INTERVENTIONS AGAINST POVERTY IN RWANDA:
A CASE STUDY OF UBUDEHE IN GATSIBO DISTRICT,
EASTERN PROVINCE, RWANDA

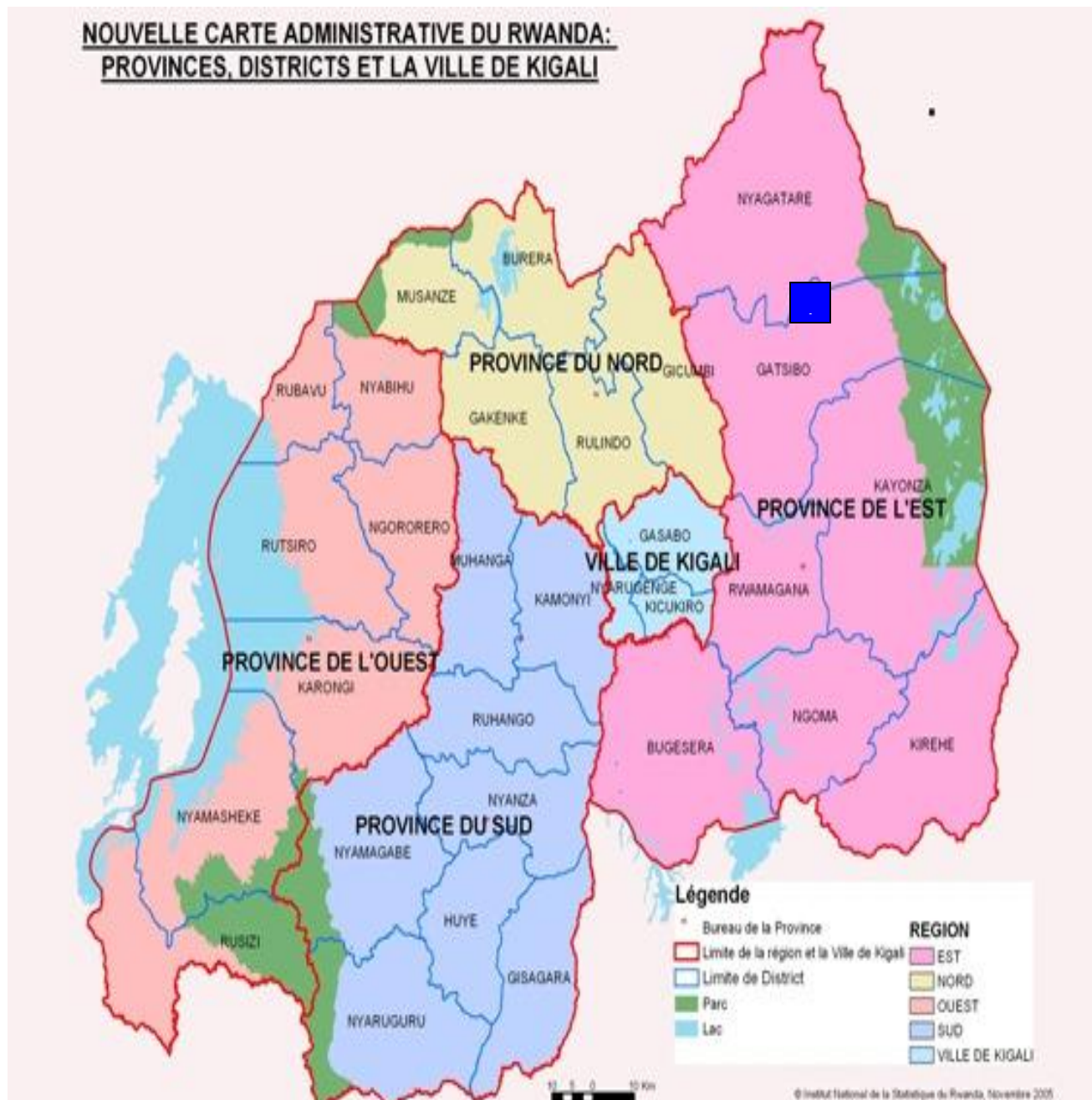**ALFRED MUPENZI**

2007 / HD14 / 9574U

