heart of Burundi. The poor peasant includes Murundi men, women, and children -- both Hutu and Tutsi and a Hutu-Tutsi admixture. In the aftermath of the Spring 1972 inter-ethnic civil war, the poor, underproductive Murundi tiller has withdrawn into the colline, into his family in the rugo-homestead, into the "rugo of his mind". The elite class that rules from Bujumbura, though long on development promises and short on action, is dependent on the Murundi peasant for its own and ultimately the nation's very survival. The ethnically - defined ruling class is fully cognizant of the risk of not pushing forward the development of the colline. For their own self-interest, if nothing else, the leaders will be compelled in the long run to maximize the poor farmer's productivity while at the same time improving his lot.

Burundi society cannot be understood simply as a three-part ethnic or caste system -- Tutsi ('tall ones'), Hutu ('short ones'), and Twa ('outcastes'). Rather, it is a more subtle organization in which there is a cross-cutting of social class and ethnic lines. Over time, as the poverty of the average Murundi peasant increased while at the same time the introduction of cash crops helped some of that poor majority to rise above the absolute poverty line, the

caste division began to blur. Considerable intermarriage between Hutu and Tutsi has blurred it even more. To be sure, Tutsi continue to rule, with a small presence of Hutu in high Government positions,* but beneath that line drawn by the power elite we see mostly poverty and limited social mobility -- shared more or less equally by Hutu and Tutsi.



This system, whose lines are now just beginning to fade with some help from the rhetoric of harmony advocated by the President of the Second Republic, was once exploited by the Colonial (later mandate) power, by supporting one side, then the other, always keeping the pot boiling. And though there are deep historical roots for this Tutsi-Hutu division, the part this tactic of divide-and-rule played in strengthening already existing hostility and hatred should not

* Purportedly five ministers of a total of 15 and two Secretaries of State are of Hutu origin.

be discounted. A further step taken in insisting against the wishes of the United Nations to develop Burundi socio-economically at the expense of political growth in the mandate period cannot have but contributed towards the present political structure.

The fact of the matter is, however, that on the colline level Hutu and Tutsi peasants are often living side by side, marrying one another, drinking the favored banana beer together. Of course, the mistrust and suspicion stemming from inter-ethnic hostilities of 1965, 1969, 1972 have not disappeared, but these groups' main preoccupation is coaxing sufficient productivity from a rapidly exhausting land base to stay alive, while unsuccessfully coping with the environmental degradation caused in part by his own farming and pastoral practices, and reacting to these forces by stepping up production of the only true wealth he knows -- children.*

It is to these overwhelming forces, man-made and natural, that the Government must react. Even if the leadership did not have the will to improve the lot of the rural poor -- and, to the contrary, its three five-year plans ('68, '73, '78) go to some rhetorical length in supporting development of the rural

* Cattle, once the exclusive domain of the Tutsi (except for those they gave in 'fief' to their Hutu clients) are still considered a form of wealth.

poor** -- it can only improve its own level of revenue by pushing the growth of agricultural production. If conditions permit the two central actors in this equation -- Government and poor peasant -- to see it in their common interest to seek the same goals, improving production and quality of life of the rural poor, then some socially feasible project interventions can be entertained.

General Population Pressures -- Most Murundians express a preference for a poor family with many children to a rich family without offspring. This telling value is matched by the natural growth rate of about 2.5%, which in itself is not so high. But, in juxtaposition to the continuing decline of available resources per person and the resulting degradation of the environment, the figure indicates a potential ecological disaster.

The average number of persons per Km² is high for Africa, about 153, reaching a high of 262 per Km² in the northern province of Ngozi. In the next several years that kind of pressure on the

** Samplings of support: From the 2nd Five Year Plan (1973-1977)-- "The Plan can only be realized" by actions which mobilize the social forces of the population," i.e., those which demonstrate by example "... human initiative, organization, and discipline of the population commensurate with its technology and organization" (p.003); and from the 3rd Five Year Plan (1978-1982)-- its fundamental theme is that "...social justice will be realized by... an alliance of peasants, workers, and revolutionary intellectuals of all ethnicity and of all regions..." (p. 34) The part to be played by the single, government controlled party, UPRONA (Unité, Progres Nationale), in mobilizing the society is patently clear.

land will increase drastically (projected population by 2,000 being around 8 million), particularly given the present lack of any clear population policy. What is more distressing is that, of several sampled, high fertility countries, Burundi is the only one where the desired number of children exceeds the actual number. Thus, while having on average 6 children per family, Murundians actually desire 8!

A central value of Burundi family life, then, is to have many children -- an accomplishment conveying to the parents no small honor.* That the value of a woman is derived from the consequences of her motherhood greatly compounds the work situation of the female peasant.** Often left by herself to work the fields, the woman obtains some of the assistance she requires from her children. In time, however, the more children she brings into the world, the less effort she is able to render to farm productivity.

* And also no doubt contributing negatively to the just over 45 and 50 year life expectancy of males and females, respectively.

** In one sample of small farmers, the head of the rugo was a woman in almost 1/3 of the cases. That is the result primarily of widowhood and male out-migration for work. Additionally, the general census shows women as having an almost 2% greater representation in the population. Such a condition is related to heavy male migration to nearby states for work and to the refugee outflow and elimination of males in 1972

And, though seeming to be an illogical trap, the Murundikazi (or Murundi woman) has in fact minimized some of the risk by 'investing' in the future labor potential of her children. In so doing, of course, there are also that many more mouths to feed, more child-care to provide and, ultimately, greater pressures on the land.

Pressures of Society and the Role of Social Stereotypes -- The strong individualism of the family in Burundi society is a central fact which will shape any attempt at project intervention on the level of the colline. Such individualism can be understood in the context of Burundi history and ecology. In the past, Hutu tillers were moved in on by Tutsi cattle herders, the two forming a caste-like system in which the Tutsi became dominant but also in which each provided important economic and social functions for the other. Tutsi royal clans^{*} over time became attached to Hutu client clans in a lord-serf, father-son fashion. There were about 200 such Tutsi-Hutu clans, these providing a certain community of interest. Within these clans there were sub-sections or lineages (incuti), which were somewhat self-sufficient in economic, legal, and inheritance requirements.

