

**INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS AND WAGES ON  
GENDER RELATIONS AMONG WORKERS OF TEZA TEA  
COMPANY, MURAMVYA - BURUNDI**

**BY**

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MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY**

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## DECLARATION

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the members of my entire family. They believed very much in education.

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## ABSTRACT

Most rural men in Muramvya have opted to be employed in Teza Tea Company. An assumption in this study was that their earnings were not utilized properly and intra-household gender relations were negatively impacted. In this work, the general objective of this study was to assess the influence of socio-economic factors and wages on intra-household gender relations among wage labourers. Specifically, the objectives of the study were to: examine socio-economic factors of wage labour and their impacts on familial relations among workers; analyze the effects of wage utilization on gender relations among households of workers. The study was guided by the bargaining theory of Krishnaraj. Mixed methods research design was adopted in this study and 24 % of the target population was used to select the sample size of 150 respondents. Sampling techniques in this study included disproportional stratified sampling to enroll respondents depending on their categories and number. Then, simple random sampling was used in different strata. The methods of data collection included secondary data, interviews, focus group discussions, key informants, informal discussions and observations for triangulation. Data were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. This study found that tea workers at Teza were driven into casual labour by social and economic factors with impacted on gender relations. On social level, organized welfare for the workforce led to wage labour and allowed familial bonding. On economic level, the study found that the need for acquisition of land and housing led to employment at Teza. Material acquisitions from the wages of men tied women to the homesteads for their organization and maintenance which resulted in stability of rural households. The study found three effects of wage utilization on intra-household gender relations: men's savings were used by their wives in economic activities and this increased the level of bonding among partners; wage utilization raised inter-spousal decision-making which resulted in pleasant relationships in households of workers; traditional roles of men and women have changed due to depressed wages and this led to non-fixed gender roles between spouses. In conclusion, socio-economic factors and wage utilization have brought effects on intra-household gender relations. The study recommended evaluation of the existing social facilities at Teza to single out the shortcomings in order to come up with effective amendments for the betterment of workers and their families. There is also need to review labour wages for the workers to earn decent payments in order to improve their material possessions and earning power of spouses for stabilized intra-household gender relations.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AMAS:</b>	Academic Mobility for African Sustainable Development
<b>CAM:</b>	<i>Carte d'Assurance Maladie</i> (Health insurance card)
<b>CEPGL:</b>	<i>Commnauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs</i> (Economic community of great lakes countries)
<b>CSPro:</b>	Census and Survey Processing System
<b>DIFO:</b>	Development Interpeople Finance Operations
<b>DRC:</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>ETP:</b>	Ethical Tea Partnership
<b>FAO:</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>Fbu:</b>	<i>Francs Burundais</i> (Burundi Francs)
<b>GDP:</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>IFRA:</b>	<i>Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique</i>
<b>ILO:</b>	International Labour Organisation
<b>INEAC:</b>	<i>Institut National des Etudes Agronomiques du Congo</i> (Congo Agricultural Research board)
<b>ISABU:</b>	<i>Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Burundi</i> (Burundi agricultural research board)
<b>ISAR:</b>	<i>Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Rwanda</i> (Rwanda agricultural research board)

<b>Kg:</b>	Kilogramme
<b>OTB:</b>	<i>Office du Thé du Burundi</i> (Burundi tea board)
<b>RN1:</b>	<i>Route Nationale 1</i> (High way number 1)
<b>SPSS:</b>	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
<b>UNDP:</b>	United Nations Development Programme

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

In the world, most people take tea at different times. Major factors contributing to the expansion in consumption of tea are the increased awareness of the health benefits of tea consumption and the product diversification process attracting more customers including young people (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2018). Tea is mainly grown in Asia, Africa and South America. The four biggest tea-producing countries today are China, India, Sri Lanka and Kenya. Together they represent 75% of world production (Palais des Thés, 2019).

Tea production requires human resources and the majority are workers engaged in field duties. Therefore, the tea estates become interesting employment opportunities for people who seek wage labour. In the countries where tea is produced, a big number of people are employed in diverse activities done on the plantations. In India for example, tea is produced mainly in four states namely Assam, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and the employed labourers in 1997 were 1 032 267 of whom 492 899 were females (Bhowmik, 2003). In 2019, India tea industry counted around one million workers and 10 million indirect workers (Gunadasa, 2019). Bangladesh being one of the ten producing countries in the world, tea industry is also an employment opportunity as 89 812 were registered workers and 19 592 casual workers in the tea estates in 2015 (ILO, 2016). In addition to wages, mostly permanent workers get also some work facilities. These are: a house including water and latrine, school for children, health centre, ration or cultivable land from the garden of authorities (Kabir, 2007).

In Africa, Kenya is the biggest tea producer. Tea was first introduced in Kenya from India by a colonial settler G.W Caine in 1903 and it is currently the leading export crop (Gesimba, Langat, Liu and Wolukau, 2005). In all the tea producing countries, Kenya is the first country which produces and exports black tea in Africa and the second exporter in the world. The Kenyan Tea Development Authority (KTDA) is responsible for zoning, coordinating, processing and marketing the entire tea production of smallholders. It is the biggest private company where the provision of employment was over 15 000 employees in 2010 (Monloy, Mulinge & Witwer, 2013). However, these opportunities for wage labour are most of the times taken by men in rural Africa. This is due to the patriarchal system where relations between men and women recognize men as the powerful members in households. Arora and Rada (2013) asserted the same on this. According to these scholars, a typical woman in rural Africa assumes the role of a food producer and processor, home-maker, caretaker.

In Burundi, like in most African countries, tea was introduced in the colonial period for consumption and thereafter developed in a commercial industry. During the colonial rule, the three countries namely Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo were under Belgium rule in the 1930's and the concern of the colonial power was to develop cooperation in the three countries in the framework of Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL, an economic community of the three great lakes countries). It is in this context where agricultural research boards were initiated in the three countries. Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Burundi (ISABU), Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Rwanda (ISAR) and Institut National des Etudes Agronomiques du Congo (INEAC) in DRC were initiated in the three CEPGL members. In this respect, tea was introduced in

Burundi from Mulungu (a research site in the DR Congo) and experiments of the tea plant started in 1931 at Gisozi (Nkunzimana, Thonon & Ndimira, 2002). In 1950, tea was factored in the agricultural policy in Burundi (Nduwimana, 2017) and the government decided to produce tea for export in 1962 after independence. The pilot tea project was installed at Teza in Muramvya province on a land area of 500 hectare located on 2 100 m of altitude. In 1970, Teza project became a functional tea estate after a series of experiments conducted by ISABU. Office du Thé du Burundi is a tea board in Burundi which owns five tea estates namely Teza, Tora, Rwegura, Ijenda, Buhoro in the whole country. It has processing factories in the five estates and its tea leaves are also bought from smallholder farmers. Apart from OTB plantations, privately held tea companies (Prothem-Usine, Complexe Burundo-Hollandais, Caspian, Camellia) are also coming in competition. Prothem-Usine is the first private tea factory which started operations in 2011. Sitting on a land area of 2 657 hectare (included 600 hectares of tea plantations), Teza Tea Company is the largest in Burundi. The workforce of the company is made of more than 1000 permanent employees (Capecchi, 1976). Most of the workers are farmers recruited around the tea company or coming from elsewhere in the country.

The wages paid to workers in Teza tea factory are very low considering the amount of work done (70 Fbu, equivalent to USD 0.04 per plucked kilogramme). Burundi, indeed, has very low minimum wages and were set in 1988 to 160 Burundian Francs (now, around USD 0.09) per day for urban areas and 105 Burundian Francs (now, around USD 0.06) per day for rural areas. Real minimum wages have, therefore, stagnated considerably over the years (Danish Trade Council for International Development and Cooperation, 2015). Therefore, this low level of wages in Teza tea industry may be linked to that historical wage levels which were enacted and became



a basis of any labour payment in Burundi. Despite the low wages in the tea company, paid work is seen as an instrument to keep workers' position of provider in the household. It was observed that earned wages were not well utilized most of the times. This wage utilization, in turn, was seen to have effects on gender relations among spouses in households. This study investigated the socio-economic factors that drove workers to seek for wage employment in Teza tea plantations, how the workers utilize their earnings, and the implications these have on household gender relations.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Most rural population in Burundi mainly rely on agriculture as means of livelihoods (Adelski and Rosen, 1991). Farming activities provide them food and financial means to satisfy their household needs. Apart from subsistence farming, people in Muramvya use the geographical proximity to Bujumbura capital city and the heavy traffic on the national road number one (Route Nationale 1) to sell various fruits and vegetables grown in the area. This is also affirmed by the study titled "Getting and Spending: A Household Economy in Rural Burundi" conducted by Adelski and Rosen (1991). They found out that in terms of employment, agriculture remains the dominant activity for rural household members. Muramvya province has also natural forests where charcoal is burnt and sold locally and outside the place.

However, the rural population in Muramvya remains poor due to low levels of education, advice from government agencies and consistent capitals. This was ascertained in the report of the World Bank (2016) where the findings show that poverty is overwhelmingly rural with 64.9 percent of the population living in poverty. The financial institutions hardly support farming activities due to their high level of risk. The production from agriculture, which is the major source of income for the majority of the rural population, seems not to be enough for a population that

continues to grow. This makes many farmers leave their homes and go to work in Teza Tea Industry where they are employed and paid. But what they earn in tea works creates a problem in households because wages earned do not translate to benefit household needs most of the times. Instead, it was observed that majority of the workers utilize their income on issues other than primary subsistence requirements. This, in turn, was seen to impact on intra-household gender relations. This study is anchored on that assumption.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The general objective of this study was to assess the influence of socio-economic factors and wages on intra-household gender relations among wage labourers.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The study set out to:

1. Examine the socio-economic factors of wage labour and their impacts on familial relations among workers;
2. Analyze the effects of wage utilization on gender relations among households of workers.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The study was guided by the following questions:

1. How do socio-economic factors of wage labour impact on familial relations among workers?
2. How does wage utilization impact on gender relations among households of workers?

### **1.5 Justifications of the Study**

The expansion of industries intensively contributed to employment in Africa after the age of independence. This employment provision brings to light several crucial issues in the field of labour which needs in-depth understanding in the perspective of reducing social as well as economic injustice in Africa. Despite a number of studies done in the country and in other parts of the world to draw attention to the lifestyle and working conditions with a tendency to single out the peculiarity of labour plantations and factories, wage utilization of Burundian tea workers have not been studied. It is in this purview that this study addressed the socio-economic factors pushing rural people to seek paid works in Teza tea plantations, wage utilization and emanating intra-household gender relations. This study, therefore, aimed to document and to explain these issues guided by empirical data collected in Teza Tea Company, Burundi.

This study was done in a context of the intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme (AMAS) where the project supported higher education cooperation between countries in Africa. The scheme aimed to promote sustainable development in Africa and so contributes to poverty reduction by availing well trained and qualified manpower through mobility of students between African countries. Prosperity, ending poverty and hunger being part of the focus of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the findings of this study will help policy makers in the tea sector in Burundi to improve the working conditions of workers.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This study was conducted in Burundi (Muramvya province, Bukeye district), in one of the parastatal tea estate which is located at Teza. The study was limited to three areas of concern which pilled it. First, the socio-economic factors were addressed in the

study as essential parts of the surroundings of the tea works on economic and social levels in a case study of Teza Tea Industry. Second, the study conducted among the tea workers at Teza was interested in determining the main allocations of the tea wages earned. Finally, a study was taken to the way gender relations were impacted on by the wages on household levels.

### **1.7 Definition of Terms and Operationalization of Variables**

The key terms used in this study are defined and operationalized as follows:

#### ***Gender relations***

Gender refers to social constructions of biological sex of human beings (male and female) and relations refer to the way males and females interact and share roles. In the patriarchal system, a rural African woman traditionally assumes the role of a food producer and processor, home-maker, care-taker (Arora et al., 2013). But gender relations are also influenced by the earning power of males and females (Olah et al., 2014). In this study, gender relations are used as reflections of roles, power in decision making and stable households of tea workers.

#### ***Socio-economic factors***

Socio-economic factors are triggers which set off decisions to seek wage labour. In this study, socio-economic factors were the work facilities, and material goods.

#### ***Teza Tea Company***

Teza Tea Company (2 100 m of altitude) is one of the five tea estates owned by OTB and it is the pioneer in the sector of tea processing in Burundi. It is located in Bukeye district, Muramvya province in Mugamba natural region.

***Wage***

Wage is defined as the minimum sum payable to a worker for work performed or services rendered within a given period. Calculated on the basis of time or output, wage may not be reduced either by individual or collective agreement. Wage is guaranteed by law and it may be fixed in such a way as to cover the minimum needs of the worker and his or her family in the light of national economic and social conditions (ILO, 2014).

In this study, the variable “wage” is used as a sum of money paid to a person employed in the tea plantations in exchange for work done.

***Worker***

A worker is an employee of a person, company, or organization (Microsoft Encarta, 2009). In this study, a worker is used as an employee assigned jobs in tea plantations of Teza Tea Company in Burundi.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviewed available literature on employment of plantation workers and utilization of their wages. The review was done under thematic areas of concern to the study. These areas are: factors of wage labour in plantations, labour wages, gender and wages. At the end of the thematic areas, a summary of literature reviewed is presented. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks used in this study are also presented in this chapter.

#### **2.2 Factors of Wage Labour in Plantations**

##### **2.2.1 Context of plantation agriculture**

Most of the plantations or other crops grown for industrial purposes were introduced by colonial masters in Africa. It was observed that Africans were working as wage labourers in the plantation estates managed by whites. In “An Introductory History”, Robert (1986) presented a debate on cash crop or plantation agriculture. One faction supported cash crop agriculture and another one was for plantation agriculture in Uganda. Robert said cash crop agriculture should have been encouraged to promote economic development of the African peasant because cotton had already achieved success. He concluded that the land and labour policies necessary for the promotion of plantation agriculture would prove disruptive and block African advancement. Robert’s work deserved praise in the sense that it gave a historical debate between cashcrop farming done by ordinary farmers and plantation agriculture where labourers work for wages. In this way, this literature was important as it set a good basis for this study when it discussed plantation agriculture as an employment opportunity of

workers. This provided a useful background of this study to examine the socio-economic factors of wage labour at Teza in objective one of this study.

Robert (1986) supported cash crop agriculture as a way of promoting economic development of peasant Africans in the same way that cotton had made achievements in Uganda. However, Sidney (1974) presented another side of livelihood of peasants working in the cane plantation: the men leave their houses, carrying their breakfasts and tools and dressed in rough work clothes, wide-brimmed straw hats and old shoes. They go “to defend themselves” in the cane, which was their phrase for the struggle of making a living. Taking Sidney’s work as a foundation to this study, its relevance was anchored in all the objectives of this study. Sidney indicated that the men were employed in the cane. In this plantation agriculture where Sidney made focus, peasants went to work in the cane for wages. Since the men depicted by Sidney worked in the cane for wages, the phrase “to defend themselves” implied that the workers had personal or household needs that they wanted to address using the cane wages. This then became a stepping stone of this study at Teza in the sense of investigating socio-economic factors which pushed the workers to look for paid works, the utilization of wages and the impacts of that utilization on intra-household gender relations.

In the study made by Gesimba, Langat, Liu and Wolukau (2005) in Kenya; tea was a leading export crop in Kenya with USD 437 million of earnings in 2001 but it was challenged by the rising production costs. The most worrying problem was the cost of labour as it accounted for two third of production without factory. Although the study did not go into details of labour wages and their utilization, it adequately presumed that the tea industry was an employment opportunity for labourers. This study then

departed from here to determine the wage utilization among the tea workers in Teza tea industry in Burundi. By doing so, this study went beyond the work of Gesimba's team to determine the priorities in the utilization of wages they earn in the tea company.

As Gesimba et al. (2005) reported that tea was the leading export crop for Kenya, the same way farming sector was doing in Zimbabwe. In the study conducted by Blair (2001), he found out that the farm workers comprised nearly a fifth of the total population. These farmers were the people whose labour sustained the commercial farming sector as the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy. Yet, they were also the people who worked and lived generally in poor conditions and a little was known about them. Blair's work in the Zimbabwean economy was a good foundation to the current study to be conducted in tea plantations of Teza, Burundi. Tea industry at Teza was producing tea for export and so participated in sustaining Burundian economy like in Kenya and farming sector in Zimbabwe. Blair's work created a good foundation for this study specifically when it clarified that the Zimbabwean workers worked and lived in poor conditions. From where Blair ended, this study was interested in finding out the socio-economic factors which influenced workers to do wage labour in Teza tea plantations. The poor life of workers, as depicted by Blair, triggered also this study to investigate the main uses of wages and their effects on gender relations among workers of Teza tea estate in Burundi.

Malawi Carer (2008) found out that the provision of employment by the tea industry was up to 70 000 in 2008. The report did not reveal the context of work in the tea industry. Still, this was a good foundation for objective one of this study which examined the socio-economic factors which informed tea works at Teza. In this study,



these factors appeared as a motivation of the employees to contract wage labour in the tea plantations. Wage issues were not highlighted in the report. Departing from here, objective two in this study was interested in determining main wage uses among the workers. Therefore, the report for Malawi created a good foundation for this study in the sense that tea industry was experienced as work opportunity where many workers were doing wage labour.

The studies done by Nkuzimana, Thonon and Ndimira (2002) on tea farming in Burundi showed that the constant labour force in tea plantations was an important factor which enabled a good tea production in the factories apart from the technical considerations of tea farming. The researchers included the role labour force in the factors which contributed to the increase of tea production. Although nothing was said about wages of the labour force in the tea plantations, their findings showed that tea industry could not progress without labourers. Based on this, the current study needed to investigate the socio-economic factors which explained the constant labour force depicted by these scholars and their effects on familial relations.

Capecchi (1976) made a detailed study in Teza tea estate, Burundi. His work revealed that tea plantation was decided by the government of Burundi to diversify products for export and to raise the level of living standards of people in the tea area. His study further showed that heads of families in Teza area were employed in the tea estate and farmers were encouraged to grow tea to be sold to the factory. His work was relevant in the sense that it presented tea industry in Burundi as an engine to improve the life standards of people. Capecchi's work provided a good background to this study although it did not go in all the details of other factors which motivated the peasant farmers to seek wage labour at Teza. These motivating factors were, therefore,

examined as socio-economic factors of wage labour. Furthermore, these factors were addressed together with their impacts on familial relations in objective one of this study.

Alongside Capecchi's findings at Teza, doing tea works in Teza Tea Company was also an opportunity for workers to gain new work skills and experience specifically in the tea sector. The skills and experience gained in the tea plantations further help the workers to seek similar or promoted employments in the same industry or elsewhere. Smith (1980) argued that there was a great deal to be gained from serving in an industry and the main advantage was that successful completion of apprenticeship gave recognition of craftsman. Being a craftsman was an opportunity to belong to certain unions and to get jobs related to owned skills. Smith's work contributed to the foundation of this study as the author highlighted the advantage of serving in an industry. This pushed the current study to examine socio-economic factors enticing workers to seek wage labour in Teza tea plantations and their impact on familial relations.

Plantation agriculture was seen by scholars in different ways. Robert (1986) argued that cash crop agriculture should have encouraged rather than plantation agriculture whereas plantation agriculture was seen as a true livelihood for peasant farmers through wage labour in plantation industry (Sidney, 1986; Gesimba et al., 2005; Malawi Carer, 2008; Capecchi, 1976). This labour force was assessed to be important for the industry to the increase of tea production (Nkunzimana et al., 2002). Although plantation industry was seen as livelihood for peasant farmers, bad working and living conditions were found out in workplaces (Blair, 2001) but labourers could benefit from apprenticeship and membership in unions of craftsmen (Smith, 1980). With

regard to the literature reviewed, the question was why do rural individual decide to seek wage labour and how familial relations were impacted? This study considered working in Teza tea plantations as an economic opportunity offered to peasant farmers to create a livelihood and get more income. It is in this setting that this study viewed the quest for wage labour at Teza as motivated by socio-economic factors which impacted on familial relations (objective one in this study).

### **2.2.2 Selection of livelihood**

In any quest for waged labour, wage levels and many other aspects are considered. Many types of livelihood can, therefore, be done by people to earn income. From the wide range of livelihoods, better ones are selected based on diverse considerations. According to Peng et al. (2017), natural and socio-economic contexts influence household decisions to engage in various livelihood strategies. This shows that in choosing a livelihood to do, an assessment of the type of livelihood is made on both social and economic bases and this is done in relation with goals and available resources or assets. To align with these scholars, socio-economic factors were investigated as objective one in this study. These factors were investigated as the ones which informed wage labour in Teza tea estate and affected familial relations. Peng et al. did not highlight the socio-economic contexts which form the basis of choosing a livelihood. But their findings were still important to the current study on tea workers in the way that the researchers found out that people chose and decided which livelihood to do among many options available.

Monroy, Mulinge and Witwer (2012) revealed that cultivation of tea in Kenya was unbundled to local farmers after independence in 1963. From this time, the new policy on tea allowed the local farmers to buy small shares of tea estates. Since then,

the cultivated area and tea production remarkably increased. Although the researchers did not deal much with the tea workers who were employed in the plantations, the relevance of their work laid in the fact that farmers opted for tea farming as a livelihood because the newly set policies had allowed them to embark in tea farming. Having in mind that tea works at Teza subsumed employment of the local population for an economic advancement, this study was interested in socio-economic factors which informed the works in Teza industry and the resulting familial relations in households.