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a Degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration and Management of Makerere University
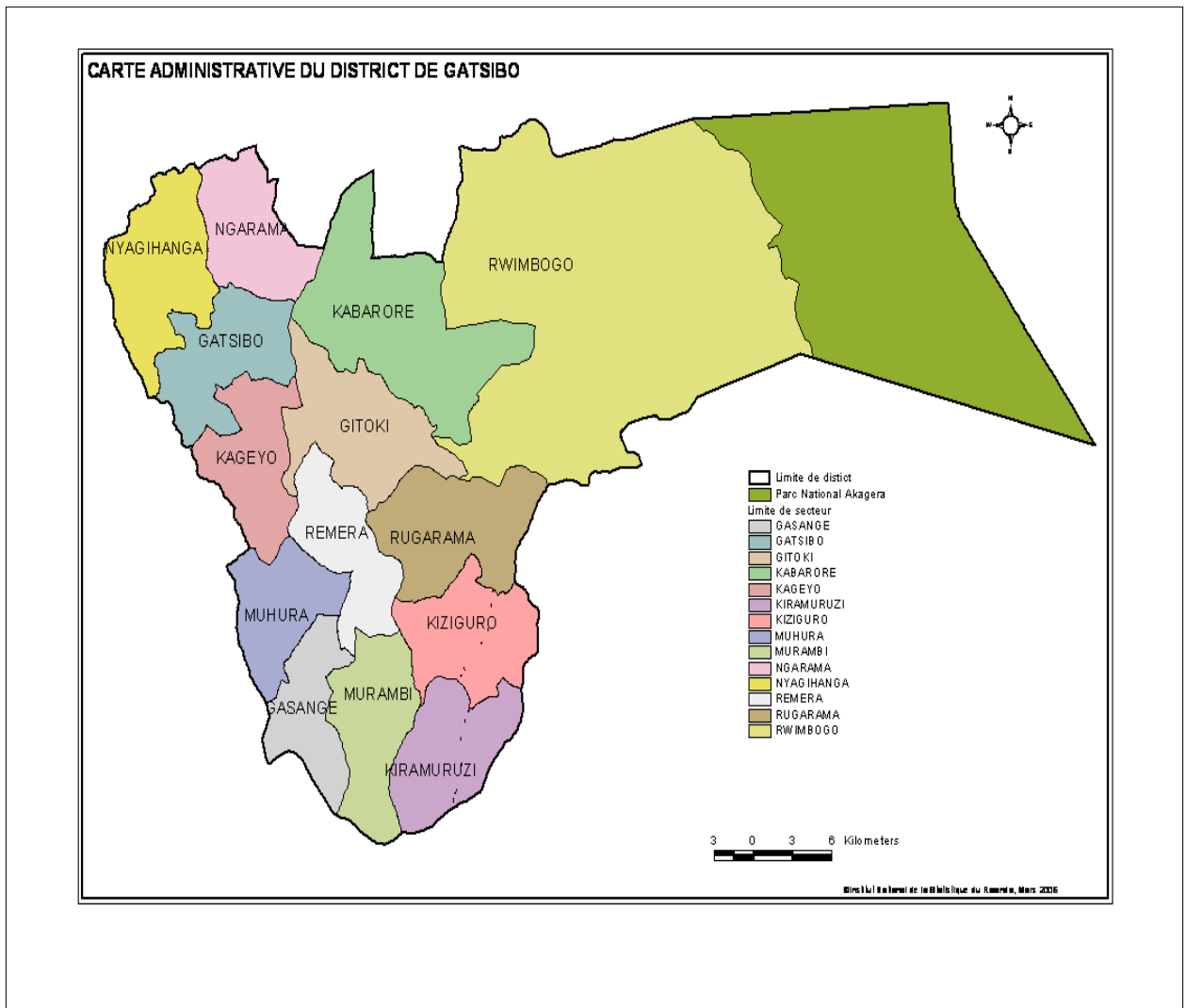
February 2010