In time, pressures of a social and political kind eroded these clans. Ecology and the force of the Tutsi monarchy (mwami) broke

* There is not total agreement in the writings on the subject on either the presence or strength of clans in Burundi.

down the clan structure, in the latter case to ensure the king's authority. Princes and other Tutsi 'patrons' took advantage of this dispersion by forming fiefs with individual Hutu families as their clients. Each rugo thus became independent and isolated from its former community, refusing ties of equality because of domination by ties of inequality. As a result the clan, with its base for a community of interest, lost its social and economic value. Ever since that time the motto of Burundi social life has been -- 'everyone for himself'

The clan dispersion and resultant power relationship between Tutsi and individual Hutu families have clearly left their mark on the character of the present population. That the beliefs, values, attitudes and behavior whose roots lie in Burundi social history are impediments to change is not advocated here. Nevertheless, any Government-supported intervention at the level of the poor peasant must take these stereotypes into account. The Murundi see power as a steady diminution from top to bottom, with those at the bottom perceiving the arbitrary and emotional use of personal power as the major force shaping their lives. Political power and authority are central values, and Murundi are characterized as all being busy at politics, rich and poor, men and women, leaders and followers. But power is enacted in a fatalistic mold, because the poor peasant sees those at the top as possessing an innate sense of intelligence (ubgenge) and a total superiority (mukuru) over him.

Such a personal and arbitrary exercise of power over the 'inferior' can be seen as productive of a constant instability: first between those on top and those on bottom, and second between those on the bottom who are competing for the favor of the 'superior'.

This same conception of power has its equivalence in the domain of the sexes. A decided male bias exists in Burundi society at all levels*. For example, a woman is normally permitted to marry her social equal or inferior, but never up. The man, conversely, may use the woman's position for improving his own status. Where Tutsi-Hutu marriages occur, regardless of physical characteristics of offspring, the children of a Tutsi father will always take his tag, while those of a Tutsi mother-Hutu father are designated Hutu. So, despite the ethnic differences which already divide the Murundi people into this group or that, there are other complementary forces which divide men and women**. That, coupled with the heavy work role of women mentioned earlier, strongly points to the necessity of any project intervention in the agricultural sector to serve better the interests of the female peasant.

* Even in the educational setting of the secondary school the male bias pervades. In a study of coeducational practices, boys defined themselves as 'rough' and 'contemptible', with girls agreeing. Girls saw themselves as 'timid', while boys thought of girls as mainly concerned with 'attracting boys' attention'. Finally, over half of the boys saw themselves as 'more intelligent' than girls; going beyond the boys' immodest self-perception, 3/4's of girls aged 13-14 agreed that boys were more intelligent!

**It would seem at this time that despite some efforts, the Murundi male is still not favorable toward integrating the Murundikazi into national, much less local, level economic, political, and social sectors.

General Quality of Life and Human Resources -- On any scale of life quality, the Burundi measure in rural areas is low, indeed. A preliminary look at a few figures tells why: While the urban scene shows about 62% of the population as having some education, its rural counterpart shows a dismal 16%. Even worse, a study in Bubanza province depicts the illiteracy rate of women at a staggering 90%. For nutrition, the World Bank states that there is much to be desired, 88% only of caloric needs being satisfied.

Felt needs are an important measure of life quality level: A study in Kirundo province found that the peasants questioned, indicated at the rate of 86% the lack of medical care, 74% the lack of clean water, and 25% a deficiency in hygienic conditions. This same sample sees 'Government' as the solution to these problems. In contrast, Government five-year plans define 'self-development' as the means to improving the quality of life. That discrepancy is at the heart of Burundi's dilemma.*

Despite a poor life quality index, rural Murundians, especially women, work relatively hard for what little they get in return. Of the total active population, 85% is working in agriculture. That figure represents about 1.8 million in 1970, supposedly increasing to 2.2 million by 1980. This agricultural work force is said to be working at about 80% of capacity. Because men often migrate to cash-crop work in and out of the country, women are left behind to till the soil, performing up to an estimated 80% of the agricultural

* One interesting measure of life quality is the ability to keep rural projects staffed, since most staff personnel want to return to Bujumbura almost as soon as they arrive in the countryside.

workload. Her role is not only fundamental in the production sector, but also in the sphere of shaping her children's attitudes and behavior, for it is she in the main who conditions the child's intellect, psyche, and subjectivity. It is from that conditioning that the rural family social security 'system' has stemmed, in which there is strong mutual help between parents and married children in times of sickness, in caring for children, and providing counsel, food, and financial assistance.

General Development Constraints and Interventions -- Socio-political development constraints in the agricultural sector are severe, as discussed earlier, certainly more critical than physical environmental constraints. As the base of the social life is material, it is essential to underscore the risk of not effecting some degree of equity (fairness) in the development of the rural population. If the Murundi peasant is not given the opportunity to maximize his return on labor, to arrest the rapid reduction in resource per family member (including incentives to reduce family size), then the ecological stress will snowball the continuing process of soil exhaustion and erosion and environmental degradation generally.

The absence in Burundi of a clearcut policy on population represents a significant impediment to developing the material and social needs of the rural family. Part of the problem is the

political sensitivity of the question; if a policy of population control were effected, the absolute members of the ruling class ethnic group would be considerably reduced, while at the same time any attempt to control the majority population birth rate by the minority would be naturally suspect. Of perhaps equal importance is the role of religion: first, the Roman Catholic position, being the semi-official point of view of the Government, is not especially efficacious in this overpopulated country. Second, the traditional religion, which has a considerable presence among rural peoples--often side by side Catholicism-- is rooted in a fatalistic value system. The central value is that one need not add to what God (Inana) has himself made and, further, that change is so much more difficult to bring about than what Inana has created. It is suggested these values, however, are not impervious to potential change resulting from the self-interested actions of the Murundi peasant, if he is given the opportunity to improve.

Given the constraints of a highly individualized, non-community organization of rural life, the former mandate power and later the Government of an independent Burundi (with Belgian aid) have strongly emphasized intervention through settlement programs and projects. The absence of a village structure in Burundi has long been seen as a serious constraint to human, social, and economic progress. From the time of the first comprehensive Belgian effort to define the socioeconomic context of Burundi (the 1961 Tinbergen report), the

philosophy of development here has been that progress is only possible if new communal structures can be created. Thus, the great faith which has been placed in the so-called transversal de paysannat -- the single-line settlement of peasant homesteads in which each farmer's lands can be combined with others for mechanization purposes, i.e., for tractor-type agriculture.

These paysannats are integral to the Government's policy to resettle people from high density areas such as Buyenzi, Kiri-miro, and Magamba to the Mosso and Rusizi plains. General problems with the settlement program, detailed later, concern differences between mountain and plains areas of climate, disease-resistance, agricultural practices, and social organization. The premise of relieving population pressures in the Central Plateau is quite logical, especially where programs provide for year-round work in factories (such as in the planned sugar cane processing plant near Khiofi in Mosso) or on large-scale agricultural projects. But the planning effort and systematic monitoring of these human dislocations leave much to be desired, for in more cases than not resettlement has been unsuccessful. Perhaps the single-most influential cause of failure is that the Government has not systematically given settlers secure rights of occupancy in land and water nor has it accorded them any role in local self-government. In this respect, any project intervention must consider granting these rights in meeting goals of social equity (evening out differences)

and appropriateness (fit with social context).