ILO (2018) reported that tea sector of Sri Lanka has a long history as a vital part of the country's socio-economic fabric. It has employed hundreds of thousands, particularly women, and generated millions in foreign exchange earnings. The report was relevant to this study as it showed that many hundreds of thousands of people opted to do wage labour in the tea sector. This was a basis for this study with regard to the first objective which is interested in finding out the socio-economic factors which influence tea works at Teza.

FAO (2014) made a very useful report for Burundi. The report was very important for the fact that it revealed that land was the country's most valuable resource given its agro-based economy. Most of the land was used for food production and for coffee and tea, which were the main export commodities. Growth of the national economy was highly correlated to agricultural growth and development. The attempt of FAO report to explore tea farming as one of the main export crops in Burundi made a good starting point of this study. There was, however, need to unearth other issues about why people opt to work in tea plantations to make up their livelihood. This need was,

therefore, explicitly expressed in objective one of this study to find out socio-economic factors which push and motivate workers to do wage labour at Teza.

With regard to all the above highlights made by researchers, selection of livelihood was asserted. A number of factors of that selection were reviewed. Peng et al.(2017) argued in the sense of socio-economic contexts which were understood in terms of social acceptability of livelihood and profitability on economic level. In line with economic context, FAO (2014) mentioned the agro-based economy as a cadre of implementing agriculture related livelihood for most rural people in Africa. Enforced state policies were lined up as criteria of livelihood selection by Monroy et al.,(2012). In some workplaces, certain works were labelled as gender specific jobs and this was stated as livelihood selection criteria by (ILO, 2018). But any link to between selection livelihood and impacts caused on familial relations was not highlighted. In this study, impacts on family level were factored in as effects of livelihood taken by household partners.

### **2.2.3 Diversification of livelihood**

A livelihood is a source of income to live on. In “Getting and Spending: A Household Economy in Rural Burundi”, Adelski et al. (1991) found out that in terms of employment, agriculture remained the dominant activity for rural household members. These findings clarified that agriculture was the main source of income for rural population in Burundi. Most rural Burundians relied on agriculture to live and to satisfy other needs. Departing from this basis, the current study was interested in finding out the factors which informed tea works at Teza. These factors were addressed as socio-economic factors and their impacts on familial relations. The work of Adelski et al. gave an important stepping stone to this study as it explored

agriculture as the main livelihood for most rural Burundians. Based on this work, this current study went beyond agriculture (dominant livelihood) to explore other source of income that the rural population opt for in the sense of diversification of sources of income needed in their households and in everyday life. Guided by the first objective of this study, focus was made on the economic factors which pushed the rural population of Teza to the tea works and the impacts brought to relations in families of workers.

Mackenzie (2014) made a useful study in the area of livelihood of rural people. His work was very relevant in the sense that it mentioned three sources of income in rural areas namely on - farm (activities on one's farm), off - farm (jobs done outside one's farms for payment) and non - farm activities (activities outside farming to earn wages). His study gave a good background to this study. The off-farm activities are like wage labour at Teza which are addressed with guidance of objective one in this study. In this respect, the off-farm activities at Teza were informed by socio-economic factors. Furthermore, the current study unearthed impacts of the socio-economic factors on familial relations among the workers.

Kassie et al. (2017) expanded from where Mackenzie left. Their work affirmed that livelihood diversification is a strategy that can boost farmers' income. Their attempt to explore livelihood diversification as a strategy to boost income was a good basis for this study. This diversification strategy enabled the farmers to stay in a position of sustaining their households. However, another study was worthy to be conducted to address the socio-economic factors (objective one) which were not covered by this author in the line of boosting farmers' income. This objective found out the factors which pushed and motivated workers to undertake paid works in the tea plantations at

Teza and their impacts on familial level. This was the gap identified in the work of Kassie et al. that was addressed in this study.

In terms of livelihood diversification, it is observed that even employed individuals sometimes engage in entrepreneurial ventures to generate more income which is added to the wages they regularly earn from their employers. This was also ascertained in a study conducted by Davis (1967) in the mines of ex-North Rhodesia. He found out that a few individuals working in the mines traded the salt or the tobacco of one district with their neighbours. These trading activities done by the workers of the mines were located in the eagerness and determination of generating financial incomes through different avenues legally accepted in the area. This livelihood diversification entailed a number of financial needs that the workers of the mine wanted to keep controlling. The findings of Davis in ex-North Rhodesia were very relevant to the current study because they revealed that workers in the mines were engaged in other sources of income. With regard to this study, Davis made a good foundation specifically for objective one of this study done at Teza. As Davis showed that workers diversify sources of income, the current study among Teza tea workers departed from there in investigating socio-economic factors which motivate all the ventures to get more income and their implications on familial relations.

Njiro (1990) made a detailed study on Embu tea producers, in Kenya. This work stressed the hard labour done by women in Embu to earn income apart from other responsibilities they have in their households. The study further noted that the tendency of men to diversify their labour power into various cash generating activities removes them from their households. Although Njiro did not deal much with the utilization of the income earned in the diverse income generating activities, the study

provided a very useful background because it highlighted that both men and women were interested in activities to generate income. There was then a need to investigate more on socio-economic factors of livelihoods and their impacts in households. This was addressed in this study with guidance from objective one.

Oluoch (1978) analyzed labour utilization in the tea industry in Kenya. It is stressed that one of the major inputs in tea production is labour. In addition to working in tea plantations, the labourer must also work on subsistence production and in other household activities. This work was so relevant in the way that it addressed tea labour as a kind of income diversification to support subsistence production of farmers. However, another study proved necessary to understand well the contours of this provision of labourers. Based on the work of Oluoch, this study found out the socio-economic (objective 1) which informed tea works and their implications on intra-household relations among workers at Teza.

Based on all these findings, it is clear that most of the rural population in Africa get their main income from agriculture (Adelski et al., 1991). In order to ensure that they get income continuously and also increase it for their living, the rural people diversify sources of income by doing other off - farm or non - farm activities (Mackenzie, 2014) so that they can boost income (Kessie et al., 2007). The off-farm activities are basically done in addition to other activities done in households (Oluoch, 1978; Njiro, 1990). Like Mackenzie and Oluoch, Davis (1967) also mentioned trading as non-farm activity done by mine workers apart from their routine wage labour. In the literature reviewed, the impacts on gender relations were rare. In this study, therefore, working in the tea plantations of Teza was considered as off-farm livelihood. This wage labour at Teza was another source of income for rural population around there. In this



perspective of livelihood diversification, the current study investigated the socio-economic factors of wage labour in Teza industry and their impacts on familial relations in among workers.

## **2.3 Labour Wages**

### **2.3.1 Determination of wages in plantations**

In most cases, employers fix salaries / wages and employees / labourers comply. The payments for all the works done in Teza tea plantations are also fixed by the management in consideration of profit margin for the tea company. In “Underdevelopment in Kenya”, Leys (1994) depicted wage levels of workers. His point of view was that the policy of the government was to keep down the wage levels so as to encourage foreign investment, maintain agricultural profitability in the face of external fixed commodity prices and make African-owned enterprises profitable. Furthermore, Leys argued that the wage policy could be rationalized either in terms of maximizing the growth of employment or in terms of keeping down the urban-rural income differential or both. This work constituted a good foundation of this study specifically in the objective two which determined wage utilization among tea workers at Teza and tied it to impacts on intra-household gender relations. According to Leys, the low wages were willingly decided unilaterally by employers for the purposes of profitability and marketing of the tea companies. This study, therefore, approached the issue of wages in the aspect of utilization among the tea workers of Teza industry and its effects on gender relations in households of workers.

In the report presented by Danish Trade Council for International Development and Cooperation (2015) revealed very low wages were paid to workers in Burundi. In fact, USD 1 was a minimum daily wage paid to a worker in urban area whereas the one

from rural areas was USD 0.7 as ratified in the government act of 1988 which has never been revised. This report did not provide the situation of tea wages but it was relevant to this study in the objective two. As this objective was set to investigate wage utilization among workers of Teza Tea Company, this report gave an idea on the context of wage setting in the tea industry in Burundi (which is controlled by the government through the parastatal tea board, OTB) for the current study to extrapolate the main uses of the earned wages and effects of the utilization on gender relations.

Baghdadli, Harborne & Rajadel (2008) investigated the level of wages paid to tea workers in the tea industry in Burundi. They found out that wage paid was USD 0.02 per kilogram. This payment seemed small and disproportionate to the work done by the labourers but the workers kept working. The work of these researchers was relevant to this study because it gave the estimates of wages which were paid in the tea industry of Burundi. The second objective of this study was to analyze wage utilization and its effects on gender relations among tea workers at Teza. Tea wage per kilogramme of picked tea, as found out by the researchers, was considered in this study. In this area of the present work, the focus was not on whether the wage is small or not but the utilization of it and its effects on intra-household gender relations among the workers.

Kabir (2007) found out that tea workers were demotivated by the low wages although they were given by the tea factories, which employed them, many facilities like accommodation, school facilities for their children, cultivation land, etc. The relevance of these findings to the present study was that they triggered this study to investigate the contribution of the facilities of this kind in attracting the work aspirants at Teza. Kabir's findings showed that there were certain needs which were

catered for by the employer and these needs would have been catered for by the workers themselves if not availed by the employer. It is in this context that these facilities were also factored in alongside wage utilization. With guidance from objective two, this study was interested in wage utilization among the workers of Teza Tea Company with reference to the other needs which were fulfilled by the company. Although the researcher did not say for what the wages were used, considering the fact that a number of basic facilities were supplied by the companies to the workers, his findings guided the present study in analyzing the utilization of earned wages and its effects on intra-household gender relations.

All the aforementioned researchers have presented their findings in different researches they have conducted in tea wages paid to workers of the tea companies in diverse places. It was found out that the tea wages are low (Baghdadli et al., 2008). It was further argued that this situation of wages emanated from state decisions on wages (Leys, 1994; Danish Trade Council for International Development and Cooperation, 2015). In relation to wages, it was reviewed that workers were not very happy even when certain work facilities were provided by employer (Kabir, 2007). However, the scholars did not say any motivating factors of that kind of labour with low wages. In this study, socio-economic factors which pushed rural farmers to do wage labour at Teza were investigated and linked up to familial relations.

### **2.3.2 Wages utilization in rural households**

In “Economics for a Developing World”, Michael (1992) argued that both historical and cross - country expenditure studies showed that individuals and families with low incomes spend very high proportions of their income on basic necessities such as food, clothing and simple shelter. The second objective of the current study was

interested in the utilization of wages and its effects on gender relations among the workers of Teza Tea Company. Michael's work really created a relevant background to this study in investigating wage utilization among tea workers in Teza Company.

Jayne, Yeboah, and Henry (2017) investigated farmers and their profits from farming. They emphasized that greater profits in farming would generate greater expenditures by millions of people in rural areas that would fuel the transition to a more diversified and robust economy. They stressed that higher income for millions of households engaged in agriculture would expand the demand for goods and services. This was hoped to open up for new employments in the agriculture to get enough financial means. The work of Jayne et al. provided an interesting background to this study. They tried to explore the link between farmers' profits, expenditures they make and the opening up for new job opportunities. Another research was necessary to find out the expenditures that employed labourers at Teza do with their wages. It is in this sense that the second objective of this study investigated wage utilization among tea workers at Teza in order to unpack the expenditures done by the rural farmers doing wage labour, and the effects of wage uses on gender relations.

Ethical Tea Partnership (2011) conducted a study in three different countries namely Malawi, Indonesia and India. In the mentioned countries, tea was produced and sold to foreign markets apart from internal tea consumption. Ethical Tea Partnership reported that tea workers in the targeted countries were paid low wages that they were not able to pay all their household needs. In this study, objective two was eager to find out the main uses of the earned wages and the effects of wage utilization on gender relations. Although the report of ETP did not indicate clearly the utilization of the wages that tea workers were earning in the selected countries, it constituted a good

basis of the present study as the report stated that the tea wages were utilized to cater for needs in the households of tea workers.

Ethical Tea Partnership (2016) published a report on supporting Burundian tea producers and smallholders. In the report, a life story of Reverien Ndarusanze who was a worker in Ijenda tea factory was presented. It was reported that the aforementioned worker was able to pay medical care and pay school fees for his children thanks to the tea wages. The attempt by Ethical Tea Partnership to investigate the utilization of tea wages among tea workers in Burundi was of great relevance to this study because it gave an image on main expenditures that were covered by the tea wages in Ijenda area. Still, there was need to continue the research on wage utilization at Teza in order to unearth other priorities for which the tea wages were utilized and this was attained with guidance from the second objective of this study.

The current study was done in a perspective of individuals leaving their homes to undertake wage labour in a Teza tea plantation. On this note, the work operated on the premise that there was a connection between insufficient income in the households and the employment of rural farmers in a tea factory. On this, Jorgensen (1965) stated that the household should be defined in such a way that it contains persons who behave as a unit both in relation to the earning of income (income unit) and to the spending of income (spending unit). This income - expenditure pattern that the author posited was a solid foundation of this work in the sense of spending income. However there was need to expand the research to the utilization of wages and its effects on gender relations within rural households. This fitted well in the second objective of this study.

The reviewed literature showed that profits from farming would generate greater expenditures in rural areas (Jayne et al., 2017). In terms of utilization of wages, the expenditures on basic necessity things were made by rural individuals (Michael, 1992) to survive. Apart from basic necessity, wages were also used to cater for school fees and medical care (ETP, 2016). The rural farmers, who became wage labourers in plantations, needed income from wage labour to sustain their households and this could be effective in a situation where all the members behaved like income and spending unit (Jorgensen, 1965). But the wages were seen as low with regard to the household needs (ETP, 2011). In this particular review of literature, aspects of wage utilization appeared but relations in households where wages were utilized needed to be investigated. Therefore, this study attempted to investigate deeply the utilization of earned wages and its effects on intra-household relations among workers of Teza Tea Company.

#### **2.4 Gender and Wages**

Like many societies in Africa and in the world, Burundi is one of the countries with patriarchal system. Women and men are seen differently in terms of roles and intra-household power. This system created a situation where women are seen as the most loaded in terms of household tasks. Iman, Pittin and Omole (1989) studied this area. Their point was that women have a double-load because they do unpaid house work and child care, while at the same time they contribute economically to the household through farming, trading, crafts, food processing or waged work. These scholars made a basis to this study especially in the double-load of women which they highlighted in their work. It is to be recalled that women can do almost all roles. From where the scholars ended, this dimension of gender was considered particularly in the second objective of this study. Guided by objective two of this study, the utilization of earned

wages was addressed. The aspect of double-load of women was factored in when addressing impacts on intra-household gender relations among the tea workers at Teza.

On the same issue, Arora et al. (2013) asserted that a typical woman in rural Africa assumes the role of a food producer and processor, home-maker, caretaker. The authors attempted to investigate gender issues in the African societies where relations between men and women recognize men as the powerful members in families. Their work did not argue on utilization of income in that particular situation. To align with this, the study linked uses of income to intra-household gender relations among workers. On this note, utilization of finances was seen as source of conflicts in households if not properly done. For that reason, this study was guided by the second objective to find out gender relations emerging from the utilization of wages among the tea workers of Teza Company.

Uchendu (2008) was interested in the aspect of domination among partners in households. The stand of the researcher was that within the continent, male domination was escalating and female subordination was deteriorating. Consequently, poverty was escalating. In one sense, Uchendu's work suggested that hegemonic masculinities were responsible for perpetuating poverty especially in the rural areas. The relevance of the scholar's work to the current study was valuable. The scholar created a foundation to this study in the sense of poverty eradication in households. On this gender perspective, the link between domination and poverty was seen when the men do not productively utilize their labour and time to help in household activities. This is the perspective that the current study was interested in. With guidance from objective two, wage utilization was investigated in this study to find out efforts to eradicate poverty in households. This study was further guided by

the second objective to investigate the impacts of the utilization of wages on intra-household gender relations among tea workers of Teza Tea Industry.

The World Bank (2018) presented a report to address poverty and boost economic growth in Burundi. The report stated that agriculture was the main occupation for 92 percent of Burundian women, compared to 75 percent of men. This report of the World Bank gave a background of this study. It stressed that agriculture was the main source of employment in rural areas of the country and it was occupied by the majority of rural women. To continue from where the World Bank's report ended; financial earnings that the women earn from their agricultural activities, utilization of income from agriculture in households, division of labour between men and women deserved to be addressed in an exclusive study. It was in the attempt to fill this gap that the second objective in this study investigated wage utilization and its effects on intra-household gender relations among tea workers of Teza Tea Company.

Although the focus was a bit different as compared to the report of World Bank on Burundi, Ipinge and LeBeau (1999) also investigated gender inequalities in Namibia. They found out that the agricultural sector paid the lowest wages compared to other main sectors of formal economy. Moreover, the scholars noted wide gender disparities and marked inequalities in wages and salaries in Namibia. Their work did not investigate the way earned wages were utilized but it built a solid foundation to this study. The work of these scholars in Namibia constituted a stepping stone of this study. Based on their findings, the current study was eager to find out the utilization of the earned wages. Guided by objective two, this study attempted to find out the impacts brought by utilization of earned wages on intra-household gender relations from the perspective Teza workers in Burundi.



In “The new roles of men and women and implications for families and societies”, Olah et al. (2014) ascertained that roles are not solely predetermined by gender, but are also strongly influenced by the relative earning power of each partner. The relevance of their work to this study was in the fact that the earning of a husband or a wife determined power in decision making in family. Guided by the second objective, the current study used the researchers’ assertion to investigate how the partners’ financial power conferred by tea wages reshaped the existing gender relations within rural households.

Olah et al. (2014) agreed with Sinclair (1997) in their studies on roles among men and women. According to Sinclair (1997), quoting Swain (1993), most of the Kima and Sani women who produced handicrafts for tourists markets gained increased power within the household but not within the wider society where traditional gender roles persisted. Although Sinclair was much interested in women power in that section, her work was still relevant to this study. It, therefore, gave facts from her investigation about women power which increased as their income rose. With regard to this basis, the current study found it relevant mostly to its objective number two. It was, therefore, in this respect that the current study conducted among Teza tea workers extrapolated from these published findings in the domain of gender roles to analyze impacts of wage utilization on intra-household gender relations among the workers.

Michael (2011) made a useful work concerning tea sector overview. His work raised gender aspect of employment which stated that work in tea gardens was usually gender specific. His exploration of employability revealed that harvesting generally referred to as plucking; absorbed the most amount of labour and it was carried out almost exclusively by female workers. There was typically a daily wage for tea plucking with a stipulated minimum quantum of leaves to be plucked. This regular tea

wage conferred to the females a certain financial autonomy in households. As for men, a few of them were recruited for short time physical works like pruning. The relevance of his work was in the specificities of employment in the tea industry which specified works for women and for men. But another study was necessary to investigate intra-household gender relations. The current study was guided by the second objective to find out any impacts on gender relations emanating from wage utilization.

On the same issue of gender relations, Michael et al. (1955) argued that globally women tend to be poorer than men. They are also more deprived in health and education and in freedoms in all its forms. Moreover, the same authors stressed that women have primary responsibility for child rearing and the resources that they were able to bring to this task would determine whether the cycle of transmission of poverty from generation to generation would be broken. The second objective of this study was interested in impacts of wage utilization on gender relations among workers of Teza tea estate. The scholars made a good basis to this study. They mentioned that women are primarily responsible for child rearing and they allocate resources to this family responsibility. Although the scholars tried to explore the utilization of resources by women, the current study needed to find out how the priorities covered by women's resources impacted on gender relations within households.

The literature reviewed above attempted to link income to gender in different aspects. Women were depicted as food producers, home makers and caretakers (Arora and Rada, 2013). In this way, women were seen as double-loaded in households because they were seen as income makers through trading and wage labour among others (Iman et al., 1989). According to Uchendu (2008), this was due to male domination in most African societies where agriculture was the main employment and was mostly

relegated to women (World Bank, 2018). But, like men, the literature review showed that women could be highly employed as wage labourers compared to men (Michael, 2011). This employability of women brought some power to them in households (Sinclair, 1997) because earnings of each partner were depicted as relevant in influencing intra-household gender roles (Olah et al., 2014). However, compared to men, women were seen as poor because their finances were mostly allocated to domestic responsibilities like child rearing (Michael et al, 1995). Moreover, the literature reviewed showed some gender disparities among men and women in wage labour (Ipinge and Le Beau, 1999). Through the literature reviewed in this section, effects of wage utilization on intra-household relations were rare. Guided by objective two of this study, therefore, emerging gender relations from the utilization of wages were handled. It is in this purview that the utilization of wages was investigated in the sense of determining its implications on gender relations in rural households of tea workers.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.5.1 Bargaining theory**

Krishnaraj (2001) propounded bargaining theory. The theory posits spouses as the main economic agents in addition to other members of a household. Exchange between economic agents is a process of bargaining agency; it means the capacity to solve an economic problem. The objects of bargaining include the household division of labour or time and distribution of consumption goods and service, the allocation of income and labour between members. Household partnership is cooperative and conflictual. It is to be recalled that this study was done in Teza Tea Company where workers do paid works in the tea plantations of the industry. This theory was suitable to the study scenario where at least one household partner opted for wage labour in

Teza industry to earn a living which was beneficial to the entire household. This theory, therefore, helped to unpack involvements of each partner in solving economic challenges and engendering relations among household partners.

### **2.5.2 Adequacy of bargaining theory**

This research was done on a perspective of individuals leaving their homes to undertake wage labour in a Tez tea plantation. On this, the work operated on the premise that there is a connection between insufficient income in the households and the employment of rural farmers in Teza tea factory. In this sense, the household economics subsumes the division of labour between members of a household to maximise each person's own utility in household.