THE MAP OF AFRICA

MAP OF RWANDA

NOUVELLE CARTE ADMINISTRATIVE DU RWANDA:
PROVINCES, DISTRICTS ET LA VILLE DE KIGALI

GATSIBO DISTRICT

MAP OF GATSIBO DISTRICT

CARTE ADMINISTRATIVE DU DISTRICT DE GATSIBO

NYAGIHANGA
NGARAMA
RWIMBOGO
KABARORE
GATSIBO
GITOKI
KAGEYO
RUGARAMA
REMERA
KIZIGURO
MUHURA
GASANGE
MURAMBI
KIRAMURUZI

Limite de distict
Parc National Akagera
Limite de secteur
GASANGE
GATSIBO
GITOKI
KABARORE
KAGEYO
KIRAMURUZI
KIZIGURO
MUHURA
MURAMBI
NGARAMA
NYAGIHANGA
REMERA
RUGARAMA
RWIMBOGO

3   0   3   6   Kilometers

DECLARATION

I, Alfred Mupenzi, do declare that the work presented in this dissertation was personally done by me and that it has never been presented to any institution for any academic award.

Signed …………………………………

Alfred Mupenzi

Candidate

Date …………………………………

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this work entitled *"Interventions against Poverty in Rwanda: a case study of Ubudehe in Gatsibo District Eastern Province Rwanda"* was undertaken under my supervision.

Prof. Murindwa Rutanga …………………………………

Supervisor

Date……………………………

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my dear wife, Blessing Ntorinwe, my little lovely children, Favour Mupenzi, Trust Mupenzi, and Promise Mupenzi, who had to sacrifice some of their social and economic entitlements so as to meet my financial and time demands during this course.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DHS   : Demographic and Health Survey

EDPRS   : Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy

EU   : European Union

GNP   : Gross National Product

GoR   : Government of Rwanda

HDI   : Human Development Index

ILO   : International Labour Organisation

MDGs   : Millennium Development Goals

MICS   : Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

MINICOFIN   : Ministry of Finance

OECD   : Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OPEC   : Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PHDP   : Participatory Human Development perspective

RGA   : Rwanda Geological Authority

Operational Definition of Terms

Ubudehe

Ubudehe is defined as the traditional Rwandan practice and cultural value of working together to solve problems. It is a method of addressing rural poverty through community collective action creating empowerment. *Ubudehe* is a mechanism of which the Government of Rwanda aimed at helping local people create social capital, nurture citizenship and build a strong civil society. This process helps citizens to engage in local problem-solving using their own locally designed institutions, in voluntary association.

Poverty

For the sake of this research, poverty will mean unmet demands in the poverty reduction Strategy in Rwanda. It is also defined as shortage of common things such as food, clothing, shelter and safe drinking water, all of which determine the quality of life. It may also include the lack of access to opportunities, such as education and employment, which aid the escape from poverty and/or allow one to enjoy the respect of fellow citizens.

Struggling Against Poverty (or Poverty Reduction)

This refers to any process which seeks to reduce the level of poverty in a community, or amongst a group of people or countries.

Human Development Perspective

The Participatory Human Development perspective (PHDP) is defined as "A participatory experiential, non-violent and evolutionary approach with problem solving, consciousness raising and empowerment (organizing) of the poor within a particular community or area.