Most interventions in the agricultural sector reflect a class interest or bias. Showcase Government research stations directed at improvements of cash crops and cattle are predominant, very little of the resultant information getting down to the Murundi peasant, much less having particular relevance to his needs. Both agricultural extension and cooperative programs have had limited impact on the poor peasant and where they have, the success is often due to the mediating role of the religious missions or an outside donor, rather than Government participation. When Government intervention is introduced at the colline level it is done under the auspices of the national party, UPRONA, which is viewed in rural areas at least in part as a controlling mechanism.

The Poor Peasant

The poor peasant is the main actor, production-wise in the agricultural sector. He shares the stage with those who orchestrate the sector: Government administrators, from Minister of Agriculture down to provincial agricultural officers who send too few, poorly-trained extension agents to the country side (project extension personnel are purportedly more effective in their efforts). While the greater part of the problem of access to the

poor peasant is human in nature -- including social, political, fiscal-- a certain part is of a geographic, logistical kind.

Geography, Population, and Relationship to Urban Centers -- There are some 2,400 individual collines or hills, that being the principle habitat of the Murundi peasant. 78% of all productive fields occupy collines,

Density of Most Highly Populated Provinces

<u>Province</u>	<u>Inhabitants/Km²</u>	<u>no. of collines</u>
Muramvya	258	216
Gitega	178	385
Muyinga	120	326
Ngozi	<u>262</u>	<u>581</u>
	$\bar{x} = 204.5$	Total = 1,508

the other 22% lying on flatlands or swamps. The Central Plateau, one of the four major zones of relief, rising between 1,500 - 2,000 meters, includes the most typical colline, peasant habitat. Some of the more densely populated provinces are tabulated. Lighter density zones of relief include the Imbo Plain, except for the capital city of Bujumbura. Bujumbura is the only true urban zone in the country. It has seen a permanent growth in its population without, however, an equal increase in jobs. Each of the eight administrative provincial town centers comprises a minor service

center, dominated by a military governor. Although a case has been made elsewhere for designating several of these provincial centers plus others as poles of development, it is doubtful that the organizational capacity or infrastructure will be present in the near future to carry out systematic planning and development along those lines. Until the existing market system (if indeed it can be called that), including commercial, wholesale, and collection centers, expands and draws into it a much higher level of peasant production, no truly balanced regional development can take place.

Employment, Manpower, and Land Ownership -- Tilling the soil is a family proposition, though the amount of work done is weighted towards women. Drive along any roadway and count: females working the fields outweigh men 10:3 or 4. Such a condition is partly related to the visible underemployment in the traditional agricultural domain, along with other factors mentioned earlier. The rural exodus of males contributes to an already high level of unemployment in Bujumbura. Even several years ago that rate approached 30% of the active population. While there is no landless class per se, there is a growing aggregate of men who presently cannot make a decent living by only working their own land.

If on average one in three males is absent from the rugo, as one study showed, this points to considerable migration and off-

farm (sometimes seasonal) work. 11% is the rate of off-farm employment indicated for one part of the country. Many agricultural projects can only keep workers for part of a season, the men often returning to the rugo during January-March to work their own fields. This suits some projects and other producers well, in that they require temporary labor only in the harvest seasons, January and June, and the seeding time, October.

While it is clear that some peasants, especially men, are being simultaneously pushed and pulled off their land to leave it behind to family members, it is not at all clear exactly how that land is held. The problem is partly one of record-keeping, since even today land ownership, except in towns, is set by oral traditions. Verification of land tenure is provided by witnesses of one kind or another, neighbors or a colline elder; boundaries are marked by planting trees, erecting fences, or simply placing of stones. There is an obvious need for some form of land ownership record-keeping, a task that could well be done by a future local, self-governing body made up of colline members.

Most land in Burundi is obtained through inheritance and purchase, followed by way of a gift or an allotment by the State. Land given by the State as part of resettlement programs is often given only provisionally, with use rights. Another point about ownership which is not well-documented but which requires careful examination

in project intervention is the distribution of land and cattle. From a study done in Kirundo province, it was found that 27% of the landowners owned 50% of the arable surface; while 50% possessed only 28%. For cattle, 5% of the producers owned 50% of the supply. The status quo of such an imbalanced distribution would have to be carefully researched prior to any project intervention in an area showing similar imbalances.

Rural Women, Youth, and Children -- As noted, the Murundikazi is accorded a social position inferior to the male. She has little political power, few legal rights, cannot inherit land or cattle, and has virtually no right to independent action outside the house. Thus, the woman must attain her goals by means of men, essentially men in whose favor she happens to be. But, and this is no small condition, in the absence of considerable numbers of men, women often direct the life activities of family rugo and fields themselves. In that sense, women have liberated the man to pursue other activities, including crop work, schooling, and some not-so-productive diversions. In so doing, however, the men have invented for women a socio-economic role which weds her to the hoe.

All of this is not to say marriage is totally unpredictable for the woman -- in fact, there is a pattern, but one which does not

particularly favor her. She must endure the fact of polygyny (a man with 2 or more wives), though it is reported to be numerically 'marginal'. What is not so marginal, however, is an increase in the number of 'liaisons'. A man migrates to settlement projects, other paid labor, such as in Bujumbura, on a tea or coffee estate, even in a neighboring state, leaving his family behind to keep a hold on the rural property. Due to the need for assistance in keeping a second household he will find a woman, sometimes formalizing the tie in a polygynous marriage but often as not just keeping her on hand through a casual liaison. The inevitable children follow.

The net result of this social disjuncture in which a man is trying to assist in keeping two families alive is not helpful for overall productivity nor for the condition of women. Granted one of the causes of such social dislocation is the underemployment in the agriculture of the colline and subsequent push of males off the land. Further, the casual nature of liaisons of men and women on the plains, whether in Government-sponsored settlements, seasonal labor, or non-agricultural work in Bujumbura, is due principally to the uncertainty of both employment and land tenure.

An important target group within the poor peasant population is that of youth. There appears to be a growing number of young persons, mostly males, who are forced out of the traditional rural society into the confines of the capital city. They comprise a

disenfranchised lot, left to itself with a lack of employment, ignorance, even occasional delinquency. Representing an important source of labor in agriculture, rural youth are offered no incentives to stay on the colline except the barest one of being able to partially feed themselves.

Many youths stay on the colline, however, to marry and reproduce. Based on a study of women in Bubanza province, the average age of women at first marriage was 19 while age at first birth was 21. Marriages between persons of the same colline comprise about 1/3d of the total and the large majority of the remaining marriages occurring among persons of nearby collines. Concerning knowledge of the time of conception of a child, from the same study of women used above, the role of literacy seems to be incidental. Of the female sample, 96% never consciously attempted to space the births of their children, 74% didn't know of any method of contraception, and of the 26% who did know one method, 89% named abstinence. Spacing of births is partly a function of when the last infant is weaned, a point when so many die of malnutrition. Obviously, project intervention should have some impact on these life areas within which the Murundi peasant and his . . . children are seen to be at best just scraping by. In fact, many simply don't make it to childhood.