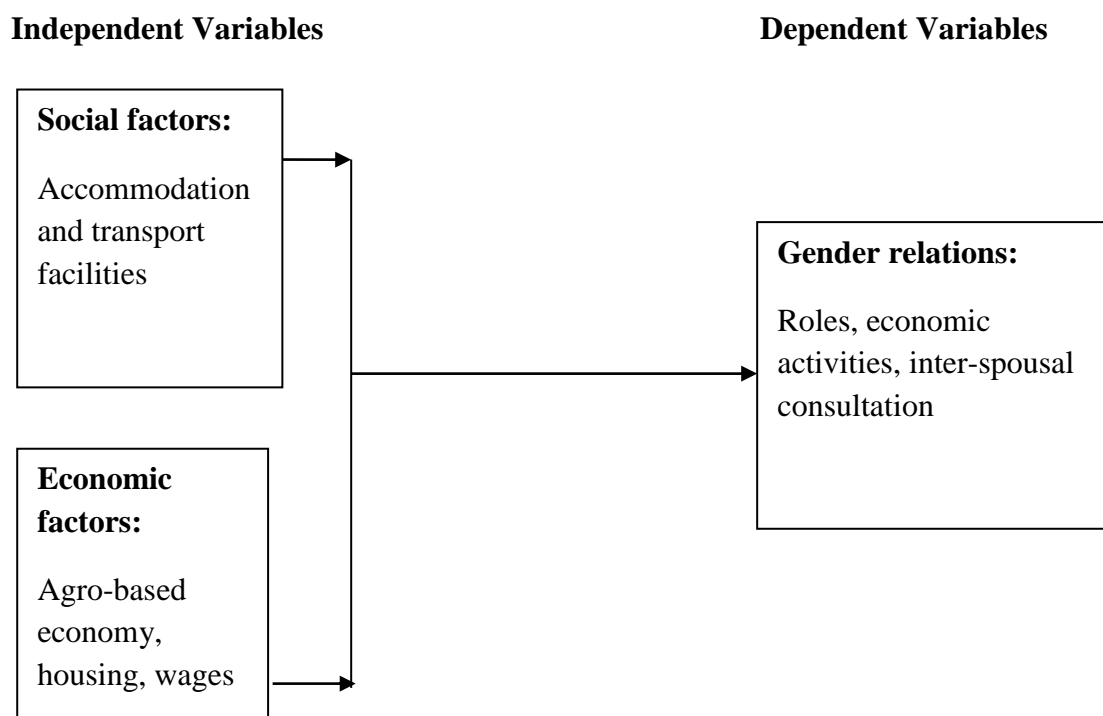
The “bargaining theory” facilitated the unpacking of what happens inside the household. This theory, indeed, was achieved through how the economic agents negotiated and with what resources. In this study, household partnership was cooperative because each member gained from the tea wages and this emerged positive intra-household relations among the partners.

This theory created a solid foundation of this work in the sense of the partners involved in keeping their households going and this confirmed cooperation between members. To fit in the theoretical framework, the management of workers' households was factored in the bargaining paradigm. Working in tea plantations of Teza factory was handled as a function of income differentials and employment. In this sense, this study was specifically anchored on the aforementioned theory to establish the way wage utilization solved economic challenges of workers' households and the engendered relations among partners which emerged from division of labour, consumption or distribution of income. The bargaining theory was

further completed by the conceptual framework where socio-economic factors were presented as triggers of wage labour at Teza.

## 2.6 Conceptual Framework

The following conceptual framework took in consideration influencing factors of wage labour in Teza Tea Company. By means of figure, link between variables are made. Schematically, the conceptual framework of this study was designed as follows:



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework**

*Source: Author 2019*

The target population in this study was mostly made of farmers who have decided to seek wage labour in Teza tea plantations. This study operated on the backdrop of tea workers who have left their traditional activities in agricultural sector or performed them parallel to wage labour in the Tea Company at Teza.

The bargaining theory of Krishnaraj (2001) guided this study to unearth what happens in households between economic agents in terms of solving their economic challenges in the perspective of division of labour or time and distribution of consumption goods and service, the allocation of income and labour between members. To complete well the theoretical framework, this study used a conceptual framework. In this sense, this study assumed that there are factors which influence tea workers to look for wage labour in the tea plantations of Teza Tea Company. These factors are either social or economic for the workers mostly come from the rural areas which are less developed as compared to urban areas.

For the sake of matching and rhyming with the theoretical framework, economic factors entailed agro-based economy and wage utilization whereas social factors entailed work facilities composed of free accommodation and free transport of workers. These described factors influenced the workers to look for employment at Teza tea estate and further affected gender relations in households. Workers mostly sought employment in the tea plantations to overcome their economic challenges. As for the social factors, they also determined the quest for wage labour and further affected gender relations.

In this study scenario at Teza; agro-based economy in the rural areas, acquisition of housing and wage utilization affected gender relations. Intra-household gender relations were affected in the sense of non-fixed gender roles, inter-spousal consultation and women's petty trading using men's wages. It is in this setting that this study considered the socio-economic factors and wages as independent variables, and gender relations as dependent variable.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

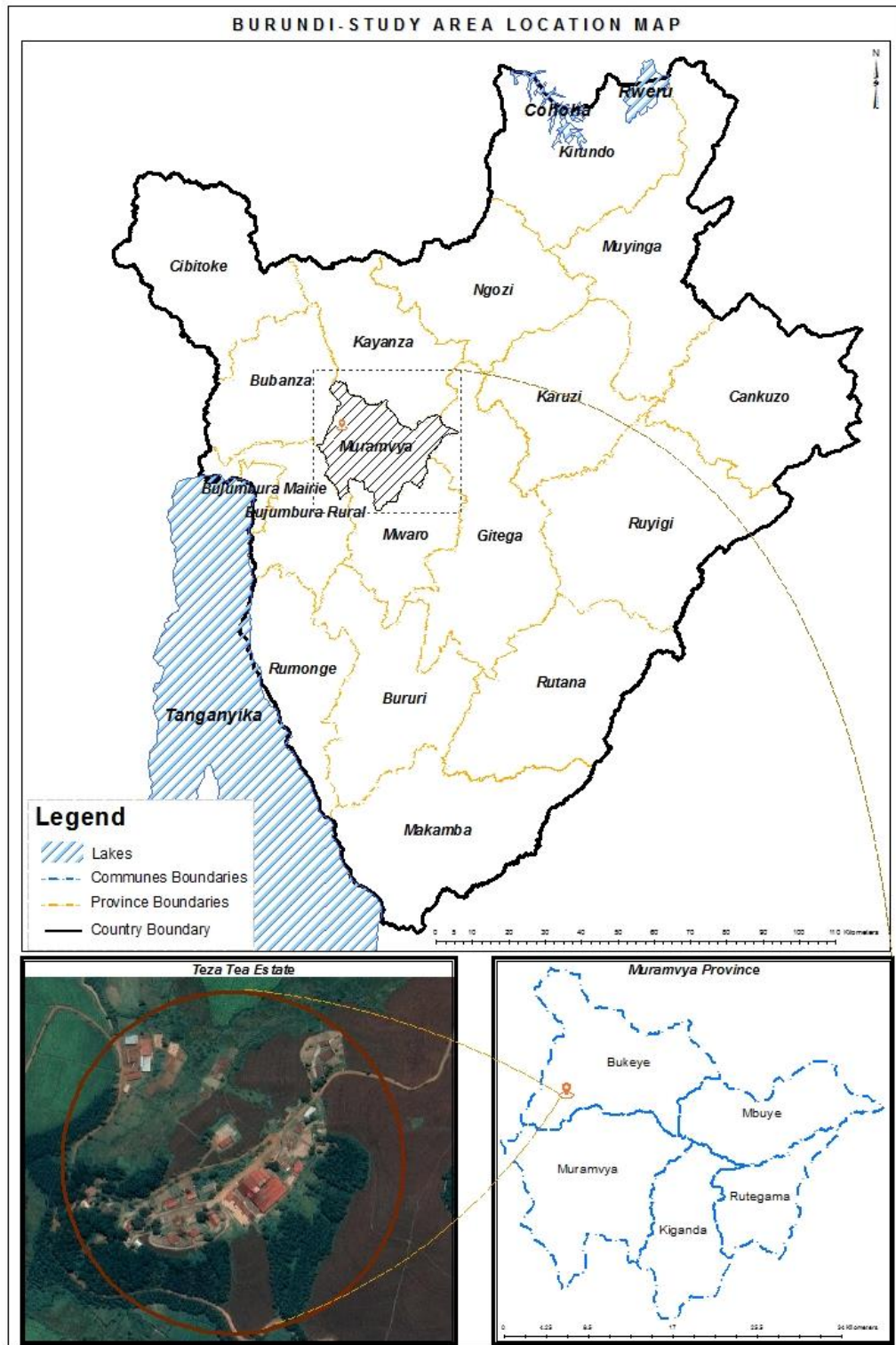
### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents research site of the study, research design, nature and sources of data, unit of analysis, target population and sample selection, methods and techniques of data collection, methods of data analysis, reliability and validity, ethical considerations, and problems encountered.

#### **3.2 Research Site**

This study investigated the influence of socio-economic factors and wages on intra-household gender relations among wage labourers employed in Teza Tea Company in Burundi. The study was conducted in Teza tea plantations located on 2100 m of altitude in the region of Mugamba in the environs of the Kibira forest. It is a government owned Tea Company of around 600 hectares and it is located in the province of Muramvya as the map shows.

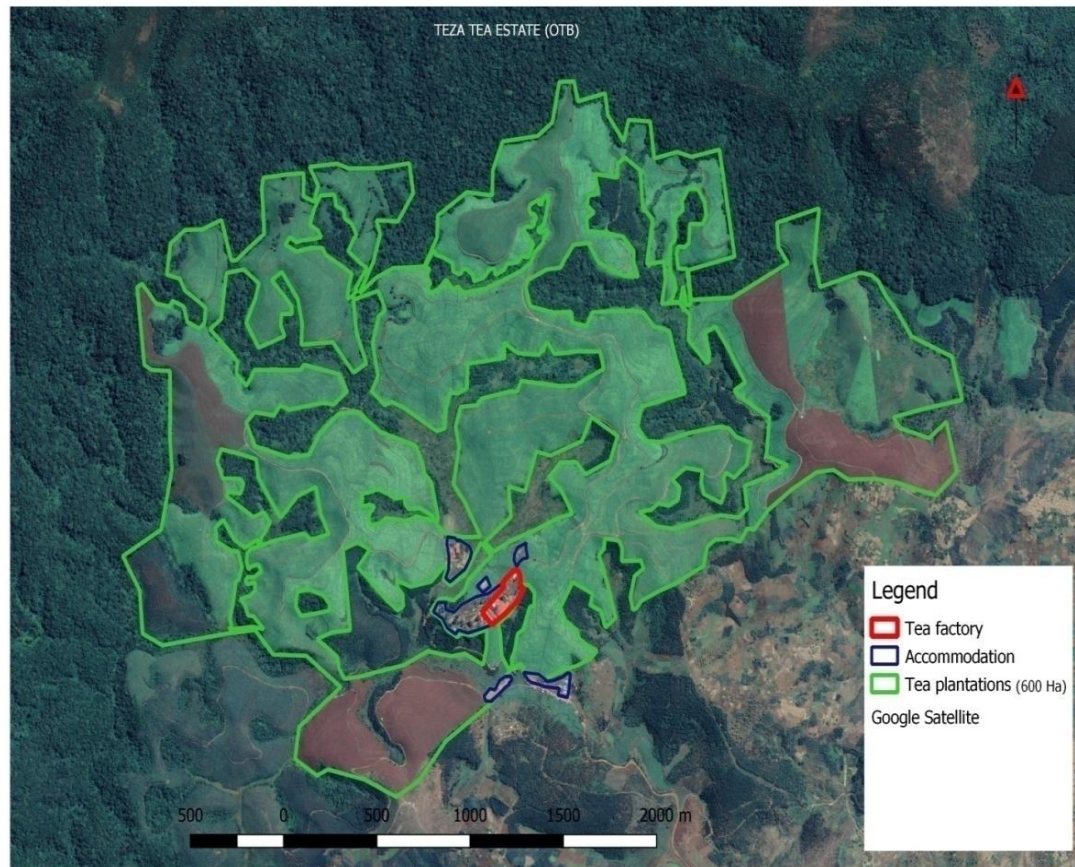


**Plate 3.1: Map of Burundi**

*Source:* Google Earth & [www.data.humdata.org/m/dataset/burundi-administrative-level-0-1-and-2-administrative-boundaries](http://www.data.humdata.org/m/dataset/burundi-administrative-level-0-1-and-2-administrative-boundaries)



Teza Tea Company is the pioneer of all the tea factories which process tea in Burundi. The main activities of the tea company are done in tea plantations and in factory as visualized on the map below.



**Plate 3.2. Map of Teza tea estate**

*Source:* QuantumGIS and ArcGIS softwares

There three picking sectors namely A, B and C. Sector A (180 hectares) comprises 7 areas namely Musugi, Rugabano, Gako, Uwangoma, Ruvobo, Kivumu, and Mugoti. Sector B (188 hectares) contains 4 areas namely Rugozi, Mitobo, Ntirugaya and Nyamugari. Sector C (232 hectares) has 9 areas namely Gasha, Nyamudida, Nyamateke, Rutwenzi, Misure, Mukungu, Kaguzwe, Kanindi and Inanjororo.

The study was conducted among workers of Teza Tea Company which is situated in Bukeye commune. Bukeye, located in the north of Muramvya, is one of the five

communes which compose Muramvya province. It borders Matongo and Butaganzwa communes of Kayanza province in the North, with Nkokoma stream and Mbuye commune bordering it in the East. Towards the South, Bukeye is bordered by Cizanye stream and Muramvya commune. While in the West, it is bordered by Mubarazi stream, Musigati and Rugazi communes of Bubanza province, and Teza forest. Ecologically, Bukeye fits within Mugamba and Kirimiro regions. Kirimiro is characterized by moderate temperatures and fertile soils. Mugamba region, which takes a great part of Bukeye, is characterized by acidic soils which require soil amendment and application of fertilizers for better agricultural yields. This region is also characterized by low temperatures and regular rainfalls. There are two main precipitation patterns in this region: the heavy rains fall between the months of September to January; and the moderate rains are received between March and June. The dry season starts from July to early September.

Agriculture is the main means of livelihood for most of the population around Teza Tea Company in Bukeye commune. Apart from cultivation of tea as cash crop, indigeneous farming - where intercropping is done - is the main agricultural practice in Bukeye and it is traditionally reserved to women. The crops cultivated include cassava, sweet potatoes, beans, sorghum, banana, Irish potatoes, maize, vegetables (tomatoes, onions, eggplants, cucumber, etc) and fruits.

### **3.3 Research Design**

This study adopted mixed methods research design. Peersman (2014) opined that what distinguishes a “mixed methods research” is the systematic integration of quantitative and qualitative methods at all stages of a study. The same scholar added that a key reason for mixing methods is that it helps to overcome the weaknesses

inherent in each method when used alone. Using both quantitative and qualitative approaches in this study was done for an in-depth analysis of wage labourers in Teza tea plantations. Mixed methods research design was used to increase credibility of the findings on the influence of socio-economic factors and wages on intra-household gender relations.

### **3.4 Nature and Sources of Data**

In this research, both primary and secondary data were used. Ajayi (2017) distinguished primary and secondary data in this way: Primary data are real-time data whereas secondary data are the one which relate to the past. Primary data sources include surveys, observations, experiments, questionnaire, and personal interview among others. On the other contrary, secondary data are collected in internet sources, in libraries, in government publications among others. In this study, primary data entailed data from the field. Secondary data entailed documented information from the Margaret Thatcher library (Moi University) and any other reliable publication on web sites. The secondary data were used in the background information of this study, literature review and in discussions of findings.

### **3.5 Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis for this study was composed of individual workers in Teza Tea Company, selected to participate in the study.

### **3.6 Target Population and Sample Selection**

#### **3.6.1 Target population**

The term population means all members that meet a set of specifications or a specified criterion (Datta, 2018). In this study, the target population was made of all the 626 tea pickers employed in Teza Tea Company in November 2019.

### **3.6.2 Sample size and sampling procedures**

In November 2019, the field workers employed in Teza Tea Company were six hundred and twenty six as found in the registers that were kept in industrial block. In Teza Tea Company, the tea plantations are managed by a department called industrial block. In this department, all the records related to tea works are kept. It is also in this department of industrial block where wages of workers are prepared. According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), a good representative sample is between 10% and 50%. Therefore, the sample size was made of 150 respondents (around 24% of 626 tea workers employed in the industrial block) to generate the needed data in this study.

Due to the fact that the population under study was heterogeneous, disproportional stratified technique was used to enroll respondents for the study. Concerning stratified sampling, Datta (2018) said that it is a type of sampling method used when population is heterogeneous. It means when every element of population does not match all the characteristics of the predefined criteria. In this study, disproportional stratification was used. It means that the sample size of each stratum is not proportionate to the population size of the stratum but computed with reference to the entire sample. In this study, therefore, two or more strata had different sampling fractions. To achieve this; three different strata were set regarding exclusive available categories of workers. The strata were made according to picking sectors, resident workers and non-resident workers. By means of ratios computed for each category with reference to the total workers, it was made possible to select the 150 respondents in the following way:

**i. Disproportional sampling**

Resident and non-resident workers' strata

	Resident	Non-resident	Total
	312	314	626
Sample 24%	74.8 (75)	75.3 (75)	150

Tea blocks strata

Block A:

Sample resident = total sector A / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 77 / 312 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{19}$$

Sample non-resident = total sector A / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 121 / 314 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{29}$$

Total sample A = **48**

Block B:

Sample resident = total sector B / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 118 / 312 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{28}$$

Sample non-resident = total sector B / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 75 / 314 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{18}$$

Total sample B = **46**

Block C:

Sample resident = total sector C / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 117 / 312 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{28}$$

Sample non-resident = total sector C / total sectors x 24% all sectors

$$= 118 / 314 \times 75$$

$$= \mathbf{28}$$

Total sample C = **56**

## ii. **Random sampling**

Random sampling was used in the different strata to pick respondents from the lists of workers available in the office of the industrial block of Teza Tea Company. Therefore, 48 respondents were randomly selected in sector A, 46 respondents selected in sector B, and 56 respondents selected in sector C. The total sample of this study became 150 respondents.

Disproportional Stratified and random sampling used together gave the most representative sample of the target population because it ensured inclusion in the sample of sub groups which would have been omitted by the other sampling methods. A total of 19 key informants were further enrolled in this study.

## **3.7 Methods and Techniques of Data Collection**

### **3.7.1 Secondary data**

Reading different books from the Margaret Thatcher library and publications (from reliable web sites) helped the researcher to be grounded in the topic under research by means of gaining familiarity with available literature. On this, Ajayi (2017) stated that

secondary data are the already existing data collected by the investigator agencies and organisations earlier and relate to the past. Secondary data collection sources are government publications, websites, books, journal articles, internal records among others. Checking available findings in the domain of investigation of the study in books and publications revealed or provided important guidelines which became the basis of this work. Reviewing the available literature further helped the researcher to be very skilled in the field of study. The review was also continuously carried out parallel to the field undertakings.

### **3.7.2 Interviews**

The sample population was subjected to interviews to collect primary data. As no research interview lacks structure, most of the research interviews are either semi-structured, lightly structured or in-depth (Jamshed, 2014). In this study, semi-structured questionnaires were prepared in the CSPRO software and were then copied in a smart phone to be used by the researcher and so maximized practicability in the tea bushes. The recording schedules were used as research instruments for a number of reasons: (a) all the respondents were not homogeneous in terms of education level to fill in the questionnaires alone. The sampled group were asked questions and the researcher filled in the answers. (b) Open-ended questions gave room for unrestrained responses that also informed the qualitative aspects of research.

### **3.7.3 Focus group discussions**

To complement the information collected through recording schedules, three focus group discussions were organized in the same period of field undertakings of this study. According to Ochieng, Wilson, Derrick, Mukherjee (2018); focus group discussion is frequently used as a qualitative approach to gain an indepth understanding of social issues. It aims to obtain data from a purposely selected group

of individuals rather than from a statistically representative sample of a broader population. In this study, FGDs were used to collect information from three groups of people composed of females alone (8 females), males alone (10 males) and a mixture of males and females (12 workers). The participants in the FGDs were selected from the workers. This method helped the researcher to see interactions between participants on the same topic and to capture common views on the topic presented to the group for discussion.

#### **3.7.4 Key Informants**

Nineteen key informants were interviewed in this study. These key informants were as follows:

- i. Camp elder (1): this is the manager of the residential camp at Teza
- ii. Pickers' representatives (3): these are the workers representing their fellows in different tea blocks
- iii. Capita (3): these are field assistants who supervise works in tea bushes
- iv. Team leaders (3): these are field supervisors of activities in tea bushes
- v. Agronomists (3): these are agronomists and coordinators of tea blocks
- vi. Recorders (3): these are tea collectors of the company
- vii. Chief of industrial block (1): this is the head of tea plantations of the company
- viii. Chief of staff (1): this is the head of all staff members at Teza company
- ix. Company manager (1): this is the manager of Teza Tea Company

Interviewing is the most common format of data collection in qualitative research (Jamshed, 2014). Semi-structured interviews were administered to the key informants listed above and they were recruited outside the sample frame to collect more opinions. The semi-structured interview guide comprised items which cover all the study objectives. The benefits of semi-structured interviews included (a) the



possibility for the researcher to probe and (b) the key informants expressed themselves freely in these kinds of interviews. This flexibility of the semi-structured interviews produced rich data and (c) they also enabled the researcher to read the body language of the key informants to capture hidden meanings.