The Rugo: Focal Point of Rural Production and Consumption -- The rugo is the homestead, usually fenced in and surrounded by banana trees, the human settlement which includes the family whose land surrounds it. It may comprise several generations, including a man, his wife, their married children, and grandchildren. Limited availability of surrounding fields shapes the size and composition of the rugo family. The Murundi peasant prefers to be close to his land, to the extent that about 4/5ths of the fields are on the same colline as the rugo which exploits them*. The average number of persons per rugo is reported to be 5.7, sometimes divided among two households, i.e. two separate huts (hut - urugo) within the compound. Most rugos share the same fields but in about 1/4 of the cases separate households work different fields. The household unit with its separate fund and sometimes its separate fields is considered here as a production unit. In contrast to the average number of persons per productive unit provided in the table, one regional study showed a considerably larger average, 7 per unit. Some discrepancy is no doubt due to the definition of such a unit -- to qualify it even more for future use, it should be treated as the totality of the means of production under the direction of a specific individual.

*The rugo and dependent lands and livestock as a totality is called itongo.

Composition, Size, and Extent of Holdings of the Rugo

<p># of households/rugo : 77% = 1/ 16.9% = 2/ 4.2% = 3/ 1.3% = 4/ 0.4% = 5/ 0.2% = 6</p> <p>$\bar{x}_{\#}$ of households/rugo : 1.3</p> <p>$\bar{x}_{\#}$ of persons/rugo : 5.7</p> <p>$\bar{x}_{\#}$ of persons/hut : 3.8^a</p>
<p># of productive units/rugo : 75% = 1 / 90% = no < 2</p> <p>$\bar{x}_{\#}$ persons/productive unit: 4.4</p> <p>$\bar{x}_{\#}$ active persons/ productive unit : 3.6</p>
<p>\bar{x} meters² / rugo : 400^a</p> <p>Hectares/productive unit : 50% < 0.5/ 56% < 1.0/ 80% < 1.5^a</p>

^aDerived from sample studies

Some productive units have been reorganized over time, enlarged to include a kinship group larger than the nuclear family. Whether or not the fields are controlled by an extended family, bananas are more often than not held in common by a few-several related families. This is no doubt related to the equation of banana beer with social occasions and hospitality, these usually being sponsored by a group larger than the nuclear family.* Average number of active members per production unit also needs qualification in that one sample regional study depicted 2.7 per unit, a figure smaller than that in the above

* Beer, whether banana or the factory-made 'Primus', is the traditional mediator of all social relations on all occasions, between equals and unequals.

table.

Despite that discrepancy and the fact that men purportedly possess more physical strength* than women, the woman on average works much harder in making the production unit productive. One study depicted an average of 1.1 male and 1.6 female work units per production unit. Further, the woman puts in considerably more time in the fields than her husband, when he is present: 8 1/2 VS just over 5 hours/day; for the week (seven day), she averages 59 1/2, he 37 hours. The absence of the male from production tasks, where it occurs, may go on for several months at a time or even years. The one-third of males who are absent from the rugo, leave their families shortly after marriage. This means the woman is left to fend for her family, aged women often tilling the soil while the younger ones do childcare and other household work.

The presence of incomplete or dislocated household production units has had its harmful effects on such conditions as nutrition and education. The average Murundi household is just at the subsistence level, requiring one active unit to feed one household. When the male is absent, that 1.0 work unit must be made up by some combination of two women or a woman and her children. But while the household is getting just enough food to stay alive, it is not

* Active working persons is determined as follows: 1 adult male = 1.0, 1 adult female = .75, 1 child = .50

always in a position to spare children for such benefits as even basic schooling. In rural areas only about 16% of the under-fifteen population has been educated, about one-quarter of the children attending schools.

On the consumption side, the diet is short on protein and fats, high on starch, leading to Kwashiorkor or endemic malnutrition. After weaning, the infant may be fed undigestible and low-in-protein food, often contributing to its death from a cause as normally harmless as measles . which the child otherwise would have survived had it been well nourished. Another problem, which is partly a matter of perception, is the treatment of meat as a food of the rich or for the feast. The peasant will thus voluntarily sell chickens, rabbits, goats, and eggs -- not using these valuable sources of protein and fat for their own consumption, the money being used to buy several bottles of the ever-present banana beer or Primus. The agacupa or 'the bottle' plays a highly important role in Murundi social life and is an important item in their food pattern.

Development and Policy Constraints in Production and Living Spheres

Overall constraints on development possibilities and actions have already been considered. Now it is appropriate to see how these translate to the local, colline intervention level.

In the domain of the farm, the socio-geographic fragmentation of the rugo-colline is a formidable obstacle to the delivery and implementation of techniques and services. While the Government administrative structure is theoretically present to deal with the over 2,400 collines and approximately one million families, there is both an organizational and motivational lack on both sides which is constraining. The colline level (actually colline de recensement or several collines grouped together for census and administrative purposes) has a political head appointed by the Government and who also serves as the UPRONA representative. Elections of officials have been mentioned but not yet carried out; problematic are the proposed literacy requirements for elected officials, given the elimination of most Hutu literates. Encouraging in this respect is that many of the eliminated literates' wives are themselves literate, suggesting that project efforts could be directed to them particularly without the open threat posed if literate men were the obvious beneficiaries. At any rate, the Government must go a long way to prove its interest in helping the small farmer. If it can tangibly prove itself, there is some possibility that discrete communities of interest will emerge on the collines.

The Ministry of Agriculture is a carbon copy of the Government it serves. It is not people-oriented, rather it is showcase, project-oriented, providing big jobs for the elite and little help for the poor. Its research is mostly directed at cash crops rather than feeding the under-nourished; its planning concerns the re-

settlement of a miniscule percentage of the overcrowded Central Plateau population under difficult plains conditions which only negligible numbers have successfully adapted to. There are few useful institutions for the tiller per se, and more successes are greater where foreign organizations or religious missions have provided them. Even in those cases, one branch or other of Government continually seeks control of effective programs. This is not to say the poor peasant would not come together with others of his colline if it were plainly in his self-interest to do so. To date such an incentive has not presented itself, but were markets, credit facilities, transport of produce, equitable prices, and some improvements in his living quality available, greater interest and participation could be forthcoming.

On the policy side, one could safely say that the rhetoric of intentions presented in the three five-year plans has in no way been matched by either the will or the need to succeed in fulfilling poor peasant needs. But, to be fair, it is not quite so black and white. While budget allocations to the small farm sector are small, that is partly a function of outside donors supporting mainly large-scale agricultural activities, cash crops, and generally those commodities which bring revenue to the Government. To continue the flow of those funds, the Ministry of Agriculture has had to maintain the status quo. That is changing somewhat on the part of foreign donors, but Government has by now become used to living off of those

funds in contrast to sending the bulk down to the poor.

In the sphere of human services, again the rhetoric of policy is explicit in its commitment to creating a healthy, literate, prosperous rural base. In fact, the action side of the coin points to a dismal record. Population planning, a crucial need, is a political hot potato no one seems to want to touch at the moment*. Even the term 'family health' is misconstrued by some officials to mean population control. For educational and health functions, generally, there is some genuine effort, though much of this burden is carried by the religious missions. To repeat what has already been stated with respect to quality-of-life requirements in Burundi, it seems clear that any project intervention should effect a trade-off between purely production goals and improving the life quality of the Murundi family.

Strategies for Overcoming Constraints and Projects for their Alleviation, Recent Relative Severity of Constraints --

One has to say the constraints to developing areas of the rural poor are formidable. They are first of all political, a topic covered at the outset of the social analysis; secondly, they are institutional, given the weak

* One exception is Dr. Jean-Paul Burafuta, Sociologist, Faculty of Economics, University of Burundi, who is carrying out an attitudinal study towards population growth on part of elites and peasants.

administrative and infrastructural links to and among the peasantry; thirdly, related to 1) and 2), they are social-psychological, meaning the dispersed rugo-colline character of the target group, the drawing inward tendency of peasants due to earlier Government suppression and inattention, and the apparent lack of will of elite class urban and urban-oriented officials to fulfill their promises. In the political arena, it is useful to mention again the absence of a clear population policy, a critical factor in the man-land/degradation of environment equation: if some meaningful action is not taken in the near future, Malthus' worsening progression of mouths to feed relative to available food will solve the problem for Burundi. And as long as the crutch of donors' help in large-scale farming in limited areas continues with its almost total disconnection from peasant production and living requirements, a false sense of security will most likely prevail.

Briefly, the question of donor subsidies is highly relevant because of the thorough way in which these have drawn attention from the majority of rural poor. Heavily subsidized and staffed by foreign personnel, many of these projects will perhaps never reach a point where they are self-sustaining. They pose problems of retaining trained national staff, whom it seems are continuously lured (understandably) by the lights of Bujumbura. Even untrained laborers do not wish to or are simply unable to stay on projects, for they also have requirements on their own fields to fulfill.

Recent and Current Programs/Projects and their Evaluation-
FOYERS SOCIAUX or SOCIAL CENTERS, under the direction of Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor (MSAL), though not functioning at full efficiency at present, offer a ray of hope among a confusing glitter of splintered, overlapping, even conflicting programs for the rural poor. There are now some 58 Social Centers dispersed over the countryside, with 152 planned for the present five year period. They provide an educational function, 'education of the base', in intellectual, spiritual, and practical areas. For the last, women (as of a year ago men were admitted) are trained in family nutritional, health, and sanitation matters.

The Social Center course is three years, meeting three times per week, and 'ideally' (their word) eight hours per day. The age range of women attending is 15-50. Each center has a social extension function, including on average three female extension agents who take the teaching function out of the center onto the collines. Teachers and social extension personnel are trained at schools under MSAL in Gitega. 29 private social centers, mainly attached to religious missions, supplement the Ministry's activity. Under the direction of UPRONA, the Union of Burundi Women has set the blueprint for the Social Centers and as well in planning -- Social Service Centers for training of women in social work and social workshops, and a Women's Information Service.

RURAL COOPERATIVES and EXTENSION Under CARITAS (Umbrella for Roman Catholic Church missionary effort) -- Rural cooperatives established by R.C. missions service 1966-1967, to provide the rural population with basic food crops and some storage and credit facilities, have been fairly successful. These cooperatives, of which some of the 35 are supported financially by foreign donors other than the Church, are run by elected members who establish purchasable membership shares; the cooperative buys food crops from its members to sell in cooperative stores, with profits shared being proportionate to member of shares owned.

A model cooperative is operating in the parish of Kanyina in the northern Central Plateau. Public officials and party members helped to promote the idea of a cooperative in Kanyina, though the local priest with help of CARITAS and

an Austrian technical cooperation group actually started the organization itself, in 1978. The first year saw 80 members joining, with 260 now active. First-year profits were reported to be 28%. The focal point is the priest/missions, which supplied the building for the store. The priest acts as a 'moral guide' and holds the key to the cash and store. The board is heavily weighted towards Tutsis, due to their possession of literacy skills.

Government attempts at cooperatives have not been too successful because of the 'trust' factor. Under the Regional Society for Development, the Government has established a few cooperatives as well as a course for cooperative management. There is apparently some sense of competition felt by the Government regarding the mission cooperatives and the former is trying now to garner public support for its effort through the machinery of UPRONA.

MISSIONS -- The religious missions over the years have established themselves quite effectively if somewhat modestly among the rural poor. They have provided at least 50% of the country's school needs, many health dispensaries, small farm cooperatives (see above), and a limited degree of agricultural extension. There has come to exist in certain cases, some sense of competition if not jealousy and outright hostility between Government and the missions (mainly Roman Catholic with a smattering of less well-organized Protestant missions) covering the former's ability to touch the population more easily and effectively. Whether or not the following is related to this standoff is uncertain, but it is reported that the Government is considering the gradual phaseout of missions over the next ten years. For project interventions, therefore, mission infrastructure and experience certainly should be used when available, but no project should or presumably even could (given the present Government disposition) be officially attached to a mission or mission group. It is recalled that missions, in the pattern of the colonial and (later) mandate power, have variously supported the status quo of Burundi politics and ethnic divisions over the years. Whether they had any other choice is not in question here, though to tie a project to a mission would be symbolically problematic if nothing else.

GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT PROJECTS -- The social impact of such projects ranges from moderate success to dismal failure. Mparambo paysannat in the north Imbo Plains Cibitoke Project Area has all the earmarks of success, with individual families having developed some sense of bond to their land. In that particular example, it appears the peasant, some of whom are indigenous to the Plains region, has been given secure rights over his four hectares of land. He pays minimally (\$ 31) for mechanized agricultural services and obtains water for irrigation and extension assistance free of charge. His handsome average 100,000 Fr. Bu. earnings (\$ 1,100) heavily reflect the helping hand of foreign and Government subsidies.

A settlement effort which has not had such success is the Imbo - Mpanda irrigated farming project. Begun in 1968-1969, it resettled 3,000 families, about 12,000 inhabitants, from the north Central Plateau. They were placed in five paysannats which it is recalled is a line of separated houses with fields perpendicularly positioned: it is not a village per se. Each paysannat has a primary school, running water, and sharing health clinics. Each farmer has been provisionally given one hectare, which he must plant systematically. He pays about \$ 31 U.S. for canal cleaning services.