### **3.7.5 Informal discussions**

In this study, other respondents were selected for informal discussions apart from workers and key informants. It was believed by the researcher that other information could be collected through informal and improvised discussions. According to Swain and Spire (2020), the term “informal discussion” is referred to as “informal interview”, “unstructured interview”. The aim of informal conversations is to gain greater in-depth understanding about a particular phenomenon, or ascertain how things work in a particular context. This means that talking to people informally was a constituent portion of qualitative part of this study. At the start of the field work, informal conversations helped the researcher to establish good rapport with the sample frame, to gain trust, to form an empathetic relationship with the respondents as the researcher was attempting to see the situation from the perspective of the study population. The researcher continued to use informal discussions continuously in an everyday context as a way of getting data which answered the research questions. Moreover, informal conversations were advantageous because the participants were not distracted by questionnaires, notebooks or the switching on and off of a recording device to mark a start and an end of a formal interview. The interviewees in informal discussions included a secretary of the factory manager, one local administrative leader and one church member so that information collected through other methods could be crosschecked by the researcher. Notes were written after the informal discussions to capture the views informally collected. The informal findings beefed up the

qualitative data and helped to balance, to crosscheck or to complement the findings that other methods had generated.

### **3.7.6 Observation**

Observation checklist was used to carry out passive observations. According to Jamshed (2014), observation is a type of qualitative research method which not only includes participant's observation, but also covers ethnography and research work in the field. In the field work of this study, the researcher observed passively types of houses in the environs of Teza, economic activities around Teza, social facilities at the workplace among others. The researcher then took note of everything observed for further analysis. Due to the fact that statements of tea workers in the other aforementioned methods could not necessarily reflect the true side of the story, observation method helped the researcher to see exactly other contours of the tea workers and any thing related to the study objectives was also captured in this sense.

### **3.8 Methods of Data Analysis**

Semi-structured questionnaires were checked for errors in responses or omissions on the spot. Data analysis was done both qualitatively and quantitatively for all the three objectives. Quantitative analysis entailed descriptive statistics in the sense of computing frequencies, and percentages using the SPSS Version 20. Qualitative analysis was used to analyze the content of interviews, Focus Group Discussions, key informants, informal discussions and observations. By means of thematic discussions in a form of narratives; the socio-economic factors influencing rural farmers to do paid works, the utilization of earned wages and the impact of tea wages on gender relations were found out among tea workers in Teza tea plantations.

### **3.9 Reliability and Validity**

#### **3.9.1 Reliability**

The research instruments were coined the ability to produce consistent results. Reliability is the capacity to produce consistent results after a trial. On this, Drost (2011) stated that reliability is a stability of measurement obtained through test. The procedure is to administer the test to a group of respondents to see sources of errors such as guessing on a test, marking answers incorrectly, skipping a question inadvertently, and misinterpreting test instructions. Prior to the real study at Teza, a pilot study was carried out to test the research instruments so as to guarantee reliability. On this issue, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) says that 10% of the total sample with homogeneous characteristics is appropriate for a pilot study. It is in this sense that 15 tea pickers were interviewed in Tora Tea Company (Bururi province, Mugamba commune) to ensure that the research instruments could generate the same results in the real study in Teza tea industry after a test in Tora tea estate. The benefit of conducting a pilot study was that it allowed the researcher to see vague questions and unclear instructions before the real study. Therefore, the real study in the industrial block of Teza tea industry (in Bukeye commune) was preceded by a pilot study conducted in Tora Tea Industry located in Bururi province. Reliability of the findings from the research instruments emanated from corroboration between secondary data captured in the extensive literature with the oral interactions and the naturalistic researcher's observation.

#### **3.9.2 Validity**

In order to make a successful research, the instruments needed to be valid in measuring what they intended to measure. According to Drost (2011), validity is concerned with the meaningfulness of research components. It attempts to assess the

degree to which constructs are accurately translated into the operationalisation. To achieve validity, the research instruments were presented to experts and supervisors of the School of Arts and Social Sciences in Moi University. Throughout this consultation, the researcher translated research concepts into a functioning reality.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

Integrity of this study at Teza was proved by adherence to ethic. On this, Eyisi (2016) said that ethic is about professional regulations and codes of conduct that guide the researcher. To abide by the ethic of research, data collection was preceded by a written permission issued by Moi University to collect data. Before conducting the study in Burundi, a number of ethical considerations were observed as well and these included (1) research permit and mobility extension from the AMAS project office in Moi University (host University) to Hope Africa University (home University in Burundi), (2) research authorisation from Makamba commune, (3) research validation from the Ministry of higher education and scientific research in Burundi and (4) research authorisation from Teza Tea Company. A number of other ethical principles were observed at the research site. In this respect, meetings with the sampled audience were organized both in the pilot study in Tora tea estate and industrial block of Teza tea industry to proceed by induction into the research. Then, confidentiality was guaranteed in the sense that respondents were explained and assured that the data to be collected were to be kept confidentially during data collection and they were to be used for academic purpose only. Furthermore, pseudonyms were used to guarantee anonymity of respondents in the final reporting of findings and research tools were confidentially kept at the completion of the study. Respondents were also asked to present their consent to answer researcher's questions or to team up in focus group

discussions. Furthermore, respondents were teamed up in focus group discussions in their free time after the last weighing of picked tea leaves.

### **3.11 Problems Encountered**

This study was done in a context of security tension around the research site (Teza forest) and in a diversity of vocabulary variants among the tea workers. For this effect, the study was undermined by three limitations. First, the researcher was discouraged to stay with resident workers and non-resident workers after works due to security concerns which were prevailing in the environs of Teza during the time of the study. Furthermore, most of the resident workers accommodated by the company in the camp left their family members in remote areas where they had been recruited from. As for the non-resident workers, they were regularly transported back home (in scattered places of Bukeye district) by the company trucks after work during evening time. It was therefore challenging for the researcher to document exhaustively the facts in relation to the scope of this study. The researcher then relied on observations and informal discussions to counter-balance collected opinions. Secondly, the research tools of the study had been written in English language. Due to the fact that the study population could not understand English, the researcher was obliged to translate the content into Kirundi language (mother tongue in Burundi). Although all the Burundians speak Kirundi, this vernacular language has variants mostly related to vocabulary items. Further linguistic explanations were then searched for a better understanding of collected opinions where needed. Thirdly, some workers were reluctant to participate in the study during the field undertakings at Teza. Due to high wishes of changes at the workplace, some workers wanted to be guaranteed of any differences that their participation in the study would bring. Other workers feared for the negative consequences coming from the side of company management which

would follow up their participation in the study. But after assuring the reluctant workers of confidentiality aspects and the academic use of the data, workers' participation was normalized.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings of the study on the tea pickers in Teza Tea Company in Muramvya province, Bukeye commune. This study was guided by two specific objectives and the results of the study are presented accordingly. Findings generated by recording schedules are presented in the form of tables, frequencies and percentages. Other results from focus group discussions, key informants interviews, informal discussions and observation are presented in the form of narratives. These findings are preceded by socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. After this section, findings are reported in two sections namely socio-economic factors of wage labour and their impacts on familial relations, and effects of wage utilization on intra-household gender relations.

#### **4.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Study Population**

This section presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample population selected for this study. The socio-demographic data of respondents discussed in this section include gender, age, marital status, size of household and place of origin.

##### **4.2.1 Gender of respondents**

Descriptive statistics of the sex of the tea pickers who were sampled (150 respondents) are presented in Table 4. 1. Among the tea pickers interviewed, 98.7 % are males and 1.3 % females.

**Table 4.1: Respondents According to Gender**

Sex of respondents	Frequency	%
Male	148	98.7
Female	2	1.3
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The results of the survey in this study revealed that the great majority of sampled tea pickers in Teza Tea Company are males (98.7 %) while very few females (1.3 %) pick tea as Plate 4.1 shows.

**Plate 4.3: Workers on queue to sell tea leaves**

*Source:* Author 2019

The findings in Table 4.1 show that males constitute important workforce in Teza tea industry. The dominance of the males in the tea works at Teza can be explained by the traditional values transmitted from generation to generation. First, the patriarchy



system educated the females to do family works in homesteads while males contract wage labour to provide with financial means to the households as a way of perpetuating the traditional division of household tasks between men and women. At Teza, it was observed that the few females employed as tea pickers in Teza industry live with their spouses and children in the workers' camp and they are migrant from another province. In informal discussion with one member of staff (male and married) in Teza tea industry, he said the following:

Kirundi version:

*“Imigenzo myiza twigishijwe na ba sokuru (harimwo n’ibikorwa vy’umugore n’umugabo mu rugo) turacabigendera hano mu ntara ya Muramvya kuko ni intara y’ubwami”*

English version:

“All the roles (which include also sharing of responsibilities between men and women) taught by the fore fathers are still observed in Muramvya province because it is a royal province”.

This verbatim demonstrates that the tradition still regulates certain aspects of social life in Muramvya. The same was also confirmed by Peng et al. (2017) when they stated that social context influence the choice of a livelihood. The verbatim further indicate that a woman from Muramvya doing tea works at Teza is judged negatively in her community because wage labour is relegated to men only. So, a woman in Muramvya needs to select livelihoods which do not compromise the social norms recognized in that area. Furthermore, many Muramvya females are not engaged in wage labour at Teza because of their familial responsibilities as assigned by the traditions.

Second, the low representativity of females in tea picking workforce is due to the long distance to travel from their homes to Teza tea estate in transport facilities which are

not very good. These transport facilities availed by Teza Company are lorries which require climbing high to get in. During the field work of this study, the researcher observed a woman with a baby on her back struggling to get in the lorry while the men were taking only a very short time to get in. These transport facilities may therefore demotivate women to seek for paid works at Teza. Third, the difference in payment may also explain low presences of women in the workforce at Teza. In informal discussions with a private tea plantation owner, it was realized that payment is higher in private tea farms outside Teza Company. In private owned tea farms, the payment for a kilogramme of tea leaves is 100 Fbu (USD 0.05) while it is 70 Fbu (USD 0.04) at Teza. This may also contribute in the low figures of female tea pickers employed at Teza.

According to the study of Bhowmik (2003) in India, the statistics of employed females were high compared to those of males. In the Tea Sector Overview, Michael (2011) raised that tea harvesting absorbs the most amount of labour and is carried out almost exclusively by female workers. However, this study conducted in Burundi among the tea pickers in Teza Tea Company revealed the opposite in the sense that the results showed that tea picking is mostly done by male workers. As reported by the World Bank (2018), agriculture is the main occupation for 92 % of Burundian women compared to 75 % of men. Men and women being seen differently in the patriarchal system, the findings of Arora et al.(2003) state that a typical woman in rural Africa assumes the role of a food producer and processor, home-maker and care-taker. Based on all these findings, the aspect of female employability in waged works like tea works is contextual. Unlike Bhowmik (2003) in India and Michael (2011) where the tea industry has many female workers, the Burundian socio-cultural context where waged works are mostly reserved for men makes the female employees

decrease compared to the statistics of men. These females rather spend most of their time doing agricultural activities in their homesteads (World Bank, 2018) and other household chores as part of their routine responsibilities in conjugal rural households.

#### 4.2.2 Age of the respondents

Statistics from the research based on the age of respondents are compiled in the Table 4.2. The results of the study showed that the majority (34 %) of the selected tea workers are young ranging from 18 to 25 years. The minority of all the tea pickers are elders (9.3 %) and their ages range from 55 years and above.

**Table 4.2: Respondents According to Age**

Age	Frequency	%
[18 – 25]	51	34.0
[25 – 35]	40	26.7
[35 – 45]	24	16.0
[45 – 55]	21	14.0
[55 and above]	14	9.3
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The result of this study shows that the major workforce in Teza Tea Company is made of young-adult workers (34 %) aged between 18 and 25 years while the elders (55 years of age and above) represent 9.3 % of all the interviewed respondents. This is due to increasing personal needs of the young-adult persons as they grow up and these require financial means to be satisfied. In this study, the researcher observed a sign post at the entrance of Teza tea industry indicating that there is no job for any person aged less than 18 years. However, during interviews in the tea bushes, non-adult tea pickers (children aged less than 18 years; the official age for paid employment) were found helping their parents to pick tea leaves. Although these

children were not so many, it is evident that they were learning to pick tea for future applications for similar jobs. On this underage labour, Smith (1980) stated that working in an industry is an apprenticeship which is the source of recognition as a craftman for future jobs or membership in certain unions. Therefore, tea picking appeared as apprenticeship for the youngsters in Teza industry. According to the study done by Bhowmik (2003) in the four main tea estates of India, the majority of workers were adults and a few non-adult workers. Bhowmik's study collaborates with this study where all the workers are adults but with a few non-adult workers.

#### 4.2.3 Marital status of the respondents

The table below (Table 4. 3) categorizes the sampled workers in their marital status in terms of single, married, and widowed. The results of the study show that the majority of the interviewed workers are married (67.3 %), with 32 % single workers.

**Table 4.3: Respondents According to Marital Status**

Marital status	Frequency	%
Single	48	32.0
Married	101	67.3
Widowed	1	0.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

In the Table 4.3, 32 % of the sample population are single workers and 0.7 % of widowed worker. This can be interpreted that, like the widowed, the single workers need to sustain their life. They see their financial needs increasing. Particularly, the challenges of the widowed become enormous because the other parent is no longer alive. For this reason, wage labour at Teza becomes an opportunity for all the social

categories of people to earn a living. Majority (67.3 %) of workers are married. This means that the responsibilities of these people are important in their households to the extent that their main concern is to keep their household going in generating financial income from tea works at Teza. Moreover, Table 4.4 shows concretely the position of respondents in their households.

**Table 4.4: Respondents According to Position in Household**

<b>Respondent's position in household</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Head of family	101	67.3
Widow	1	0.7
Other	48	32.0
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The Table 4.4 shows 0.7 % of widow worker, 32 % of workers who are not heads of families (other). Majority (67.3 %) of the workers are heads of families. This means that many workers, also head of families, do wage labour at Teza to earn a living for their families. According to Capecchi (1976) in his study at Teza Tea Company, the tea project was set up at Teza after independence with the objective to raise the living standards of the rural people from Bugarama and Bukeye communes in Muramvya province. In this context, head of the rural families around Teza were employed to do preparatory tasks to set up the tea industry at Teza. In the preparatory works, the rural people were recruited to prepare the farmlands for young tea plants and to maintain seed beds of tea plants. In return, these employees were paid wages to cater for their financial needs at home. At that time, it was a great opportunity for the rural people around Teza to get cash. Considering the findings of this study where 67.3 % of the interviewed respondents are married and heads of families, this means that working in

Teza plantations is still an opportunity for at least one spouse to work for wages in the tea company and then raises the living standards of the household.

This study was done on the back drop of the bargaining theory of Krishnaraj (2001). The theory posits that men and women are the main economic agents in households. Therefore, this theory is aligning well with these findings in the sense that the majority of interviewed workers are married (67.3 %) and heads of families. And as these workers get their wages at regular intervals; this comes to boost their economic agency in their respective households. Again, these findings imply the division of household responsibilities between spouses who are employed in the tea plantations (away from homes most the times, working in Teza tea plantations) and those who stay at home in the sense of keeping the households going in all their needs. This situation where a man is away working for wages and a woman staying at home doing other household activities implies cooperation among the household partners. Furthermore, this division of labour between men and women is also what Krishnaraj (2001) refers to as bargaining objects within household members. In this study, it was found out that the majority of interviewed workers are married (67.3 %) and heads of families. These findings (as presented in the Table 4.3 and 4.4 above) suggest that Teza Tea Company is a major contributor in uplifting the living standards of families. The company also boosts the standards of singles (32 % of the respondents). In relation to this, wage utilization is presented and discussed in the next sections.

#### **4.2.4 Size of households of the respondents**

The size of household of all the interviewed respondents in this study is presented in the Table 4.5 below. The majority (48.7 %) of the tea pickers sampled in this study have household size ranging from one to three members. The minority (2.7 %) in

terms of household size is made of tea pickers who have ten family members and above.

**Table 4.5: Respondents According to Household Size**

Household size	Frequency	%
[1 - 3]	73	48.7
[4 - 6]	41	27.3
[7 - 9]	32	21.3
[10 and above]	4	2.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The findings in Table 4.5 show that 2.7 % have size of household of 10 persons and above. This is the group which is less represented in the workforce at Teza. This is explained by the fact that workers who match with this category are aging to the extent that they have some physical weakness to pick tea. Another possible justification is that people with that size of household (ten persons and above) may have already initiated other income generating activities different from tea works. So, wage works at Teza may not be attracting to them any more. It is in this respect that Table 4.5 further shows that the number of workers reduces when the size of household increases. This is evidenced in the statistics in Table 4.5 where size of household of 4 members to 6 represent 27.3 % of the workers. The same table shows that the size of household of 7 members to 9 represents 21.3 % of all the sampled workers in Teza industry. Likewise, Table 4.5 shows that majority (48.7 %) of the workers have household size of between 1 - 3 members. On one hand, this majority may be explained by the fact that the major population is young adults who are not old in marriage. On the other hand, it can be explained by the fact that, as the

household size increases, the household members become economic agents and contribute to the welfare of households in different ways. This aligns with the bargaining theory of Krishnaraj (2001) which guided this study. The theory posits that other household members are also economic agents in addition to the spouses. Their involvement in economic ventures becomes noticeable. This means that the increase in household size entails also aging of the members; included the children. When the children reach the age of 18 years, they are officially allowed to do paid works and earn cash. This cash they earn helps them in their own expenditures which were catered from the budget of the household (generated by parents) because they were very young. When the offspring start working for wages, sometimes they also avail part of their earnings to be used in households. For example, it is frequent in rural households to see elder children paying school fees and other school materials for the junior ones. In this case, school fees and other related materials are no longer paid by parents because the elder children have taken over. The financial pressure diminishes to the side of spouses who may even relax or find other things to do rather than going to do tea works at Teza. Therefore, the household members become economic agents and alleviate the budgetary concerns of parents. This contribution from elder children (both males and females) continues even when they marry. In Burundi community, it frequent to see elder children who take their young brothers or young sisters to their place where they live after marriage. Likewise, another kind of support from elder children is seen when they avail funds to build parents' houses in villages.

#### **4.2.5 Place of origin of the respondents**

In Table 4.6, all the respondents in this study are classified according to provinces of origin. The majority (60.7 %) of the workers interviewed come from Muramvya province, the area where Teza Tea Company is located. The second group (38 %) of



workers in number come from Kayanza province, a neighbouring province. And the minority come from Bubanza and Gitega provinces with 0.7 % each.

**Table 4.6: Respondents According to Province of Origin**

Province of origin	Frequency	%
Bubanza	1	0.7
Gitega	1	0.7
Kayanza	57	38.0
Muramvya	91	60.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

It is to be noted that kayanza, Bubanza and Gitega provinces are all neighbouring provinces to Muramvya. The majority (60.7 %) of workers originated from Muramvya, province where Teza Tea Company is located. Other workers are imported from the neighbouring provinces (Kayanza 38 %, Bubanza and Gitega 1 % each) to bridge the gap. The local workers are not enough to pick tea in all the 600 hectare of Teza tea plantations. This shows that Teza Company is actually an economic opportunity mostly for the people of Muramvya and its surroundings where rural people can get cash to cater for their needs. The results of this study show that Muramvya and Kayanza supply huge portion of the workforce that Teza Tea Company needs.

This is explained by the following reasons. First, the fact that the two provinces are tea zones in terms of conditions required by tea plants to grow well. It is a region where tea started in Burundi and this makes the people from Kayanza and Muramvya know tea very well as compared to others. Muramvya supplying a big part of the

workforce at Teza, in deed, this alligns well with Capecchi (1976) who stated that one of the objectives of Teza Tea Company was to promote the economic growth of the rural people so that they could buy the provisions they need from the Imbo regions. Second, another reason to explain the big workforce supplied by Muramvya alone may be the publicity of the company in rural areas. As observed during this study, there are regular movements of cars, trucks and staff members of the company everyday from morning to evening in the rural areas surrounding Teza tea estate. This may push the rural people to envy working in the tea industry. They may envy Teza Company because it is the unique economic opportunity where many people can seek employment in the whole province of Muramvya. These frequent movements of vehicles in the rural areas at Teza may also entice the rural people to envy working at Teza because they admire being carried in the vehicles of Teza Tea Company. Third, Teza industry has another component where private tea growers get fertilizers as a loan and technical support from agronomists of the company. Their tea leaves are also boughtby Teza Company from peasant tea plantations and the payment comes every two months. To sum up, the most particularities of Teza Tea Factory include the fact that the rural people have appropriated tea since it was introduced after independence. Again, the technical outreach made by the company to propagate tea in the rural areas make up the image of the Company in the community of Muramvya province to the extent that the rural people may see Teza Company as a prominent economic promoter where people in need of cash can go to earn a living.

#### **4.3 Socio-Economic Factors of Wage Labour and their Impacts on Familial Relations**

This section discusses how socio-economic factors of wage labour affect intra-household gender relations among workers in Teza Tea Company. The discussions

are done in two components. These include relevance of organized welfare to the familial relations, Material acquisitions and women's domestic responsibilities.

#### **4.3.1 Relevance of organized welfare to the familial relations**

During field works of his study, the researcher observed a number of welfare facilities offered by Teza Tea Company to the workers for free. The first work facility is free accommodation for resident workers. In the field work of this study, the researcher observed that resident workers get also weekly food composed of maize flour (4 kg), beans (2 kg), salt (200 g), palm oil (100 g) and cook themselves their food in the utensils supplied by the company either in private kitchens or public ones after work. Plate 4.4 visualizes house facilities availed by Teza Tea Company for the labourers.