On the social side this project has been a failure: project officials admit that the families are not 'well-settled'. The settlers have not become easily acclimated to the heat and humidity of the Plains, nor well-adapted to malarial-producing conditions. often unaccompanied by his family, the man takes a second wife or finds a woman who will care for the household. Children inevitably follow. What is equally important in the lack of success is the almost total lack of training of the peasant in the entirely new methods and techniques required for an irrigated system of agriculture. Because of the peasant's lack of commitment, which is no doubt related to the fact that he is not the true owner of the land (the State maintains ownership), and the presence of his land

and family back on the colline, he becomes a trans-migrant. It is a matter of back-and-forth, shifting allegiances between plain's family and colline family, the peasant returning to his original homestead at least two times per year. Until this kind of project with its numerous problems is monitored, fully evaluated, and recommendations made for its improvement on the basis of sound social planning, development of new ones should be slowed. (Here, incidentally, is a perfect place for a Burundi-based social science to do important, valuable work.)

GOVERNMENT RESEARCH STATIONS -- Since these have been discussed in detail by other members of the sector analysis team, only a few brief points are made here. The research station is part of the baggage which has come down to the Murundi over the decades -- it is a fixture as much as those donors who support it are. The connection of the typical station to the actual conditions and needs of the poor peasant is virtually nil. Any new research or experimental station, then, should get away from the large-scale, mechanized high revenue operations and be directed to small-scale, colline replication, with real colline-level peasants participating at the earliest possible point (i.e., including planning stages). Given the history of this, so long as any research station in Burundi remains 'experimental', its chances of ever getting out of the laboratory, down to the dirt and hard work of colline agriculture are miniscule.

Additional Development Needs -- In addition to those needs already covered, the place of the male in development requires a critical examination and updating. Because women make up the bulk of the agricultural working population, it is necessary to re-interest the man in this work. When the land cannot support a full-time effort, several possibilities are apparent: reduction of land surface-to-production unit, in combination with a change from rotation of plots to rotation of crops; halting migration into excess

population areas; creation of off-farm employment possibilities where possible. Concerning on-farm consumption requirements, some greater attention should be given to the provision of extension agents for household management, a function which should be accorded to women, given their dual role of child rearers and farm producers. Appropriate education in the rural milieu is another area in need of no small amount of concern.

Development of local markets, a topic covered elsewhere in the overall report, is important in the general improvement of rural life quality. There is presently lacking in Burundi a strong tradition of periodic local markets, but this is evolving as rural purchasing power increases. Beside matters pertaining to small farmer savings and credit, there is a basic problem of market transport along secondary roads. If that is improved on, the potential for better marketing, which Murundi peasants state a preference for carrying out through cooperative associations, will be greatly enhanced. Lastly, care must be taken so that peasant production is not gauged through adjusting price policies for the sole benefit of the urban elite consumer.

Criteria for Project Feasibility and Identification

A set of criteria based on the foregoing social analysis is presented for the purpose of underscoring both the constraints and potentials relevant to the project identification (PID) process.

While the following statements or criteria must be judged in the context of the overall analysis, they may serve as the basis for a socially sound identification, preparation, and implementation of rural-based projects in Burundi.

Project Social Equity Statement

SOCIALLY FEASIBLE ('WORKABLE') AND EQUITABLE ('FAIR') PROJECTS CAN BE ESTABLISHED SO LONG AS THE TWO CENTRAL ACTORS -- GOVERNMENT AND POOR PEASANT -- CONVERGE ON THE GOALS OF IMPROVING COLLINE-LEVEL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND LIFE QUALITY.

A Case of Shared Poverty

OUTSIDE OF BUJUMBURA, THE ETHNIC GROUPS ON THE COLLINE SHARE POVERTY MORE OR LESS EQUALLY.

Lack of Population Policy and Potential Disaster

THE ABSENCE OF A CLEAR POPULATION POLICY IS A CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE MAN-LAND/DEGRADATION OF ENVIRONMENT EQUATION: IF SOME SIGNIFICANT ACTION IS NOT TAKEN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, MALTHUS' WORSENING PROGRESSION OF MOUTHS TO FEED RELATIVE TO AVAILABLE FOOD WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM FOR BURUNDI IN THE FORM OF A CATASTROPHIC HUMAN DISASTER.

Production-Quality of Life Trade-Off

GIVEN THE QUALITY OF LIFE NEEDS OF THE RURAL POOR IN BURUNDI, PROJECT INTERVENTION SHOULD EFFECT A TRADE-OFF BETWEEN PURELY PRODUCTIVE GOALS AND IMPROVING THE LIFE QUALITY OF THE MURUNDI FAMILY.

Real Incentives VS. Social Stereotypes

ATTITUDES AND VALUES OF THE MURUNDI PEASANT WHILE SEEN ON THE SURFACE TO BE IMPERVIOUS TO CHANGE, SUCH AS THE STRONG SENSE OF FATALISM, SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY ANY PROJECT INTERVENTION AS FOLLOWS: SO LONG AS THE PEASANT IS GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE AND HE SEES IT IN HIS SELF INTEREST TO DO SO, CHANCES ARE HE WILL.

Project and Community Interest

PROJECT INTERVENTION SHOULD STIMULATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMUNITY OF INTEREST IN THE HIGHLY DISPERSED, FRAGMENTED RURAL SOCIETY.

Authority Structure of Potential Projects

GIVEN THE OUTWARD ACCEPTANCE OF ARBITRARY AUTHORITY AND POWER BY THE MURUNDI PEASANT, THE DESIGN OF ANY PROJECTS INVOLVING THEIR PARTICIPATION SHOULD STRUCTURE AUTHORITY IN A FLUID, NON-AUTHORITARIAN MANNER SUCH THAT PARTICIPANTS DO NOT FIND IT NECESSARY TO COMPETE FOR THE FAVOR OF THE 'MAN AT THE TOP'.

Poor Peasant Rights to Land

ANY PROJECT INTERVENTION MUST CONSIDER GRANTING THE MURUNDI RURAL POOR PARTICIPANTS SECURE RIGHTS OF OCCUPANCY IN ANY LAND AND WATER OR ANY OTHER RESOURCES INTRODUCED BY THE PROJECT AND TO ACCORD LOCAL RIGHTS OF CONTROL OVER THESE. SUCH RIGHTS MUST BE LEGALIZED.

Increased Production at Peasant Level

CARE MUST BE TAKEN SO THAT PEASANT INCREASES IN PRODUCTION ARE NOT EXPLOITED THROUGH THE ADJUSTMENT OF PRICE POLICIES SOLELY FIXED TO BENEFIT URBAN ELITE CONSUMERS.