**Plate 4.4. Accommodation for workers**

*Source:* Author 2019

Plate 4.4 shows types accommodation facilities organized by the company for the workers. On the same, the results of the survey of this study show existence of two teams of workers. One group is accommodated in the premisses of the comapany and another group is composed on non-resident workers. Table 4.7 presents statistics of the two groups.

**Table 4.7: Respondents According to Place of Residence**

Place of residence (In camp)	Frequency	%
Yes	75	50.0
No	75	50.0
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

From the sample of this study, 50 % of the tea pickers interviewed are non-resident workers because they live in their own homes in the villages surrounding Teza. The other half of the workers (50 %) is accommodated in the premisses of the company for free (Plate 4.4).

In an informal discussion held in the residential camp with a representative (male) of workers, the following life story was captured.

Kirundi version:

*“Mu gihe c'intambara, inzu nabamwo yaraturiwe twahunze. Ngarutse i muhira, sinashoboye gushoka ndonka uburyo bwo kubaka. Nca nza gusaba akazi ko kwaha icayi i Teza. Maze kuronka akazi, naciye nimukana umuryango wanjye duca tuza kuba muri izi nzu z'iri hinguriro. Gushika ubu rero mba ngaha mu kurindira ko mpeza kubaka inzu yanje”.*

English version:

During the last civil war, my house was burnt when we were in refuge. When we returned home, I was not able to get financial means to build a new house. Then I went to seek a job in Teza tea plantations. When I got the job, I relocated my family to this house of the company. Until now, we are all living here as I continue to build my private house at home.

On this subject of social facilities in Teza Tea Company, participants in a female focus group discussion (FGD) were unanimous that all the workers benefit from the work facilities in a way or another. In the same discussion, a widow's story stood out. It was narrated in the following words:

Kirundi version:

*“Jewe umugabo wanjye amaze gupfa, inzu yansigiye yampenukiyeko n’abana. Hanyuma naciye nsubira i muhira ku mavuko yanje ndahaba umwanya mutoya ariko inzu ntiyari idukwiye twese. Niho rero nahavuye nigira inama yo kuza gukora ino i Teza kugira ndonke uburaro bwanje n’abana”.*

English version:

After the death of my husband, the house collapsed. I and my children, we relocated to the place where I was born. We lived there for a short time but the house was not big enough to contain all of us. Then I decided to go to Teza to seek a job so that I can also get a house to live with my children.

From the two quotes above, the following common themes transpire in the two passages:

### ***Vulnerability***

Kirundi version:

1. *“Mu gihe c’intambara, inzu nabamwo yaraturiwe twahunze.”*  
During the last civil war, my house was burnt when we were in refuge.
2. *“Jewe umugabo wanjye amaze gupfa, inzu yansigiye yampenukiyeko n’abana.”*  
After the death of my husband, the house collapsed.

These two quotes highlight vulnerability of two kinds. The first person became wage labourer at Teza because of the civil war which devastated his house. He was a returnee from refuge without accommodation in his homestead. The second person is a widow whose vulnerability emanated from the death of her husband. Vulnerability, as dominant characteristic of labourers, was also found out by Purkayastha and Kalita (2016). The scholars found out that the tea workers have been facing enormous problems and difficulties which include homelessness in their day-to-day life. In relation to vulnerability, Bhowmik (2003) found out that almost the entire labour force in the tea plantations consists of immigrants and their descendents. This means that these homeless and immigrant workers were in fragile situation. This means that

work aspirants with such difficulties benefit much from organized social facilities such as accommodation in a workplace.

### ***Poverty***

1. *“Ngarutse i muhira, sinashoboye gushoka ndonka uburyo bwo kubaka.”*  
When we returned home, I was not able to get financial means to build a new house.
2. *“Inzu ntiyari idukwiye twese.”*  
The house was not big enough to contain all of us.

Poverty is manifested in two different ways in the cited quotes. In the first extract, poverty is seen as lack of financial means. In the second, poverty is indicated by lack of accommodation for family members. Apart from natural and inevitable disasters, poverty is caused by deficient livelihoods in rural areas. Residents of rural areas in Burundi rely on agro-based economy to survive (FAO, 2014); which is not predictable both in productivity and profitability. This study found out that the respondents do farming activities as their routine livelihoods. These findings align with the findings of two researchers namely Adelski and Rosen (1991). According to these scholars, most rural population in Burundi rely on agriculture as means of livelihoods. This is explained by the fact that other sectors are less developed due to low advice from government agencies and capitals. According to Nsengumuremyi (2016), the population in Bukeye commune (where Teza Tea Company is installed) are mostly engaged in subsistence farming, tea farming, fruits and vegetables. This means the crop farming they are engaged in provide them mostly with basic or essential food that they need in their households. Financial means to satisfy household needs come also from their farming ventures. Agriculture is the main means of livelihood in the rural areas of Burundi but it is still traditional. Hence, the circle of poverty continues in a situation of rare non-agricultural sources of income. In line

with the bargaining theory (Krishnaraj, 2001) which guided this study, these workers are engaged in wage labour at Teza as economic agents of their households. This wage labour in tea gardens implies bargaining feasible and attractive non-agriculture livelihood (with social facilities) at Teza which further gives wages to the labourer to overcome poverty.

### *Comfort*

1. *“Maze kuronka akazi, naciye nimukana umuryango wanjye duca tuza kuba muri izi nzu z’iri hinguriro. Gushika ubu rero mba ngaha mu kurindira ko mpeza kubaka inzu yanje”*

When I got the job, I relocated my family to this house of the company. Until now, we are all living here as I continue to build my private house at home.

2. *“Niho rero nahavuye nigira inama yo kuza gukora ino i Teza kugira ndonke uburaro bwanje n’abana.”*

Then I decided to go to Teza to seek a job so that I can also get a house to live with my children.

In this particular section, housing facilities at Teza confer comfort to the entire family who enjoy certain amenities in the camp. The researcher observed that near the workers’ camp there are water taps, latrine facilities, one functional primary school and a health centre. The workers living in camp get accommodation, kitchen ware, and beddings for free. It is for this reason that these facilities are often attributed to good living standards found mostly in towns. Good living standards are even frequently heard in ordinary conversations when a resident of town visits relatives in village. There is a frequent saying which refers to good life in town: *“Kuba mu kizungu”*: meaning to live in a place with good life standards. It is this comparison of lifestyle which attracts the rural people to look for wage labour at Teza and live there because they find good living facilities which are not available in village. The group of workers accommodated in the camp are mostly composed of migrants from the

neighbouring provinces. Sometimes workers coming from remote communes of Muramvya can access this free accommodation as well.

However, during the field research in Teza Tea Company in 2019, a number of shortcomings were observed. A low level of hygienic standards in the workers' camp and insufficient (and old) beddings were observed. The latrines available in the camp had no roofs as well. Concerning health care of workers, it was revealed in one focus group that health care is not well assured to workers because the company covers the health care of workers when they are working in the tea bushes only during day time. Concerning ration of workers, the resident workers were observed collecting fire wood on their way back to the camp and prepare themselves food in very old utensils after the last sale of picked tea leaves. It is worth mentioning that the sign posts displayed in many corners of the area prevent them from collecting fire wood and hunting.

The available public cooking kitchen had no light at the time of this study. One food shop was also observed in the camp and this signifies that the distributed food is not enough and thus the workers buy other food from the shop to complete the company's food. One senior member of the company staff was heard shouting at the workers and warning them not to eat his chickens which were kept in the environs of the camp and this means that the food supplied by Teza Tea Company is not enough and not diversified. Although water is supplied by the company for free, the materials to fetch and conserve water are very old and inhygenic. This is explained by the fact that the company does not distribute new materials regularly to replace damaged or old materials in the camp.



From the aforementioned quotes, it is evident that the available accommodation in the Tea Company contributes in the decision to do wage labour at Teza. As a matter of fact, the first quote shows that housing facility attracted the labourer. This facility further gives comfort to the entire family because they live in the house as a family while building their private house in the village and this entails good distribution / utilization of earned labour wages for the benefit of the entire household as posited by Krishnaraj (2001) in the bargaining theory which guided this study. The quote of the widow, whose vulnerability emanated from the death of her husband, shows that her decision to do paid works at Teza was motivated by the available free accommodation. While doing wage labour in the plantations, she comfortably lives with children and shares meals together with them in the house offered by the company. Accommodation facilities have further permitted resident workers to create their original family settings as showed on the plates below.



**Plate 4.5: Farming in the residential area**

*Source:* Author 2019

Accommodation being an organized welfare facility offered to workers, the researcher observed farming activities near the houses. This means that the resident workers try to transform the area into a homestead where family members embark in farming as a core livelihood in the rural areas.



**Plate 4.6: Animal husbandry in the residential area**

*Source:* Author 2019

Apart from farming, the researcher observed also livestock keeping in the residential camp at Teza. This is also an activity engendered by the families of workers accommodated in the company's houses.

Still on the subject of work facilities, free transport is a second social facility offered to the workers by Teza Tea Industry as showed on the following plate.



**Plate 4.7: Transport facility for workers**

*Source:* Author 2019

The accommodated workers, if they want to go to their places of origin, are transported by the cars of Teza Company every Saturday afternoon and report on Monday morning using the same transport facilities offered to them.

In an interview with the camp elder, he stated the following:

*“Abagore b’abakozi b’aha i Teza bahora baza kuraba abagabo babo ngaha. Bukeye baca bataha bitwaje ivyo basumye.”*

Wives to the male workers employed in this company regularly visit their husbands in the camp. They return home the following day with some provisions.

The quote from the camp elder affirms engendering patterns within households of workers. Due to the fact that resident male workers stay at Teza before weekend break, this situation urges their female partners to travel to Teza for consultation and to get some provisions for the family. With regard to the theoretical framework, these

provisions are part of objects of bargaining (Krishnaraj, 2001) in households. As posited in the theory, bargaining between economic agents (spouses) are indispensable in households. This is evidenced by the travel of female partners to Teza to get some provisions for the family. This happens in a situation where workers who live very far, free transport was done by the company once in a month only for logistic reasons.

As for the non-resident workers, they get a free transportation to Teza industry every morning and the same transportation facility take them back in the evening after work. The researcher observed most workers boarding the cars with bags of grass to feed the cattle. This is therefore a new development to address the need to feed the animals after wage labour at Teza. The transport facility offered to the tea workers at Teza should normally be paid when the workers use private transport means. But due to the fact that the company industry avails free transport facility, this is attractive to the workers to join tea works. In a study conducted by Kabir (2007) in Bangladesh, his findings stated that every permanent tea plantation worker had a house including water and latrine facilities, schooling facilities for the children, health care facilities and ration or cultivable land. So; these kinds of facilities, as found out also in Teza Industry, are among work facilities that companies can offer to the workforce in the world of wage labour.

#### **4.3.2 Material acquisitions and women's domestic responsibilities**

Acquisition of material goods is important in life of a human being. People are constantly engaged in an economic struggle to acquire the most valuable goods for their welfare. In rural areas in Burundi, most people rely on agriculture as their main source of income. Likewise, the results of this study revealed that 100 % of the selected sample population are traditionally farmers. In synchronization with this,

Adelski et al.(1991) stated that agriculture remained the dominant activity for rural household members in Burundi. In this study, the dominance of agricultural activities was also found out. The statistics are presented in Table 4.8 below:

**Table 4.8: Respondents According to Non-agriculture Income**

<b>Non agriculture income</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Yes	44	29.3
No	106	70.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The results of this study found out that a few repondents had non-agriculture income generating activities. In the field works at Teza; it was found out that commercialization of fruits, legumes and flowers, trading charcoal are the most performed. Although these are also livelihoods the workers opted for wage labour in Teza Tea Company. The option of wage labour is a result of bargaining their capacity to address economic problems faced by their households as posited in Krishnaraj's theory (2001) used in this study. The decision to do wage labour at Teza comes as a response to rare non-agriculture income generating activities. This is evidenced in Table 4.8 where the majority (70.7 %) of the tea workers interviewed declared that they do not have non-agriculture income. However, it is worth mentioning that agriculture is still traditional (Nsengumuremyi, 2016) and meant for subsistence only. Alongside this, there are farming challenges which prevent rural farmers to get consistant earnings which should be used in material goods acquisition. The qualitative part of this study found out six challenges which include lack of capital to invest in farming, markets for produces, climate change, farmlands, post-harvest storage challenges and poor agricultural techniques.

**i. Farmlands**

Owning a farm is very important in rural areas because it is the source of livelihood. It is also the most valuable resource in Burundi given its agro-based economy (FAO, 2014). But due to the pressure of population which is rising, rural people have scarce farmlands or do not have any at all. This results in absence of agriculture of scale which gives important financial returns to the farmers.

**ii. Lack of capital**

Farming venture requires also finances to buy farming materials which help to increase farming production. These materials include chemical and organic fertilizers, improved seeds, pesticides among others. Due to the fact that the capitals to buy all these items are not available or insufficient, farming does not give good produces because it is subsistence agriculture (Nsengumuremyi, 2016). The consequence is a decrease in harvest and this has a serious impact on food supply and earnings. The decision to undertake wage labour at Teza becomes a remedial strategy adopted by rural farmers to get finances which are also used to invest in farming ventures of the entire household.

**iii. Climate change**

It is to be recalled that agriculture depends on climatic conditions to be productive. These climatic conditions entail rain and dryness and they need to be fair or moderate to permit good produce. But when these climatic conditions become severe, farmers cannot get produces. Therefore, these unpredictable climatic conditions make the farming unpredictable in terms of productivity and hence wages cannot be guaranteed. This situation urges rural farmers to opt for livelihood diversification which can boost agriculturat income (Kessie et al., 2016). Seeking wage labour at Teza is, therefore, a

farmer's income booster to remedy to unpredictable agricultural wages in their homesteads.

#### **iv. Markets for produces**

Due the fact that agriculture is the main livelihood for most the rural people in Burundi, agricultural activities provide them with food and finances to cater for other household needs. These finances for other needs come from the surplus of produces. But most of the time, the price of the surplus is not good. The farmers, in this case, are obliged to sell to whichever price and this impacts on returns. Considering the fact that these financial returns from surplus are meant to give them financial means, the low prices of surplus definitely decrease the financial power of rural people because agriculture is their only livelihood. It is in this context of decrease of finances in household that at least one member in a household seeks wage labour at Teza so that the wages boost household incomes. This initiative to do off-farm labour (Machenzie, 2014) helps the rural farmers to diversify their incomes and in doing so, the labourers sustain their households for the benefit of all the family members.

#### **v. Post-harvest storage challenges**

When the produces are collected from farms, they need to be safely kept so that they do not spoil in short time. Apart from the materials designed for safe keeping of produces, there are also chemicals which can protect produces from spoiling. But the problem of finances comes because these materials and chemicals are not given for free. In case farmers cannot find financial means to buy the chemical products or materials required for a safe post-harvest storage, the produces spoil and the farmers lose expected financial returns.

**vi. Agricultural techniques**

A good farming venture requires related skills. But it is unfortunately observed that the rural farmers are less skilled in terms of farming techniques. This is mainly due to low performance of agricultural extension units available in all communes of the country. The consequence of this situation is that farmers lack adequate techniques to increase their produces so as they can also get surplus to sell and get financial revenues to cater for their household needs.

This discussion brings to light the main agricultural issues namely subsistence farming which is not predictable both in wages and production. The absence of other diverse income generating activities further motivates the rural people to consider wage labour at Teza as reasonable occupation. For these labourers, tea works become an important source of income to which they devote their time. This is evidenced in their utilization of time at their workplace. The tea picking calendar, indeed, begins on 21<sup>st</sup> every month and finishes on 20<sup>th</sup> of the next month; six days in a week. The official time to start any works is half past seven (7:30) morning. The tea pickers arrive a bit early to start picking on time. The workers pick good leaves as showed on Plate 4.8.





**Plate 4.8: leaves and a bud**

*Source:* Author 2019

Like on Plate 4.8; the workers pick good leaves. They have been instructed by the Tea Company to pick four types of tea leaves namely one leaf and a bud, two leaves and a bud (the 2 leaves must be soft), three leaves and a bud (the third must be soft), one soft leaf and a very young leaf. In a way of contributing to good quality of processed tea, two leaves and a bud are the most picked by workers and this type of leaf must score a high percentage in all the picked tea. In rainy season, the tea picking cycle varies between ten to twelve days on the same picking areas. This means that when the workers finish picking tea on a certain area, they will come back at the same place after ten or twelve days. During this is the time, they pick tea on another area while waiting for younger leaves to appear on the tea farm previously picked. During the

rainy season, two sessions of selling of leaves are organized in a day because of the abundance of leaves. Around ten (10:00) am, it is the first selling of picked tea in the different hangars started in the picking areas. The last sessions of selling of the picked tea leaves comes at 2 two (2:00) pm so that works finish at three (3:00) pm, the official time to finish any works in Burundi. It is worth mentioning that the selling time is flexible because sometimes picked tea may even be sold three times in a day depending on the abundance of picked tea. However, there is only one selling of tea leaves in the dry season due to shortage of leaves to pick and the picking cycle is 18 days. At the selling place, the tea collector comes with a lorry and factory bags to carry the picked tea to the factory. The tea collector comes also with individual cards where quantities of picked tea are registered for the purposes of payment at the end of the month. Then, all the workers come with their individual bags full of picked tea at the selling place. Then the team leaders and their assistants check the quality of the leaves and if found good, the picker proceeds to the weighing machine. The tea collector weighs and registers the quantity in kilogramme but one kilogramme is subtracted from the total received to bridge any gap which may be created by losses on the way to the factory.

In an interview with a local leader (key informant, male) of neighbouring village to Teza, the leader affirmed that rural people go to work at Teza. He further revealed the reasons of rural people to seek wage labour in the following words:

Kirundi version:

*“Abakiri bato baja guca amafaranga i Teza kugira bashobore kwubaka inzu hanyuma bitegurire gushinga umuryango”.*

English version:

“The young men go to seek paid works at Teza as a way to get financial means to build a house and prepare to marry”.

The statements made by the local leader affirm that people, especially young men, seek wage labour at Teza. With regard to their growing needs, employment in the company becomes a source of revenue to fund their personal projects like building a house, marriage among others. This matches with Krishnaraj's (2001) bargaining theory which is used in this study. Bargaining theory is matched in two ways. First, the young men highlighted in the quote are economic agents excited to solve their economic hardships via wage labour at Teza. Bargaining appears in the sense of firm determination to prioritize their needs. In this particular situation of priority of needs, the labourers intend to build houses and prepare to marry. In this purview, ownership of a private house is locally viewed by both men and women as an important achievement of men which leads to the engagement with a lady so that the two can live as spouses. It is this intra-household union between a man and a lady which further brings cooperative partnership (Krishnaraj, 2001) to address other challenges as a couple in a household. This achievement requires, therefore, finances that people seek in the wage labour at Teza. This is true because Teza Tea Company offers employment posts to people especially the rural persons around Teza. During the field undertakings in 2019, the workforce in the tea gardens was 626 labourers employed whom 150 were selected to partake in this study. In line with the key informant's opinion, Table 4.9 presents the statistics of workers who have their own accommodation. The results of the study showed that 107 workers have accommodation among 150 that this study had sampled. The other 43 respondents have not yet built their houses because they are still single and hence living in parents' houses.

**Table 4.9: Respondents According to Ownership of House**

Ownership of house	Frequency	%
Owned	107	100.0
Total	107	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

This signifies that the majority (71.3 %) of the workers have their own accommodation. However, among the 107 respondents who have accommodations (71.3 % of the total sample), most workers live in semi permanent houses (93.5 %) and a few (4.7 %) of the workers live in temporary houses. The minority of them (1.9 % in Table 4.10) have permanent accommodation. This is explained by the low level of development of most of the rural people due to their deficient economic power.

**Table 4.10: Respondents According to Type of House**

Type of house	Frequency	%
Temporary	5	4.7
Semi permanent	100	93.5
Permanent	2	1.9
Total	107	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The table 4.10 presents findings with regard to the type of house owned by the tea workers sampled for this study. The characteristics of the different types of house are the following:

**i. Temporary house**

This is a kind of house with walls made of wood, bamboo, tent or mud. The roof of this type of house is made of grass. It is a temporary house because it is not solid enough to last a long time. This type of house is most of the time found in rural areas

or in less developed places and associated with the poor. This poor lifestyle of workers was also found out by Blair (2001).

## **ii. Semi permanent house**

Semi permanent house is an improved house compared to the temporary house. The walls of this type of house are made of bricks and the roof is made of roofing tiles. Semi permanent house is a bit resistant to rain and other climatic turbulences. Although this type of house is mostly found in rural areas, it is also found in urban centers rarely. Semi permanent house is often associated with people who have some basic financial means.

## **iii. Permanent house**

A permanent house is an improved house compared to semi temporary house. It has walls made of bricks and roofed in iron sheets. Its floor is paved using cement. This type of house is seen as solid and resistant to unpredictable and uncontrolled change in atmosphere. Although permanent houses are found in rural areas, the majority of these houses are found in urban areas where living standards are seen as good. It is therefore a type of house associated with richness.

In the rural areas in Burundi, house ownership is a very important material achievement as far as intra-household gender relations are concerned. The results of the survey showed that built house represent 55.6 % of all the achievements made using tea wages. With regard to the theoretical framework in this study, Krishnaraj's (2001) bargaining theory is verified in terms of acquisition of material goods (a house) in this particular wage utilization. This means that among 150 respondents of this study, 71.3 % have their own accommodation and 55.6 % of the houses have been acquired using tea wages. This figure shows that owning a house is very important

particular in rural areas in Burundi. It is the acquisition of an accommodation which makes the female partners to organize homes. This is even reflected in particular uses of language to depict marriage:

- “*Kwubaka urugo*”

Literal meaning: to build a home

Figurative meaning: to marry or to be married and accommodated in a house.

Ownership of a house is highly valuable in rural areas in Burundi. Building a house is a sign of maturity for men. More specifically, a house built is a sign of masculine power to marry and accommodate a wife for procreation.

- “*Yashitse urugo*”

Literal meaning: she has arrived in a home.

Figurative meaning: a newly married lady is doing well in a house built by her husband, or a newly married lady is managing well a homestead.

It is in this sense that the women around Teza believe that going to do wage labour is seen as abandoning their homesteads that they are meant to organize and maintain. This was also evidenced in a focus group discussion with females at Teza. Investigating the reasons why many women are not employed in the tea gardens, all the participants agreed that women are meant for domestic activities in ordinary circumstances. The conclusion of the discussions came in the following words:

Kirundi version:

*“Abagore bo mu micungararo y’i Teza bahora batubwira yuko batoja guca amafaranga mu cayi kuko urugo rwosiba. Ngo hogenda abagabo gusa natwe tugasigara turatunganya ivyo mu rugo”.*

English version:

“The women living in the environs tell us very often that they cannot go to do tea works because their homes will not be organized in their absence. They say that men can go to work for wages and us women we stay at home organizing household affairs”.

This statement shows that the material achievements of the men make the females feel satisfied in the homes. The quote is realistic because the results of the survey of this study showed that women employed in the tea gardens represent 1.3 % of the entire workforce in tea gardens at Teza. All of the female labourers have migrated from other provinces and they are living with their husbands in the residential houses. In this situation, Krishnaraj's (2001) bargaining theory applies in two ways. First, a few female workers participate in generating household income via wage labour with their male partners at Teza. Second, reference being made to the females who disregard wage labour in Teza Tea Company, the bargaining theory applies in intra-household division of labour among spouses living in conjugal partnership. It is this conjugal household owned by men, indeed, which ties the women to their homesteads that they organize and maintain and this creates stability in households. In particular setting in the rural areas, it is this conjugal house ownership which pushes the women to respect the husbands because they make them settle in the new family.

In addition to accommodation, land ownership is also important as it allows the owner to embark in some agricultural ventures to get food. In line with this, the report of the World Bank (2016) stated that 85 % of the available workforce is made of farmers. The table 4.11 presents the statistics of ownership of farm among the respondents in this study.

**Table 4.11: Respondents According to Ownership of Farm**

<b>Land ownership</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
Own the farm	110	96.5
Other	4	3.5
Total	114	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

The results of this study, as presented in the Table 4.11, show that 110 respondents among a total of 150 own farms for agricultural use. Other 4 respondents (labelled “other” in the table) were using bequeathed portion of land from parents. However, the owned farmlands are not large enough as the statistics appear in the Table 4.12 below.

**Table 4.12: Respondents According to Size of Owned Farm**

Size of land	Frequency	%
]0 - 1] hectare	103	90.4
]1 - 3] hectare	11	9.6
Total	114	100.0

*Source:* Author’s computed data (2019)

This study found out that among 114 respondents who have farms, the majority of them (90.4 %) have farms not exceeding one hectare each. The rest of the respondents (9.6 %) have up to three hectares. These small portions of land put in danger the rural economy because agriculture is the main source of employment and income in rural areas in Burundi (World Bank, 2018). Small landed properties were also captured during the field undertakings of this study. The researcher observed that in general people have small pieces of land in the rural area around Teza. When private tea farmers (under technical support of Teza Tea Company) around Teza were receiving fertilizers from the company at Ryarusera village, it was noticed that their farms are small in size as showed in Table 4.13.

**Table 4.13: Private Tea Farms at Ryarusera**

	In hectare									
Farm	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.3	0.05	0.07	0.2	0.12
Mean	0.11									

*Source:* Author’s computed data from rural tea farmers’ cards at Ryarusera village (2019)



These small portions of land in Table 4.13 apply also to the workers of Teza Tea Company because they live in the same community. The figures in Table 4.13 indicate, therefore, that people have small land properties with a mean of 0.11 per person in the rural areas around Teza. The findings of this study, as computed in Table 4.12 and Table 4.13, indicate that the owned rural farmlands around Teza tea plantations are not large enough. In relation to agricultural activities, the statistics in Table 4.12 mean that labourers utilize part of their earnings to acquire more landed properties. In relation to land scarcity, the results of the survey showed that 16.1 % of the respondents were able to buy a landed property using tea wages. This statistic shows that acquisition of landed properties is part of the priorities of workers. This further cements domestic responsibilities of the female partners who stay in the homes when the men are doing wage labour at Teza as a result of patriarchy in Burundi (division of labour in Krishnaraj's theory, 2001). This was also ascertained in a mixed (men and women) focus group discussion in the sense that it was agreed that land scarcity is a big challenge for farmers. According the study done by Capecci (1976), the population density is 250 per square kilometre in the communes of Bugarama and Bukeye (where Teza Company is installed) in Muramvya province. Therefore, these small portions of farmlands owned by the tea workers (in this study) are also explained by the high density of population which prevails in this region.

Land ownership is a very important material good for anyone and especially in the rural areas in Burundi. On the land, agriculture is practised and it remains the dominant activity for rural household members (Adelski et al., 1991). The value of the property for Burundians is also reported by FAO (2014). The report states that the land is the most valuable resource given the agro-based economy in Burundi. When a lady is married in the rural areas of Burundi; she, therefore, becomes the custodian of

the land. In this sense, the women are responsible for looking after valuable properties on behalf of the men and make them generate prosperity for the household. It is to be recalled that the traditional division of labour assigns agricultural activities mostly to women in Burundi. These agricultural activities constitute the main occupation for 92 % of Burundian women (The World Bank, 2018). Elsewhere on the continent, it is also ascertained that a typical woman in rural Africa assumes the role of a food producer and processor (Arora et al., 2013). In line with this, it was also found out by Iman et al. (1989) in “Woman and the Family in Nigeria” that women are associated with economic contribution through farming and food processing. A landed property, therefore, assures women that they have settled in a new family. Land ownership gives them a kind of guarantee that the kindreds will be reared well. Acquired landed property is further a bridge to stick to husbands with a complementary women’s role of food producer and processor.

Acquisition of the material goods requires loyalty to wage labour in Teza Tea Industry. Table 4.14 presents statistics of the respondents according to years of service in Teza Tea Industry.

**Table 4.14: Respondents According to Years of Service**

<b>Working period</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%</b>
1 year	29	19.3
[1 - 3] years	32	21.3
[3 - 5] years	19	12.7
[5 years and above	70	46.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author’s computed data (2019)

The work experience ranges from one year to more than five years of service. The majority (46.7 %) have been picking tea worked for more than five years and the

minority in tea picking represent 21.3 % (between three to five years of service). Other work experiences are 1 year only (19.3 %), 1 to 3 years (21.3 %) and 3 to five years (12.7 %). The findings of this study show that the majority (46.7 %) of the tea pickers who were interviewed have been working at Teza for more than five years. This is true because Teza tea Company started a long time ago in 1970 and it is still operational and hence creates job opportunities continuously. In an interview with a local leader, it was revealed that Teza Tea Company is a source of cash for many people and for a long time. It is evident that the workers keep doing the tea works for many years and the wages they get contribute to their material acquisition from which households benefit. This was also affirmed by a key informant (male, head of administration department) in this study. He stated the following:

Kirundi version:

*“Imishahara y’aba bakozi basoroma icayi irabafasha kugira ico bigejeko mu buzima. Kubera baba bazi ko buri kwezi umushahara uboneka, bica bituma bishingira amahangiro yo gushikako buri mwaka kugira bakoreshe imishahara mu kwitezimbere”.*

English version:

“The wages earned by these tea workers engaged in tea picking help them to make important achievements in life. Due to the fact that they know that the wages are regularly paid monthly, it makes them plan the achievements to reach after a certain period”.

These important achievements that the key informant is referring to are house and land. It is in this context that the workers go to do tea works to earn wages so that they acquire the most important material goods (land, house) to sustain their life in rural area. In relation to the feeling of devotion to tea works, the following song “*Ntukamubenge*” was captured when the tea pickers were singing while on duty in the tea bushes at Teza.

Kirundi version:

*“Wa mukobwa w’ino i wacu  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge  
Yagiye gusoroma icayi  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge  
Akora muri OTB y’I Teza  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge  
Asoroma icayi yivuye inyuma  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge  
Uzomubere umugisha  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge”*

Translation to English:

“The lady from our area  
Don’t hate him  
He has gone to pick tea  
Don’t hate him  
He works in Teza Tea Company  
Don’t hate him  
**He is picking much tea  
Don’t hate him  
Be a blessing to him, please  
Don’t hate him”**

From the song “*Ntukamubenge*”, male workers at Teza were addressing their female partners back home:

Extract in Kirundi:

*“Asoroma icayi yivuye inyuma  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge”*

Translation in English:

**He is picking much tea  
Don’t hate him**

In other words, the extract of the song suggests hard work of the labourers to earn a living for their families. This further implies the familial relation between partners where the men go away to look for goods to provide to the family and the women make homes. To align with hard work in the wage labour at Teza, the researcher

observed during the field undertakings that the workers are committed to get wages. Alongside this, the researcher observed also that certain workers had artificial gloves made from old clothes to protect their fingers from injuries which emanate from picking tea. Plate 4.9 shows a tea picker with artificial finger gloves.



**Plate 4.9: Finger protectors**

*Source:* Author 2019

In the field undertakings of this study, the researcher observed that the company did not provide gloves. To prevent injuries, the workers had made artificial gloves to protect themselves in the tea gardens. It is in this sense of commitment that a number of nicknames were captured and these ones have something to do with hard working on duty. Based on the collected nicknames, it was evident that they are of various types. This means that nicknames, as used by the tea workers on duty, were also a

way of communicating their opinions or feelings with regard to their work. It was noticed that the tea workers were artistically rich in producing nicknames with certain purposes. The way these nicknames appear urges any listeners to think about the latent content rather than surface meaning. These include the following nicknames:

- *Mukasi*:                   scissors

This may refer to a picker who picks tea like a scissors so that he can pick a big quantity in a single day aiming at good wage at the end of the month.

- *Marasoro*:               stretch knit

This nickname implies a tea picker who can pick remote leaves.

- *Abanyuka*:               pickers who stretch collected tea leaves

At the selling point, the picked tea is checked for good quality. This nickname refers to pickers who do not observe required standards in picking tea and these are generally novice workers.

- *Kwimanika*:             to kill oneself intentionally using ropes

When workers pick tea in the tea bushes, they travel in the lines with the bag on their back, suspended with ropes that the workers tie at the head. This is then the comparison they make to the person who kills himself / herself intentionally using ropes.

- *Caratuvunye*:       A slogan of one political party in Burundi meaning ‘we have energetically fought for the country voluntarily, without payment’

This nickname, as collected within the tea pickers in the tea bushes, implies that the workers are not happy with the wages although they work hard so that the factory can get leaves to make tea.

- *Yambongo*: someone with much money

This is a nickname (borrowed from one of Congolese local languages) given to someone who picks much tea leaves to the extent that he sells much leaves and get much wages at the end of a month.

- *Malawi*: name of one African country

This nickname was given to someone who picks tea leaves well and fast that he can be sent to work in Malawi, second tea producer and exporter in Africa.

According to Verdonk (2002), style is indeed a distinctive way of using language for some purpose and to some effect. It is clear that all the collected nicknames among workers are purposively conceived and stand for a speech. The collected nicknames constitute then a mirror of the working environment of the tea workers in Teza Tea Company. The nicknames further show the struggle of wage labourers at Teza to bargain their economic space which allows them to get a living for their families. The working conditions at Teza, as displayed in the nicknames, are difficult. For this reason, wage labourers at Teza solicit their partners back home to stand with them. In the song “*Ntukamubenge*”, male workers (98.7 % male, 67.3 % married and heads of families) at Teza were addressing their female partners in the following words:

Extract in Kirundi:

***“Uzomubere umugisha  
Eeeee, ntukamubenge”***

Translation in English:

**“Be a blessing to him, please  
Don’t hate him”**

In the extract above, the workers at Teza were soliciting their partners back home to be a blessing for them. On this particular qualitative finding, collaboration with Krishnaraj’s (2001) bargaining theory is made in the sense of cooperative partnership among spouses. This means that the labourers value relations with their partners to the extent that they are able to bless or not their labour in Teza Tea Company. With regard to the particular extract from the song “*Ntukamubenge*”, it is evident that the quest for material satisfaction through wage labour at Teza further affects intra-household relations between partners in the sense of endorsement. In this perspective, workers at Teza need moral support from their partners to succeed in their endeavours at the workplace.

#### **4.4 Effects of Wage Utilization on Gender Relations**

This study was done based on an assumption that the tea wages are not utilized properly by workers and intra-household gender relations are negatively impacted by the utilization of earnings. Therefore, this section discusses the effects of wage utilization on intra-household gender relations in three perspectives. These are the savings of men to support women’s economic activities, inter-spousal decision-making within families, depressed wages leading to infinite gender roles.

##### **4.4.1 Men’s wages and women’s economic activities**

The study found out that 98.7 % of the workforce employed in the tea gardens at Teza was composed of male workers. This statistic was further ascertained in the study survey that the men are the main breadwinners in households. The table 4.15 below presents findings of this study with regard to the main breadwinner in household. The



results show that men (89.3 %) are the main breadwinner in the households of the tea workers sampled for this study.

**Table 4.15: Respondents According to Main Breadwinner in Household**

Main breadwinner	Frequency	%
Man (Husband)	134	89.3
Woman (Wife)	12	8.0
Other	4	2.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

These results, as presented in the table 4.15, show that men (89.3 %) are the main breadwinners in comparison to women (8 %) and 2.7 % which represent other kindreds. This is due to the patriarchal system in Burundi. In this system, the men are considered as the heads of families and providers in households. The fact that the men are the main breadwinners as found out in this study, explanation is also given by the history of creation of Teza Tea Company where heads (the men) of families were employed to set up the factory at Teza. As ascertained by Capecchi (1976), households in Bukeye (where Teza Company belongs) and Muramvya communes where encouraged to send heads of families (the men) to work for wages at Teza so that the earned wages could contribute in rising the economic situation of the rural households. This male employability at Teza further cemented the intra-household gender relations where the men go outside homesteads to look for wages and their female partners do the domestic chores in the rural households. In the period of this study at Teza, the workers were paid 70 Fbu (USD 0.04) per picked kilogramme of tea leaves before adding bonuses. The findings of this study in terms of earned monthly wages show that the tea workers interviewed in this study are not homogenous in terms of wages as showed in Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16: Respondents According to Wages**

Monthly tea wages	Frequency	%
[0 - 30 000 F]	72	48.0
[30 000 F - 45 000 F]	57	38.0
[45 000 F - 60 000 F]	17	11.3
[60 000 F and above]	4	2.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

Statistics of monthly wages presented in Table 4.16 show that the majority (48 %) of the tea workers interviewed stated that they earn thirty thousand Francs (USD 16) maximum. They are followed by the workers (38 %) who earn between thirty thousand Francs (USD 16) to forty five thousand Francs (USD 24) maximum. 11.3 % of the sampled workers get monthly wages which are situated between forty five thousand Francs (USD 24) and sixty thousand Francs (USD 32). A few of the tea pickers (2.7 %) are able to earn more than sixty thousand monthly (more than USD 32). During the period of this study, the maximum wages for most of the respondents was thirty thousand Fbu (USD 16) while a few tea workers were paid more than sixty thousand Fbu (USD 32).

This variance in wages is true because the workers are paid based on the total kilogramme of tea leaves plucked in a month. On this, Table 4.17 gives quantities in kilogrammes of picked tea in Sector B from 21<sup>st</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> November 2019.

**Table 4.17: Daily Picked Tea Leaves (in kg)**

N <sup>o</sup>	WORKERS	DAY	DAY	DAY	DAY	DAY	DAY	TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	NKE	28	18	10	4	7	5	72
2	NIZ	10	25	10	16	18	-	79
3	NDA	-	-	35	20	23	10	88
4	MPF	28	13	10	4	18	13	86
5	NBA	33	18	20	16	14	10	111
6	NZI	-	10	06	20	34	4	74
7	BAN	32	26	9	18	16	-	101
8	WEN	28	11	36	31	13	-	119
9	WIZ	40	31	14	36	15	26	162
10	YAR	-	-	18	-	22	17	57
11	MAN	20	6	15	21	20	10	92
12	YEK	19	15	-	-	24	-	58
13	ZIM	-	-	9	19	-	11	39
14	AYI	10	20	10	20	17	-	77
15	MIY	14	10	10	13	5	12	64
16	SHA	13	12	11	12	18	10	76
17	IZI	15	4	15	21	20	10	85

*Source:* Tea collector's register, Sector B, November (2019)

The Table 4.17 above shows quantities in kilogramme of plucked tea in six days of a week for seventeen workers composing a team in Sector B. As showed on Table 4.17, there are some empty spaces (filled with a dash). The empty spaces signify that the workers were absent those days. After six work days, the total of plucked tea is computed for the workers before they start another work week. Plate 4.10 shows registration of plucked tea on a form.

COMPLEXE THÉICOLE DE TEZA

Complexe Théicole de TEZA  
B.P.1580  
Bujumbura 0104/209.032

**FICHE DE CUEILLETTE**

Mois : 7/2019  
Nom : THAYISABA  
Equipe :  
N° 23 :

Date	Pesées									
	1		2		3		4		TN	TC
	PB	PN	PB	PN	PB	PN	PB	PN		
1										
2	08	07								11
3	04	08							12	13
4	06	07								
5	11	04								15
6	09								09	
7										
8	10	10							12	14
9	11									
10	05	05							10	14
11	04	10								
12	09	13							22	13
13	08	05								
14										
15	08	05								13
Total Kgs										
Remarques 277905										

**Plate 4.10: Recording card**

**Source:** Author 2019

Plate 4.10 shows that plucked tea is recorded on an individual form which is used to compute related wages at the end of a month. On the form (Plate 4.10), key information is provided.

1. Name of the company and postal address:

French :  
Complexe Théicole de Teza  
B.P. 1580  
Bujumbura

Translation to English :  
Teza Tea Company  
P. O. Box : 1580  
Bujumbura

2. Purpose of the form: Fiche de cueillette (Tea plucking recording form)

3. Details of the form:

- i. Mois (month)
- ii. Nom (name)
- iii. Equipe (Team)
- iv. N<sup>0</sup> (Registration number)
- v. Pesées (Weighing details)
  - Dates
  - 1, 2, 3, 4 (Number of weighings per day)
  - PB (Gross weight)
  - PN (Net weight)
  - TN (Total net weight)
  - TC (Total cumulative weight)
  - Total kgs
  - Remarques (Remarks): computed wages

With regard to the form (Plate 4.10), it is to be noted that the form has also other details filled with a blue pen. These details are the number of worker's identity card (104 / 709. 032) and the name of the sector where the labourer is assigned duties (GATABO I). Other details in blue ink are the kilogrammes of plucked tea for each date; subtracted 1 kg for possible loss on the way to the factory. Sometimes the registered figures on the form do not match with this formula because workers borrow tea leaves from each other to hit their daily targets. The first side of the form has 15 days with corresponding wages filled in blue ink in the space for remarks. At the end of a month, the total wages are computed from both sides. After calculations of wages as per company wage level (70 Fbu; USD 0.04 per picked kilogramme) and add of

possible bonus, the finance office forward the pay list to the Development Interpeople Finance Operations (DIFO, a local finance organization) for payment to be done on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of each month, the latest. According to Danish Trade Council for International Development and Cooperation (2015), the minimum wages in Burundi were set in 1988 to 160 Fbu (now, around USD 0.09) per day for urban areas and 105 Fbu (now, around USD 0.06) per day for rural areas. These minimum wages have, therefore, stagnated considerably over the years. In the study made by Baghdadli et al. (2008), the tea wages per kilogramme in 2008 were estimated to 30 Fbu (equivalent to USD 0.02 now) maximum per kilogramme plucked. Based on all these findings, the wage per kilogramme has changed over the years. This is due to devaluation of Burundi currency which also affects all the sectors in the country.

The labour wages earned by the workers (mostly men, 98.7 %) make the men breadwinners in the rural households. The premise of this study was that the employment of workers in the tea plantations at Teza was connected to insufficient finances in the households of workers. Therefore, these individuals moving to tea works at Teza imply the existence of push factors from economic point of view. The wage brackets, as presented in table 4.16, supply also capitals for other income generating activities in the rural households around Teza. The men working for wages at Teza, and also main breadwinners in households, make savings from the tea wages so that their wives can get capitals to invest in other income generating activities in their free time.

These economic activities undertaken by women were noted at Teza. During the field work of this study, the researcher observed women selling vegetables in the local markets and on main roads. This commercialization of vegetables requires capitals to be successful, among other factors. Because most women around Teza have left wage

labour to the men (98.7 % male workers at Teza), it means that trading capitals are issued by the men. In connection to this, one key informant at Teza (man, representative of wage labourers at Teza) stated the following:

Kirundi version:

*“Iyo ndonse umushahara ngaha i Teza, ndabika dukeyi mu ntumbero yo kuronderera agatahe umufasoni wanje kugira acuruze”.*

English version:

“When I get my tea wages here at Teza, I save certain amount in order to raise capital for my wife to do business”.