Family Focal Point

COLLINE-ORIENTED PROJECTS SHOULD FOCUS ON THE FAMILY UNIT-- IN LIGHT OF THE CONSIDERABLE ABSENCE OF THE MALE-- SO THAT AN INCENTIVE IS PRESENT TO SECURE HIS PARTICIPATION AND THEREBY REDUCE THE BURDEN ON WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Female Focal Point

WHERE THE WOMAN IS THE HEAD OF A PRODUCTIVE UNIT, SOME MEASURE SHOULD BE TAKEN TO GIVE HER OWNERSHIP AND INHERITENCE RIGHTS TO THE LAND SHE SO ARDENTLY WORKS..

A POTENTIAL ROLE EXISTS FOR THE LITERATE WIVES OF HUSBANDS ELIMINATED IN 1972 AS A FOCAL POINT FOR COLLINE-LEVEL INTERVENTION WITHOUT THE THREAT OF LITERATE MEN AS BENEFICIARIES.

Mother-Child Focal Point

BECAUSE THE RURAL PRODUCTION UNIT IS OFTEN BASED ON MOTHER-CHILD LABOR, IT SHOULD BE A PRIMARY FOCUS OF PROJECT INTERVENTION AND WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S STATUS AND WELL-BEING SHOULD BE ENHANCED AT ALL COSTS.

Children: Nutrition and Education

ATTENTION MUST BE GIVEN TO THE IMMEDIATE POST-WEANING PERIOD OF THE INFANT, A POINT WHEN LIFE-CHANCES ARE RADICALLY REDUCED DUE TO INADEQUATE DIETARY PRACTICES.

CHILDREN NEED TO BE FREED FROM AGRICULTURAL WORK IN ORDER TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH BENEFITS AS EVEN BASIC PRIMARY SCHOOLING.

Youth and Their Disenfranchisement

PROVISIONS NEED TO BE TAKEN FOR THE GROWING NUMBER OF DISENFRANCHISED RURAL YOUTH, ESPECIALLY CONCERNING THE BROADENING OF LIFE OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH EDUCATION, HEALTH, RECREATION, AND COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES.

Settlement Projects

UNTIL SETTLEMENT PROJECTS WITH ALL THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS ARE MONITORED AND FULLY EVALUATED, PREFERABLY WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF MURUNDI SOCIAL SCIENTISTS POSSESSING UNDERSTANDING OF THE RURAL POOR, DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SETTLEMENTS SHOULD BE SLOWED.

Foreign Donors' Large-Scale Agricultural Projects

SO LONG AS THE CRUTCH OF DONORS' HELP CONTINUES IN LARGE-SCALE FARMING PROJECTS WITH THEIR ALMOST TOTAL DISCONNECTION FROM PEASANT PRODUCTION AND LIVING REQUIREMENTS, A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES WILL MOST LIKELY PREVAIL.

ANY NEW RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL AGRICULTURAL STATION SHOULD MOVE AWAY FROM LARGE-SCALE, MECHANIZED OPERATIONS TO SMALL-SCALE, COLLINE-LEVEL PEASANT PARTICIPATION AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE POINT.

Projects Recommended to USAID for Project Identification

Several projects are outlined below, some with greater detail than others.

These are ordered for priority assessment.

I. ASSISTANCE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ORGANIZED MURUNDI SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND PLANNING GROUP, to work with USAID in monitoring and evaluation of projects.

A. Formation of sociologists, socio-anthropologists, rural economists, social psychologists, political scientists, socio-ecologists, either in an institute or center; they could be utilized as formal counterparts for provision of social analysis at all phases of project work (CDSS/SECT.ANAL./PID/PP/P. Implementation/Follow-up).

B. The rationale is to obtain the best possible assessment in:

- 1) Integrating the best informed (i.e. Burundi-based) social analysis into the Logical Framework of projects;
- 2) Avoiding pitfalls of potential unintended negative effects of projects (at PID/PP stages and later periodic points of project evaluation).

C. Further steps are:

- 1) To build up a Social Data Bank to help Murundi social researchers and planners, USAID, and other donors in using macro-social, micro-social and micro-economic analyses to better design socially sound projects;
- 2) To be able to formally utilize those Murundians most sensitive to the social issues involved in the development of their country's human resources and, further, to assist in realistic and accurate prediction of project beneficiaries/impact;
- 3) To upgrade development-related social research and analysis skills of Murundi social science students through post B.A. level training in social/rural development and health, nutrition, and education planning programs at U.S. graduate centers.

D. There is present already in Burundi an interest in formalizing just such a group of experts, given the presence of several trained social scientists in University and Government. (No source of funding has yet been located for such an effort.) In this country, where social and institutional constraints to development are so clear, a formalized mechanism for utilizing socially sensitive local input and feedback on projects could be of invaluable assistance to the Burundi USAID program and its permanent and project staff(s).

E. The ultimate beneficiaries would be the rural poor -- which would be the mandated focus of the social research and planning group.

F. Its location would be in Bujumbura, with one or two field offices in project areas (perhaps UN Gitega Center or in Ngozi). Start-up costs would be in range of \$200-300,000. with contractual consultancy fees offsetting cost in subsequent years.

II. A PROJECT IN LOW COST INFRASTRUCTURE RURAL HEALTH CARE DELIVERY

A. This project would aim at distributing basic health services in regional rural areas. Entails training of paramedical health workers in environmental health problems and nutrition and hygiene to hit target population of rural poor at regular intervals.

1) The emphasis is on "spread effect", minimizing cost of localized infrastructure, while maximizing human resource (personnel) investment;

2) Distribution through mobile equipment, in attempt to bring rural poor target group up to national standard of health service;

3) Preventative and curative actions; for preventative action:

a) Organization of mobile equipped health units for infant and family health care;

b) Periodic medical examinations of students in all rural schools;

c) Creation of popular committees for health on collines;

d) Establishment of sanitary water points;

e) Creation of more dispensaries, with attached classroom for maternal and family health care education;

For curative action, basically improving ratio of facilities and medical personnel to rural population.

B. Costing not attempted here.

III. PROJECT FOR UPGRADING RURAL SOCIAL CENTERS (see evaluation of "Foyers Sociaux" under section 'Recent and Current programs').

A. These women^{and}-family-focused centers can provide excellent potential low cost service in education, nutrition and health.

B. Emphasis to be placed on freeing women from heavy workload to participate in training program for social extension agents.

C. The social service sector in rural areas should be upgraded and considered as a real sector of employment and its training facilities should be dispersed to more rural/administrative centers than is presently the case.

D. Budget design requires more details than presently available.

IV. Two project ideas deriving from Burundi sources merit consideration: NATIONAL FAMILY WELFARE EDUCATION OF ORGANIZED SECTORS AND IN RURAL AREAS (Dept. of Social Promotion, MSAL) and A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CENTER FOR WOMEN OF ROHERO (Rohero District, Bujumbura, Union of Burundi Women).