This statement implies that a certain amount of money is cut on the tea wages for women’s business. As said in the quote above, the men are providers in most rural households in Burundi. Their ventures outside homesteads give the men wages which are further invested for household welfare via women’s commercial activities. This mobilization of women by men to contribute in building household economic situation suggests cooperation among spouses as posited by Krishnaraj’s (2001) bargaining theory. In this case, bargaining appears in the division of labour for both men and women. It appears also in cooperative partnership of the spouses aiming to generate income in different avenues for the benefit of their household. In this particular funding of women’s economic activities, the men attempt to engage their partners in other income generating activities apart from routine domestic chores. On this, Iman et al.(1989) says that women are double-loaded because they do unpaid housework and contribute economically to the household. It is this kind of road-side trading which generates finances to buy the items (salt, cooking oil among others) which are related to domestic chores of women in households.

In line with women’s economic activities, the results of the survey found out that wage utilization in commercial activities takes only 1 % of all the main uses in

workers' households. In a situation of where most labourers (48 %) earned thirty thousand Fbu (USD 16) and sixty thousand Fbu (USD 32) and above for few workers (2 %), it is evident that non-essential needs are less prioritized in workers' households. This means that there other household needs which are given priority by labourers during wage utilization. On this, Michael (1992) says that individuals and families with low income spend very high proportions of their income on basic necessities such as food, clothing, and simple shelter. Michael's argument collaborates firmly these results of the survey. The workers need to balance between their needs and allocate amount of money from their finances regarding priorities identified in their households. However, women were seen in the villages surrounding Teza trading commodities that people use in their everyday life during the field work of this study. These items were mainly composed of food stuff such as vegetables, cooking oil among others. With regard to 1 % of wage utilization in commercial activities from the male workers, it cannot be totally assumed that all the male workers avail capitals for the economic activities of their wives. It is therefore evident that some workers' wives use the savings of their husbands to undertake commercial activities but other women do not do any commercial activity because they do not have capitals. In relation to women and power in household, Sinclair (1997) found out that women's power increased in households as their income rose. Therefore, it is true that some women embark in generating income through trading as their proper initiative to participate in addressing the financial needs and gain some power in the household. It is therefore in this spirit of contributing to the household economy that some female partners to the male workers of Teza Tea Company embark in trading with or without the capitals from the wages of their husbands. According to the bargaining theory propounded by Krishnaraj (2001), household members are



economic agents who bargain capacities to solve an economic problem. It is in this sense that the women to the male workers at Teza become economic agents in their ventures of generating other income through trading of vegetables in the local markets around Teza.

#### 4.4.2 Inter-spousal Decision-making within Families

This study investigated decision-making among partners in workers' households. Table 4.18 presents the statistics on the way major decisions are made in the households of respondents.

**Table 4.18: Respondents According to Decision-making in Households**

Household decisions made	Frequency	%
By the man (Husband)	99	66.0
By the woman (Wife)	12	8.0
By both husband and the wife	36	24.0
By the entire household	2	1.3
Any household member	1	0.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

In this study, five components were tested and these include major decisions to be taken by the man, the woman, both husband and wife, entire household and any household member. 8 % of the respondents said that the decisions are made by women. 24 % of the tea workers interviewed said that the major decisions are made by both spouses. The percentage of the entire household making decisions scored 1.3 % and 0.7 % for any household member. 66 % of the respondents said that the major decisions pertaining to the households are made by the men.

It is evident that the results in Table 4.18 were not monotonous on intra-household decision-making. Decision-making in workers' households, as presented in Table

4.18, are realistic because the respondents were heterogenous in terms of socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age, marital status, size of household, and place of origin. Variance in statistics about decision-making in workers' household is, therefore, understandable. Furthermore; the figures such as 24 % (for decisions are made by both spouses), 1.3 % (for entire household), and 0.7 % (for any household member) display an aspect of power balance among household members. This variance in statistics shows that patriarchal hegemonies are decreasing among households of Teza labourers. Olah et al. (2014) conducted a study on families and societies. They found out that the earning power of each partner in a household predetermines consideration. The decrease of patriarchal power, as showed by the statistics on decision-making, is linked to the earning capacity of household members. This means that the more members are financially stable, the more their contribution in decision-making is valuable.

This was also evidenced in a female focus group. On the topic about how decision-making on income accrued from labour was arrived at, the result came out in favour of inter-spousal consultation. All the participants agreed that there is consultation in allocating their wages to household needs. One female participant (age 41, married) recapped the view of the group in the following words:

Kirundi version:

*“Urumva, imishahara yo ngaha mu cayi ibonekera umusi umwe. Iyo duhembwe rero, ku mugoroba turaganira n’abo twubakanye kugira twemeze ivyo amafaranga twaronse azokora mu kwezi kwose. Ivyo bitabaye wohava usanga twibagiye no kwigisha abana, kugura agahuzu canke gusigaza udufaranga two kwa muganga”.*

English version:

“What we meant is that the tea wages are paid on the same day. When we get the **wages**, we meet in the evening with our husbands so that we **validate** the main **uses** of the wages for the whole month.

Without this consultation, we can end up forgetting even **education** for children, **clothes**, and **medical care**".

This verbatim from female focus group discussions displays the situation of gender relations in the households of the respondents. The quote further shows important pillars in intra-household gender relations such as wages, validation, consultation, wage uses (education for children, clothes, and medical care).

***Wages:***

The female labourers, like the men, get finances from the wage labour that they perform at Teza. These resources give them a position of key economic contributor in the household that cannot be ignored by any spouse for the interest of household. This is also the position of Iman et al.(1989) who argued that women contribute economically to the households in addition to unpaid domestic chores. In terms of intra-household partnership between men and women, the wages play important roles to reconfigure relations between spouses. With regard to the quote, the equal capacity of both men and women to earn wages from wage labour in Teza Tea Company alleviates gender constraints within households. In relation to the Krishnaraj's (2001) bargaining theory, the verbatim under discussion here proves it right. The women, like their male partners, are economic agents who actively participate in economic well being of the household using the resources from wage labour at Teza.

***Consultation and validation:***

These two words, when related to the results of the survey, justify the variance in the statistics on how decision-making is done in households. Unlike patriarchy where more power is given to the men, this particular result from female FGD means that there is a growing consultation and agreement among household partners. This image

of intra-household gender relations does not give a picture of the whole community. But, as Sinclair (1997) argued, the earning power of each partner is reshaping gender relations in individual households. Consultation among economic agents in households leads to validation of the items under discussion. This, therefore, proves the bargaining theory (Krishnaraj, 2001) right because consultation and validation leads to cooperative partnership among the spouses in households.

***Wage uses:***

Wage utilization is the most critical part of wage labour. For this reason, an assumption in this study was that the wages were not utilized properly by spouses and intra-household gender relations were affected negatively. In relation to wage use, Michael et al.(1995) opined that household chores are women's primary responsibility and the resources they get are affected to them. This opinion was proved inconsistent with regard to wage utilization among wage labourers of Teza Tea Company. This particular section of wage uses shows that there was consensus on allocation of income. The main uses, as highlighted in the quote, were education for children, clothes, and medical care. As these appear as the most outstanding wage uses, this means that the entire household is mobilized to overcome these challenges. Likewise, the same was argued by Jorgensen (1965) that a household is defined in such a way that members behave as income and spending unit. The highlighted wage uses, therefore, mean household unit on prioritization of needs to be addressed in households. These wage uses are realistic because the results of the survey also found out the same. The following are priorities in wage utilization among Teza Tea workers:

1. Food supply (31 %)
2. Clothes (20 %)

3. Farming costs (14 %)
4. Animal husbandry costs (12 %)
5. Education of children (8 %)
6. House ware (8 %)
7. Building house (2 %)
8. Health care (2 %)
9. Self Help Group associations (2 %)
10. Trading (1 %)

This prioritization of needs, as computed from survey, shows that most indispensable aspects of life in households are taken into consideration during wage utilization. Some of the listed needs were mentioned in the quote as examples. These ones were education for children, clothes, and medical care. The same wage utilization was also reported by ETP (2016) in the study among wage labourers in Ijenda Tea Company in Burundi. This means that the listed needs are actually crucial in the rural areas in Burundi. The fact that the needs transpired in FGD and in survey, it means that there is an inter-spousal discussion on the needs to be addressed in households to the extent that all the partners are aware of the challenges they need to address in households. This is, therefore, the result of cooperative partnership as posited by the bargaining theory (Krishnaraj, 2001) which guided this study. Wage and earning power becomes an important element in inter-spousal agreement on utilization of earnings. With regard to the findings of this study, it is evident that the earning power of women ceates a place for them in household decision-making on the utilization of wages because they are consulted and they take part in the validation of household needs to line up for wage uses.

However, it is obvious that the figure 66 % (for decisions made men) stands out among all the statistics presented in Table 4.18. In addition to the patriarchal system where most of the powers are vested on men in households, the standing figure is also justified by the fact that most workers employed in the tea gardens of Teza Company are men (98.7 %). These male workers perform wage labour to earn a living for their families. In relation to this, Njiro (1990) argued that there is a tendency of men to diversify their labour power into various cash generating activities. Therefore, the fact that they are the ones who make major decisions pertaining to households in the rural areas is explained by their high earning power that the cash generating activities confer them.

It is to be recalled that this study was guided by the bargaining theory propounded by Krishnaraj (2001). This theoretical paradigm posited that the spouses bargain their capacity to solve economic problems faced by the household and exchanges among the partners happen either in cooperative or conflictual atmosphere. From there, Krishnaraj (2001) further posited that bargaining theory is achieved through the way economic agents and with what resources they negotiate.

The results of the study proved bargaining theory right on bargaining capacities to solve economic problems and wage utilization in households. But on the specific aspect of cooperative partnership in households, the theory was proved otherwise because there is variance in the statistics which indicate the way decisions are made in workers' households.

#### **4.4.3 Depressed Wages and Non-Fixed Gender Roles**

The study investigated labourers' views on wages. The general findings of this study are presented in Table 4.19.

**Table 4.19: Respondents' Views about Sufficient Wages**

Sufficient wages	Frequency	%
Yes	17	11.3
No	133	88.7
Total	150	100.0

*Source:* Author's computed data (2019)

These views of respondents in Table 4.19 show that the tea wages are not sufficient for most tea workers (88.7 %). But for a few of the workers (11.3 %) interviewed, the tea wages are sufficient. The study established that there is no unanimity among labourers on wages. Certain workers (11.3 %) argue that wages are sufficient because they knew it before embarking in wage labour. Moreover, the score for sufficient wages shows a few workers at Teza do not have a lot of needs which surpass their earnings. However, as presented in the Table 4.19, the majority (88.7 %) of the workers interviewed declared that the tea wages are not sufficient. Their wages are not enough because they cannot cater for all their needs. Therefore the workers who think that the wages are not enough develop strategies to survive with small wages. The study found out that the workers adopted various coping mechanisms which were captured in the qualitative part of this study through observation, informal discussions, and FGD. During the field work of this study, the researcher observed that labourers eat cheap breads for lunch as showed on the plate 4.11.



**Plate 4.11. Eating bread for lunch**

*Source:* Author 2019

Plate 4.11 shows workers buying cheap bread from their fellow labourer who vend them. The workers eat these pieces of bread because they are affordable. This was also ascertained by Kamruzzaman et al.(2015) who opined that taking less preferred cheap food and avoiding protein enriched costly food item in daily diet was the top ranked survival strategy among labourers. Moreover, labourers at Teza eat the pieces



of bread as they continue the work without necessarily going home to cook lunch. In line with food, and as shown on Plate 4.12 the researcher observed also that workers collect firewood in the forest.



**Plate 4.12. Collecting firewood for cooking**

*Source:* Author 2019

Plate 4.12 shows a labourer collecting firewood in the nearby forest to be used in cooking food. The plate shows a strategy of workers to minimize cooking related

costs by collecting firewood themselves in the forest rather than buying charcoal which is a bit expensive.

Other coping strategies were found out in the field undertakings of this study as part of the qualitative information. In one informal discussion, it was found out that the tea pickers subscribe regularly to a kind of loan called “*agahata*”. This is a kind of unofficial loan with 40 % interest. In the interview with the chief of administration department in the company, it was revealed that Teza Tea Company rarely gives loans to workers who need them. Interviewed on the same issue, the chief of rural tea plantations under support of Teza Tea Company mentioned that the tea workers who have bank accounts in DIFO may get loans or advance on the expected wages. Although there are wage issues raised by workers, it was found out that the workers in Teza Tea Company adhere to the aforementioned coping mechanisms to avoid non-essential expenses. These strategies further help the labourers to make some achievements in their households. The presumption is that any employment entails some achievement on the side of employees. The results of the survey, therefore, showed that the achievements made using the wages include building houses (34 %), buying landed properties (10 %), educating children (33 %), and savings (23 %).

However, by means of qualitative data, the study found out that the tea wages are not sufficient for the reasons presented in the following order:

**i. Value of picked tea:**

The workers are paid depending on the total kilogramme of plucked tea the whole month. The payment is 70 Fbu (USD 0.04) per kilogramme plucked tea. According to the interviewed workers, the wage amount for a kilogramme is not sufficient.

**ii. Devaluation of currency:**

The Burundian money keeps devaluating. The workers argued that the payment set for a kilogramme of picked tea should be raised as the national currency loses value, compared to dollars.

**iii. No work experience:**

Novice workers are generally slow in picking tea because of their short experience in the work. The lack of work experience impacts on the daily records of plucked tea. Hence, their monthly wages are less compared to the ones with sound work experience.

As reported above, the four reasons were declared by the respondents as impinging on their low income. In a focus group discussion with men, the subject of wages was discussed. Participants were unanimous that the labour wages are not enough. They also said that wage issue was always discussed in any meetings with the management but without success. One FGD participant recapped in the followings terms:

Kirundi version:

*“Igisabo co kongereza imishahara ku kiro c’icayi cashwe twama twakivuze mu nama ziduhuza n’umukoresha kandi twama twumvikanye ko imishahara yongerezwa. Ariko umukoresha wacu ntashira mu ngiro ivyo tuba twumvikanye”.*

English version:

“The issue of raising the value of a kilogramme of picked tea had always been discussed and an agreement to raise the value had been reached with workers. But, the management of Teza Tea Company does not implement the agreement”.

This quote shows that wage issue is very important. It was discussed in any meetings with the management but the wages were still intact. In the same discussion, it further came out that there was a time in the past when the wage per kilogramme was rised

following a strike of the tea workers. This situation of insufficient wages found out Teza Tea Company is similar to the one found out in other parts of the world. In 2011, a study coordinated by Oxfarm and Ethical Tea Partnership in three producing countries namely Malawi, Indonesia and India. The study found that the wages were so low that the workers could not get all the household needs. In Bangladesh, Kabir (2007) found out that tea workers were demotivated by the low wages although they were given by the factory many facilities like accommodation, schooling for their children, and cultivation land among others. As for Leys (1994), his point of view was that the policy of the government was to keep down the wage levels so as to encourage foreign investments in Kenya. So, low wages in the tea industry is a global phenomenon.

Depressed labour wages among workers impacted on intra-household gender roles. In a male focus group discussion, the participants agreed that absenteeism of workers is observed mainly during the rainy season where most rural people are engaged in farming. One of the workers, also available in the discussions, recapped the view of the group in the following words:

Kirundi version:

*“Erega naho ubona uriko turakora ngaha mu cayi, iyo irima rigeze agatima kerekeza ku suka. Muri icyo gihe c’irima rero, umukozi arashobora gusiba kugira aje gufasha inarugo udukorwa two mu ndimo”.*

English version:

“Even if we are employed here in these tea plantations at Teza, we think about cultivating when the farming season comes. An employee can therefore be absent in order to help his spouse in her farming endeavours”.

This observation implies that the tea wages are not enough to cover every thing in workers' households. The workers put a break on the tea works so as to contribute to undergoing farming activities which provide to the family with food. It is the low labour wages paid at Teza that drove the male workers put a break on tea works and join farming which was traditionally assigned to women. On these gendered roles, the World Bank (2018) reported that agriculture was the main occupation for 92 % of Burundian women. This means that there was gendered allocation of duties among spouses in households in Burundi. The men joining farming activities with women means that farming ventures are very important because they provide with food supply that the household needs. As a matter of fact, the male workers join their spouses to ensure this provision of food to members of their families. Both survey and male focus group discussions in this study found out that the men engage in farming and animal husbandry when they are not on duty at Teza.

### **Roles for men in free time**

#### **i. Farming**

Farming being the source of food for the household, the men helped their wives to generate food for the members of the household that they take care of. Farming was generally relegated to the females as part of their roles in household. But because of the insufficient tea wages, the men also participated in farming. The results of the survey showed that 76 % of the male workers engaged in farming activities when they were not working at Teza. Furthermore, it was found out in a male focus group discussion that the participation of men in farming activities involved all types of works in farms. These farming activities are cutting trees and grass, breaking ground, hoeing, sowing, weeding and harvesting. But traditionally, men were associated with

more strenuous activities such as cutting trees and grass only. This is also evidenced in the text below used as a teaching support in primary education in Burundi.

Kirundi version:

*“Data na mama bagiye gukora.  
Data aratema.  
Mama ararima”.*

English version:

“My father and my mother are going to work.  
My father cuts the grass.  
My mother hoes”.

As the extract above shows, strenuous activities (cutting trees and grass) were assigned to men during farming ventures. The extract above is part of the curriculum in primary education in Burundi. Therefore, it can be said that curriculum in Burundi primary education instils patriarchy in the students. The quote further implies that the men are traditionally assigned specific farming roles nationwide.

#### ii. Animal husbandry

In a situation where animals are not fed in the stables, they are shepherded away for grazing. This is generally a male task because it implies staying with the animals away from home. This is a traditional male role for females are assigned domestic responsibilities.

### **Roles for the women**

The survey of this study found out that the activities that women do in households occur in the following order:

#### i. Domestic chores (52 %)

The life in a household is multi-dimensional as it comprises many aspects. One of the roles traditionally assigned to rural women is making a home. Making a home

includes food processing, doing the household chores, taking care of children among others.

ii. Farming (38 %)

Farming is about food production. In the rural areas of Burundi, farming activities are traditionally assigned to women. It was therefore expected in this study that farming appears among the roles of women. This means that in addition to other household responsibilities, a rural female in Africa is also responsible of farming activities (Arora et al., 2013).

iii. Animal husbandry (5 %)

According to the traditional subdivision of labour, and as stated earlier, looking after animal is part of the male roles. But due to the fact that the men spend most of the time doing tea works, and the wages are not enough to hire a shepherd, the females add also this task to their responsibilities.

iv. Commerce (5 %)

This type of trading is done to create other income generating activities. Therefore, apart from other routine activities carried out by the women, commercializing commodities of first necessity (such as vegetables, cooking oil, etc) is noticeable in rural markets and / or in the neighbourhood.

With regards to the roles of men and women found in the study, it is evident that women have more household roles than the men. This is explained by the fact that the men are most of the time away looking for money which is not sufficient. This is also the point of view of Kabir (2007) who stated that marriage increases domestic responsibility and subsequent demands on women's time. It was further found out that organizing life in household and farming activities come in fore positions. This situation of women is also ascertained by Arora et al. (2013) when they say that a

typical woman in rural Africa assumes the roles of a food producer and processor, home-maker, caretaker.

Furthermore, the results of this study showed that farming activities (number 1 for men and number 2 for women) appeared in agenda for both men and of women. Farming supplies rural families with food and financial means to cater for some of their everyday needs. This was also ascertained by Adelski et al. (1991) who stated that most rural population in Burundi mainly rely on agriculture as means of livelihoods. Moreover, the results of this study conducted among workers of Teza Tea Company showed that farming was becoming a genderless activity because the tea wages cannot cater for all the food stuffs needed in households. The male workers stated in male focus group discussions that they do all kinds of farming activities when they are not doing tea works. Considering the traditional allocation of farming roles, the men could have hired workers to do the rest of the farming activities with their spouses. But due to depressed wages they earn, the men found themselves in a position to do all kinds of roles instead of employing workers to help the spouses. Therefore, the depressed wages of the male workers lead them to do all kinds of farming activities and this situation shows that the roles are no longer fixed.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study in Teza Tea Company was to assess the influence of socio-economic factors and wages on intra-household gender relations among wage labourers. Tea pickers at Teza were seen as good sample for this study because they come from different places and the tea works are done everyday. Two research questions emanating from the specific objectives were: how do socio-economic factors of wage labour impact on familial relations among workers, and how does wage utilization impact on gender relations among households of workers. From the two research questions, the findings were further reported in two major parts. The first part discussed impacts of socio-economic factors of wage labour on familial relations. An assumption in this study was that the earnings were not utilized properly and intra-household gender relations were negatively impacted. The second part of the findings discussed effects of wage utilization on intra-household gender relations. A summary of major findings and recommendations are presented in this chapter.

#### 5.2 Summary of Findings

##### 5.2.1 Push and Pull Factors Impact on Familial Relations

On social level, this study found out two social factors which lead rural people to employment at Teza. First, this study found out that Teza Tea Company has availed work facilities to the workers and they were used by them. These facilities included free transport to and from workplace for the workers and this transport permitted the workers to visit their families for bonding. The company has availed also free accommodation, food supply and other amenities for the resident workers. In these houses, some labourers brought family members to stay together comfortably with all

the familial relationships. It is this accommodation facility which enticed job seekers in general and people with certain vulnerability in particular to seek wage labour as they catch up. The stay in these premisses further made the female partners to keep visiting their husbands for consultation and provisions.