A. The national family welfare proposition is intended to promote family-oriented services to educate women in areas of health, nutrition, family planning, child care, home economics, community self-help, and hygiene. It would require:

1) Design and implementation programs in family services for teachers and extension personnel in the organized sectors so as to reach rural sector.

B. Social Analyst recommends that though this is a worthwhile proposal, it should be examined for possibility of linking its proposed functions to the already-present, well-distributed rural Social Center system.

C. The proposed Cultural and Social Center for Women in Rohero District, Bujumbura, contains very interesting points, such as provisions for legal representation in cases of women's rights, training in nutrition and (very encouraging) family planning.

D. This, too, could be examined with possibility of combining with existing Social Center functions, though specifically adapted to the urban setting since Social Centers do not presently operate in the towns. While some of the recommended points are not perhaps adapted to rural women, the fact that most Murundikazi share the same inferior status vis-a-vis men make it equally applicable in both urban and rural settings.

V. Two projects recommended by (other) foreign donors are worthy of PID consideration: The UNDP/FAO proposal for a CENTER FOR TRAINING AND INFORMATION FOR USE IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT and the Belgian Technical Assistance study/proposal for the DEVELOPMENT OF KIRUNDO REGION.

A. The UNDP/FAO Integrated Rural Development project in Gitega, already underway and under whose auspices the proposed Center would fall, represents an ambitious attempt to bring together many rural functions. The Center is briefly mentioned as a possibility for multi-lateral funding. Since a preliminary proposal already exists (Mr. Jacques Jallade, UNFAO), it is not elaborated here.

B. The study/proposal for developing Kirundo is a well-founded, multi-disciplinary effort in regional planning and development. Its sociological strengths particularly, are considerable. Since this study, too, is available (Belgian Embassy) its review for possible multi-lateral participation is recommended.

A Brief Selective Review of Team Members' Recommendations for Social
Soundness

This is a preliminary, selective review of team members' recommended projects for their presumed social feasibility (workability), equity (fairness), and directedness to the target population. Since many of these points were discussed at some length with each of the team members, some concurrence and sensitivity to Burundi social and political issues was already present. The following review only points in the general direction of soundness of suggested projects and is in no way intended to be definitive. Further, the context of each expert's recommendation must be kept in view.

Agronomist's Recommendation

Small Farm Research Station at Rutegama: This is a replication of colline-rugo conditions and problems with the full range of environmental potential, for use in evaluating the existing small farming system. It entails the projected introduction of actual peasant families (only) after 'risk' of original experiment reduced - perhaps after the second year. There is a provision for linkage with Agricultural Development Center extension effort in the region.

Social Soundness Statement: Good in its technical conception; could perhaps have potentially greater impact if planned from 'bottom-up', with peasant families being given a full role, including some of the 'risk', with their input and feedback from very beginning. Though perhaps cumbersome in some respects to the research effort, such participation could utilize peasant know-how and give both real and symbolic value to the rural poor effort. The linkage of the extension effort would also be that much closer. Given the ISABU experience, any project that is 'purely' experimental will probably remain just that. This is not to minimize the difficulty of merging poor

peasant participation with research (a careful collaboration between agronomist, training specialist and sociologist could work out most of these), but if the experiment is not applied to the poor peasants' real needs in a very observable and immediate way, then it may not reach out to him/her at all. Suggested possibility of some linkage with MOA Rural Development Department in conjunction with UNDP/FAO effort in Rutegama area.

Soil Conservationist's Recommendations

Transmission of Available Knowledge on Soil Conservation Techniques: The major emphasis of the proposal is to deliberately play down the research end and get the existing information onto the farm through extension.

Social Soundness Statement: This recommendation seems to be sound. It is also in keeping with the need to reduce the role of that part of the agricultural sector which says its aim is to improve agriculture and yet whose major achievements would seem to consist mainly of creating nice experiments and good jobs of utility to a miniscule minority. The direct and immediate application of what is now known and proven to be of practical use to the small farmer is the eminently sensible direction of USAID's effort.

Nutritionist's Recommendation

National Nutrition Improvement Effort through Social Centers:

This is a general recommendation to train social extension agents in nutrition, who could be trained by and work through the existing systems of Social Centers.

Social Soundness Statement: Presently the system is not adequate to the task of carrying out a national program in nutrition, training, and extension, though if the Department of Social Promotion were given more attention and funding by the Government, it might in time be upgraded to do so. Because of the need for a strong program in nutrition it might be appropriate to link such a program to an overall attack on national health problems through a highly mobilized, high spread, low-cost infrastructure health care delivery system (see social social analyst's health care delivery recommendation).

Agricultural Economist's Recommendations

Creation of Permanent Water Supply for Rural Areas: One of laudable objectives here is to free women from the time-consuming task of water retrieval.

Social Soundness Statement: Though empirical evidence is lacking on the question, it is probably correct that women and children are burdened with that task. 'Freeing' women may have unintended consequences, however,

if one asks 'free her for what?' If it is simply to provide her more time to perform equally enduring labour somewhere else on the rugo farm, then this would be an impasse. If it's to free the woman so she can attend Social Center classes, well and good. The appropriate question is how to provide a good water supply equitably (fairly)? This also entails the creation of incentives for men to increase their presently diminished effort on the colline, a subject covered elsewhere in the analyst's contribution.

Agricultural Extension Specialist's Recommendation

Revision and Upgrading of Curriculum/Staff at ITAB (Gitega):

One part of this recommendation is the inclusion of a 'social laboratory' which would utilize three surrounding collines where about 400 peasant families/1,000 population reside, for training agricultural students in small, poor peasant practices and rural development.

Social Soundness Statement: This is an effective strategy which could have a strong input on both small farmer and student. The peasant, however, requires some incentive to 'open up his/her laboratory' to the better-off student. Services for agricultural and life quality improvement as part of the trade-off could provide some inducement to peasant participation. In conjunction with the UN Center for Rural Development (Gitega) the creation of an agricultural cooperative might be considered as another incentive for the three collines' participation. What is learned from and about the small farmer could then be programmed into the curriculum.

Education/Training Specialist's Recommendation

Long-term Extension-outreach Program for meeting Needs in Food Production, Nutrition, and Conservation with needs and problems of the rural population as the starting point, and including a sensitivity to conditions of men and women.

Social Soundness Statement: Though not a project idea per se, this recommendation is totally in line with USAID's 'New Directions' mandate and in concert with the social analyst's concern about tying any AID project to the peasant base and including as much peasant participation as possible and, further, keeping such an AID project as free of national level vested interests as is politically (and diplomatically) feasible. The needs outlined in this recommendation are covered in individual project recommendations from other team members.

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