On economic level, this study found out that two economic factors lead the rural people to seek employment in Teza Tea Industry. First, acquisition of material goods such as accommodation and farmlands made the rural people to look for wages through employment at Teza. Among the tea workers who have their accommodation, 93.5 % of the respondents had semi temporary houses which are associated with people with limited financial means. This means that building houses for those who did not have or improving the type of house for those who had derisory accommodation leaded the rural people to seek employment at Teza so that they get the finances to utilize. Moreover, all the tea workers interviewed were farmers but all of them did not have farmlands. The intention to acquire more farmlands or to buy ones for those who did not has leaded also the rural people to employment at Teza so that they could get finances to buy farmlands. Most of the workers being men, the wages from labour were used to acquire the material good and this made the women stay at home to make workers' home. In this case, the study proved that men became providers and the women became home-makers.

The study was guided by Krishnaraj's (2001) bargaining theory. It is posited in the theory that household partners bargain allocation of income among others. The study found that the tea wages were utilized on the things which made life in household enjoyable and so made economic progress. It was found that housing and landed property were the major material goods that the rural people needed. Once a man gets

these material goods, he is then able to settle a family. In a rural conjugal life, these are the basic requirements for marriage in Burundi. Bargaining theory was, therefore, proved true in the sense that the material achievements in terms accommodation and property made the women busy organizing households and doing other domestic activities rather than seeking waged works outside homesteads.

The contextual framework of this study posited social factors as the ones which contributed in enticing rural individuals to seek employment at Teza. It is in this setting that the available welfare at Teza influenced tea works. Facilities like transport and food supply were therefore availed by the company so as to reduce concerns of workers for the interest of tea works. Using the available transport facility, the workers were able to report to work and go back home to bond with their families. Still in the contextual framework of this study, economic factors were presented as factors which push individuals to work at Teza. Acquisition of material goods like accommodation and landed property were fitted in this conceptual framework as triggers of wage labour which generates funds to acquire them. It is these material goods which cemented gender relations of provider (men) and home-maker (women) in households of workers.

### **5.2.2 Wage Utilization and Effects on Intra-Household Gender Relations**

This study found out that the ten main uses of the tea wages namely food supply, clothing, farming, animal husbandry, education for children, housewares, accommodation, savings, health care and commerce. This means that the tea workers utilized their wages in reasonable ways. Furthermore, this study found also that the achievements made by workers using earned wages included education of children,

bought property, built house and savings. This means that tea works contributed to economic development of the workers.

Based on the theoretical framework propounded by Krishnaraj (2001) which guided this study, allocation of income is included in the objects of bargaining among the economic agents in households. With regard to this bargaining theory, this study investigated the main uses of the wages earned at Teza and it was noted that the income from the tea works was used for necessary things. It is in this sense that the study found that this utilization of wages was used to cater for basic needs (food, clothes, accommodation, housewares and health care), investment (farming, animal husbandry, and commerce), education (for children) and savings (for further use or contingencies).

Specifically, this study found positive effects of wage utilization on intra-household relations in three dimensions. First, the men were the main breadwinners in the rural households. The interpretation was that the men were the providers in the households of respondents. In the field work, it was observed that most women were engaged in petty vegetable trade in local markets and public places. The results of the survey and key informants also confirmed commercial activities done by the wives of the workers. Although it was not evident that all the women were trading using men's wages, but it was obvious that finances of certain male workers were being used by women as capitals. Second, the spouses decided together the main allocations of resources they had. This was interpreted that the decision-making among spouses over allocation of resources helped the partners to rationalize the utilization of their resources. It was, therefore, proved true that the earning power of each partner facilitated consultations among spouses. Third, the study found certain tasks culturally

reserved for either men or women were performed by any of them. The tasks like farming activities which are mostly done by women in rural areas to produce and process food for households, were also performed by men. The same for animal husbandry, a role frequently performed by the men but also performed by women when the men were working at Teza. Performing these roles without reference to gendered division of tasks created gender-neutral roles in the rural workers' households. It is true that these roles in rural households were reshaped by the limited labour wages which could not satisfy all the household needs.

With regard to the three effects on intra-household gender relations that the study found, they have had implications based on the theoretical framework which guided this study. In the sense of the bargaining theory of Krishnaraj (2001), household agencies are understood in terms of capacity to solve an economic problem and that household partnership is cooperative and / or conflictual. It is in this purview that, all the effects on intra-household gender relations fitted in Krishnaraj's theory. Bargaining agency was specifically seen as the women's economic endeavours with support from the husbands. The sense of consultation among spouses, the gender-neutral roles found in this study and women's domestic responsibilities were indicators of cooperative partnership in the rural households in line with Krishnaraj's theory.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Policy Recommendations**

Policies on welfare of workers in Teza Tea Company are derisory. There is need to evaluate existing social facilities organized by the company to single out the

shortcomings in order to come up with effective amendments for the betterment of workers and their families.

There is also need to review labour wages and come up with new policy on wages which will enable the workers to earn decent payments in order to improve their material possessions and earning power of spouses for stabilized intra-household gender relations.

### **5.3.2 Recommendations for Further Research**

This study was not exhaustive. Therefore, the study recommends that further research may be carried out in the following domains:

1. Influence of socio-demographic factors on workforce provision
2. Community perceptions towards tea plantations labourers
3. Effects of tea picking on health of workers

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Recording Schedule for Tea Workers

#### A. INTRODUCTION

My name is TUYIKEZE EVODE. I am a postgraduate student in the Department of Sociology, Psychology & Anthropology in Moi University. Now, I am doing a research titled *Socio-economic Factors, Employment and Wage Utilization: Implications on Gender Relations Among Workers of Teza Tea Company, Burundi*. Therefore, I request you to share with me your opinions on the following questions about this study.

#### B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1	Name of respondent	
2	Sex of respondent [ ]	1= Male 2= Female
3	Age [ ]	1 = [15 – 25] 2 = ]25 - 35] 3 = ]35 - 45] 4 = ]45 - 55] 5 = ]55+
4	Place of origin	Commune: [ ] Province: [ ]
5	Place of residence	In camp: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
6	Marital status [ ]	1=Single 2=Married 3=Divorced 3=Widowed
7	Family size [ ]	1 = [1 – 3] 2 = [4 – 6] 3 = [7 – 9] 4 = [10+
8	Respondent's position in household [ ]	1= Head 2= Spouse 3= Other (specify)
9	Respondent's routine occupation [ ]	1= Farmer 2= Trader 3= Other (specify)
10	Years of schooling [ ]	1=No school 2=Primary 3=Secondary 4=Other(specify)

### C. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES RELATED QUESTIONS

11. Do you have dependants?

Yes

No

If Yes, state...

12. If Yes, how do you support them? .....

13. Do you see any ethnical or political based consideration in recruiting workers?

Yes

No

If Yes, state...

14. Do you think working in Teza Tea Company offers an opportunity to create new networks?

Yes

No

Give reasons...

15. Do you possess any skills / knowledge that enabled you to work here?

Yes

No

If Yes, state...

16. What are the roles of men and women in tea works at Teza Tea Company?

a) Men perform strenuous roles like...

b) Women perform less physical roles like...

c) Both men and women perform strenuous roles like...

d) Both men and women perform less physical roles like...

17. Do you stay in your own house?

Yes

No

If Yes, is the house

a) Owned by you?

b) Rented?

c) Other. Specify...

18. What is the type of the house?

Temporary

Semi temporary

Permanent

19. Do you have a farm?

Yes

No

If Yes, do you

a) Own the farm?

b) Rent the farm?

c) Other. Specify...

20. What is the size of the farm?

] 0 - 1] hectare

] 1 - 3] hectare

] 3 - 5] hectare

] 5 hectare and above

21. Is the land registered in your name?

Yes

No

22. Which activities are done on the farm?

a) None

b) Crop farming. Specify...

c) Livestock keeping. Specify....

d) Both crop farming and livestock keeping.

Specify....

23. Do you consider farming as productive and profitable?

Yes

No

State the reasons...

24. What challenges, if any, do farmers encounter in their farming venture?

i .....

ii .....

iii .....

iv .....

25. Do you have other sources of income apart from agriculture?

Yes

No

If Yes, state

i .....

ii .....

iii .....

iv .....

26. How long have you been working in tea plantations?

a. 1 year

b. ]1 - 3] years

c. ]3 - 5] years

d. ]5 years and above

27. What is your monthly tea wage?

a. ]0 - 30 000 F]

c. ]45 000 F - 60 000 F]

b. ]30 000 F - 45 000 F]

d. ]60 000 F and above

28. State the main use of your wages?

a. ....

e. ....

b. ....

f. ....

c. ....

g. ....

d. ....

h. ....

29. Do you consider the wages sufficient?

Yes

No

If No, why?...

30. What have you achieved so far with the wages you have earned?

a) Buy a property (Specify)

Yes  / No

b) Build a house

Yes  / No

c) Savings (specify)

Yes  / No

d) Educate children

Yes  / No

e) Other (Specify)

Yes  / No

31. Do you use your earnings for activities other than subsistence?

Yes

No

If Yes, state...

32. What is the total number of boys and girls, men and women in your household?

Boys.....

Men.....

Girls.....

Women.....

33. What are the roles assigned to each of them?

Boys: (i) ..... (ii) ..... (iii) .....

Men: (i) ..... (ii) ..... (iii) .....

Girls: (i) ..... (ii) ..... (iii) .....

Women: (i) ..... (ii) ..... (iii) .....

34. Are any of the household members involved in paid employment?

Yes  No

If Yes, state...

35. Who is the main breadwinner in the household?

Man (Husband)  Woman (Wife)   Other (Specify)

36. How are the major decisions pertaining to the household made?

By the man (Husband)

By the woman (Wife)

By both husband and the wife

By the entire household

By another relative  Specify....

By any  Why is this so?

i. .... ii. .... iii. ....

37. Do you have any other family (i.e 2<sup>nd</sup> wife or extramariage children) apart from this one?

Yes  No

If Yes, where is it?

i. .... iii. ....  
ii. .... iv. ....



38. How often do you stay with your household members?

Always

Very often

Often

Less often

Not at all

If 'often' or 'less often', where else do you stay?...

39. What do you do in your free time?

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| i. Relax with friends (Specify)        | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> / No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| ii. Visit relatives / friends          | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> / No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| iii. Attend to communal work (Specify) | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> / No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| iv. Any other (Specify)                | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> / No <input type="checkbox"/> |

40. Do you consider relationships in the household harmonious?

Yes

No

Somehow

If No / somehow, why so?

- i. ....
- ii. ....
- iii. ....

## **Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Key Informants**

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

My name is TUYIKEZE EVODE. I am a postgraduate student in the Department of Sociology, Psychology & Anthropology in Moi University. Now, I am doing a reasearch titled *Socio-economic Factors, Employment and Wage Utilization: Implications on Gender Relations Among Workers of Teza Tea Comany, Burundi*. Therefore, I request you to share with me your opinions on the following questions about this study.

### **B. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES RELATED QUESTIONS**

1. Do you think working in Teza Tea Company offers workers an opportunity to create new networks?
2. Do you see any ethnical or political based consideration in the recruitment of workers?
3. Are workers required any skills / education level to work here?
4. What are the roles of men and women at Teza Tea Company?
5. All these workers, are they traditionally farmers?
6. Do the workers have farms?
7. What is the size of the farm?
8. Which activities are done on the farm?
9. Do you consider farming as productive and profitable?
10. What challenges, if any, do farmers encounter in their farming venture?
11. Do they have other sources of income apart from agriculture?
12. What is the monthly tea wage paid here?
13. What are the main uses of workers' wages?
14. Do you consider the wages sufficient?

15. Does it happen that household members get involved in paid employment at the same time?
16. Do workers have homesteads around here?
17. What do the workers do in their free time?
18. Have you ever seen spouses complaining here about bad relationships in the household?

### **Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Informal Discussions**

#### **A. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES RELATED QUESTIONS**

1. Do you think working in Teza Tea Company offers workers an opportunity to create new networks?
2. Do you see any ethnical or political based consideration in the recruitment of workers?
3. All these workers, are they traditionally farmers?
4. Do you consider farming as productive and profitable?
5. State the main use of tea wages?
6. Do you consider the wages sufficient?
7. What do the workers do in their free time?
8. Have you ever seen spouses complaining here about bad relationships in the household?

## **Appendix 4: Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussions**


### **A. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES RELATED QUESTIONS**

1. Do you think working in Teza Tea Company offers workers an opportunity to create new networks?
2. Do you see any ethnical or political based consideration in the recruitment of workers?
3. What is your comments about camp life and served food?
4. All these workers, are they traditionally farmers?
5. Do you consider farming as productive and profitable?
6. What is your appreciation about the mode of payment in DIFO and offered advantages?
7. What are the main uses of tea wages?
8. Do you consider the wages sufficient?
9. What do the workers do in their free time?
10. Have you ever seen spouses complaining here about bad relationship in households?


### **Appendix 5: Observation Checklist**

1. Observation of signs of recruitment procedures of workers
2. Observation of the work facilities organized by Teza Tea Company
3. Observation of demarcation signs on owned rural land around Teza
4. Observation of types of owned houses in rural area
5. Observation of women's economic activities in rural area
6. Observation of activities done by men and women in rural homesteads around

## Appendix 6: Mobility Extension from AMAS Project



# THE AMAS PROJECT



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Doc 1- AMAS Letterhead

2<sup>nd</sup> September 2019

**FROM: MOI UNIVERSITY, THE AMAS PROJECT OFFICE**

**TO: HOPE UNIVERSITY, BURUNDI**

**REF: LETTER OF EXTENSION OF STUDY DURATION FOR EVODE TUYIKEZE:**

**EVODE TUYIKEZE,  
REG. SASS/PGS/02/19  
PASSPORT NUMBER - OP0203154**

The above mentioned student from your end is undertaking his Masters Studies in Sociology at Moi University, in the framework of the AMAS Project, within the Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme.

He was admitted initially for 12 months starting on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2018 and ending 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2019.

However, based on his request dated 06/08/2019, to extend the study period for another 12 months, we have extended his study period to end on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2020, to enable him undertake a full Mastersdegree study.

Please accord him understanding and any favourable assistance relating to this extension.






Prof. Omar Egesah  
**For the AMAS Project**

**THE AMAS PROJECT**  
**MOI UNIVERSITY**


*[Signature]*  
**02 SEP 2019**

P. O. Box 3900 - 30100, ELDORET, KENYA  
<http://amasproject.org>


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AMAS- The Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme for- MU, AAU, UMSR, UAC, UEM & UBT (2016-2021)- nr- 2016 -2494 / 001 – 002 @ <http://amasproject.org>



## Appendix 7: Research Authorisation from AMAS Project



# THE AMAS PROJECT

Funded by the Intra-Africa  
Academic Mobility Schemes of  
the European Union

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Doc 1- AMAS Letterhead

1<sup>st</sup> November 2019

**FROM: MOI UNIVERSITY, THE AMAS PROJECT OFFICE**

**TO: HOPE UNIVERSITY, BURUNDI**

**REF: LETTER OF REQUEST TO COLLECT PRELIMINARY DATA AT YOUR INSTITUTION/ OFFICE/ COMMUNITY BY EVODE TUYIKEZE:**

**EVODE TUYIKEZE,  
REG. SASS/PGS/02/19  
PASSPORT NUMBER - OP0203154**

The above mentioned student from your end is undertaking his Masters Studies in Sociology at Moi University Kenya, in the framework of the AMAS Project, within the Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme.

He has travelled back to BURUNDI from KENYA with one among other reasons, to collect preliminary data for his Masters Thesis research.

His travel for the same reasons has been within two months of November and December 2019 ONLY.

Please accord him necessary access to and collection of data from your institution.







THE AMAS PROJECT  
MOI UNIVERSITY

01 NOV 2019

Prof. Omar Egesah  
**For the AMAS Project**

P.O. Box 3900 - 30100, ELDORET, KENYA  
<http://amasproject.org>


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UNIVERSITÄT  
BAYREUTH

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AMAS- The Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme for- MU, AAU, UMSR, UAC, UEM & UBT (2016-2021)- nr- 2016 - 2494 / 001 - 002 @ <http://amasproject.org>





## Appendix 8: Research Authorisation From Makamba Commune

REPUBLIQUE DU BURUNDI



MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR  
DE LA FORMATION PATRIOTIQUE  
ET DU DEVELOPPEMENT LOCAL  
PROVINCE DE MAKAMBA  
COMMUNE DE MAKAMBA

### AUTORISATION N° 1/2019

Je soussigné, NTUNGWANAYO Japhet, Administrateur de la Commune MAKAMBA, atteste par la présente que le (la) nommé (e) IUYIKERE EVOSE, fils (filie) de NIYURUTIMANA DANIEL et de HABONIMANA DOMITILLE, originaire de la colline CANZA Commune MAKAMBA et Province MAKAMBA, porteur (euse) de la carte Nationale d'Identité N° 1004/62.260, délivrée à MAKAMBA, le 04/01/2010, est autorisé (e) de se rendre en Commune (s) de MUGAMBA & BURUYE, Province de BURURI & MURAMUYA pour ETUDE VISANT REDACTION D'UNE THESE

Signalons en outre que l'intéressé (e) résidait à KANZESE Commune MAKAMBA Province MAKAMBA où il (elle) travaillait comme.....

La présente autorisation lui est délivrée pour servir en matière de renseignement à qui se droit.

Fait à MAKAMBA, le 30/10/2019

L'Administrateur de la Commune MAKAMBA

NTUNGWANAYO Japhet



## Appendix 9: Research Authorisation from the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Burundi

REPUBLIQUE DU BURUNDI

Bujumbura, le 06/12/2019



Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur  
et de la Recherche Scientifique  
Cabinet du Ministre

N° Réf: 610 / CAB / 2759 / 2019

A  
Monsieur le Directeur Général de l'Office du Thé du Burundi  
à  
Bujumbura

**Objet** : Demande d'accès aux données par l'étudiant TUYIKEZE Evode

**Monsieur le Directeur Général,**

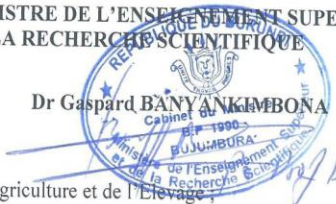
Référence faite à la lettre m'adressée en date du 07/11/2019 par Monsieur TUYIKEZE Evode, étudiant finaliste en Master à « Moi University » au Kenya me demandant de plaider en sa faveur pour l'obtention d'une autorisation d'accès aux données disponibles au sein de votre institution, j'ai l'honneur de vous demander de bien vouloir considérer favorablement sa requête.

En effet, Monsieur le Directeur Général, cet étudiant veut mener des recherches dans le complexe théicole de Teza après une étude pilote à l'usine de thé de Tora qui vont lui servir dans la rédaction de sa thèse. A cet effet, nous vous saurions gré de bien vouloir lui faciliter l'accès aux données dont il aura besoin dans le respect des usages de votre institution.

Veuillez agréer, **Monsieur le Directeur Général**, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

LE MINISTRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR  
ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

Dr Gaspard BANYANKIMBONA



**COPIE POUR INFORMATION** à :

- Monsieur le Ministre de l'Environnement, de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage;
- Monsieur le Directeur du BBES ;
- Monsieur TUYIKEZE Evode

Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique  
B.P. 1990 Bujumbura, Burundi. Boulevard de l'UPRONA. Tél: (+257) 22 22 94 50

**Appendix 10: Research Authorisation from Teza Tea Company**

OFFICE DU THE DU BURUNDI  
COMPLEXE THEICOLE DE TEZA  
B.P. 1580 BUJUMBURA

Teza, 11/11/2019

A Monsieur TUYIKEZE Evode  
MOI UNIVERSITY  
ELDORET CAMPUS  
KENYA

N. Réf : C.T.T/0256/S.C/m.a/2019

**OBJET :** Votre demande d'autorisation de mener  
des recherches auprès de nos ouvriers

Monsieur,

Faisant suite à votre lettre de demande de mener des recherches auprès des ouvriers du Complexe Théicole de TEZA, nous avons l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance que nous marquons notre accord.

En effet, Monsieur, nous vous informons que la tâche du Complexe se limite seulement au niveau de l'encadrement technique, en ce qui concerne la logistique (hébergement, transport, restauration) tout est à votre charge. A la fin de vos recherches un exemplaire de votre thèse devra être déposé au complexe pour servir de référence aux autres stagiaires.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de notre considération distinguée.

**COMPLEXE THEICOLE DE TEZA**

SIBOMANA Célestin



### **Appendix 11: List of all Collected Nicknames and their Translation**

*Mukasi:* Scissor

*Marasoro:* Stretch knit

*Abanyuka:* Pickers who stretch collected tea leaves

*Kwimanika:* To suicide using ropes

*Caratuvunye:* A slogan of one political party in Burundi.

Meaning: “We have energetically fought for the country voluntarily, without payment”

*Ndaborewe:* I am drunk

*Busaswa:* Bed

*Mapengu:* Someone whose front teeth have been uprooted

*Yambongo:* Someone with much money

*Gasongo:* Very tall

*Agahata:* A kind of informal loan with 4 % interest

*Malawi:* Someone who picks tea leaves very well that he can be sent to work in Malawi, second tea producer and exporter in Africa

*Mukizwa:* A person who is very kind, behaving well, full of religious belief

*Bushuhe:* Someone who quarels much with his colleagues

## **Appendix 12: Script of Teaching Material in Primary School in Burundi**

*Data na mama bagiye gukora.*

*Data aratema.*

*Mama ararima.*

*Berahino arakina na Basabose.*

*Data aje yikoreye igiti.*

*Mama afise isuka ku rutugu.*

*Buname aherekeje Digiri.*

*Buname ahereje umuhoro Gatogato.*

### **Translated Version**

My father and my mother are going to work.

My father cuts the grass.

My mother hoes.

Berahino plays with Basabose.

My father comes with a tree on the head.

My mother carries a hoe on her shoulders.

Buname accompanies Digiri.

Buname gives a machete Gatogato.