ABSTRACT

This study set out to examine the role of *Ubudehe* in poverty reduction in Rwanda. It was carried out in Gatsibo district, Eastern Province of Rwanda. The underlying concern was that: faced with the prevalent poverty in the country, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) government initiated different programmes to address poverty. Among these was *Ubudehe,* a culture of collective action of solidarity and mutual help which the Government has adopted as an appropriate approach to fight poverty at community level. The objective of the programme was to "Revive and foster collective action at the community level. It was designed to rebuild trust in communities, to build accountable local institutions, and to help local people act to alleviate poverty." But Ubudehe as a mechanism to poverty reduction has not attracted attention of scholars to examine its performance, achievements, and challenges and this was the major concern of this research. A descriptive survey design using both qualitative and quantitative methods was used. A questionnaire and focus group discussion guide were administered to 106 respondents. All respondents who participated were selected using both stratified random and purposive sampling. The research findings revealed that despite the desire to meaningfully involve people in community development projects, Ubudehe has faced numerous challenges because of inadequate resources and therefore poverty reduction is still a question among people in Rwanda. It appears in the papers that at global level, Ubudehe scooped a United Nations trophy as the best managed and implemented development programme. Particular to Gatsibo district, it was found out that in the last two financial years of 2005/2006 and 2007/2008, they had one village (Umudugudu) that emerged best in the district and second at national level as a result of fighting poverty and with clear poverty reduction indicators. Research findings revealed that Ubudehe approach is very politically acclaimed both at National and International levels as the best approach to poverty reduction, but it is also working amidst limited funding and therefore one wonders how poverty can be reduced within limited funding. It is therefore clear that with limited funding such approach can not succeed. In a nutshell, the interventions against poverty in Rwanda are contextualised and applicable but the challenge remains differentiating poverty reduction tools from political tools intended to address trust among the citizenry.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

1.1 Rwanda

Rwanda is a small landlocked country, situated in Central Africa. It is often called The Land of a Thousand Hills (*pays des Mille Collines*) because of the innumerable rolling hills that cover the entire landscape. It borders Uganda in the North, Burundi in the South, Tanzania in the East, and Democratic Republic of Congo in the West. The country identifies itself as being both Central African and East African. It joined the East African Community some years back and was admitted to the Commonwealth Club in November 2009.

The people of Rwanda (Banyarwanda) embrace four sub-groups-namely Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abakiga and Abatwa. Apart from their mode of production, these people are the same; they co-existed, but this equilibrium was disrupted by the coming of the colonialists. (Kamukama, 1993:6).

These people shared a common heritage characterized by a number of cultural aspects. The only distinction is their mode of life which has lot to do with their subsistence; one group was agriculturalist (Abahutu), while the other (Abatutsi) was pastoralist. Both groups lived side by side, with each having a role to play for the other. All sub-groups shared a common language, history, culture, environment and oppression.

1.1.1 Historical Background

The early history of Rwanda has not been captured clearly partly because of the lack of committed archaeological studies, and seemingly impartial recording and interpretation of oral historical information.

Much of Rwanda's history before German and Belgian colonialism has not been recorded and interpreted correctly. However, the introduction of German colonialism interfered with its socio-political and economic organisation. This was worsened by Belgian Imperialism after World War One (WW1). It emptied the political powers of the long-established Rwandan monarchy under Umwami. Maina and Kibalama (2006) acknowledge that:

> The administration of Rwanda till 1959 was a centralized monarch having "*Mwami*" the king who was respected and paid tribute to by the people as the Head. The symbol of the king was the "Kalinga" the sacred drum. Equally important were the chiefs in the border regions who kept the country intact by keeping the enemies out while taking advantage of the situation by raiding neighbours (Maina and Kibalama, 2006:16)

This however has an ingrained assumption that the monarchy remained as it had been before the colonists up to the Batutsi massacre of 1959. Colonialism could not have lived in the same country with a political and economically powerful monarchy.

Maina and Kibalama (2006:17) further say that,

> Among the prominent kings of Rwanda was Mwami Mibambwe IV who is said to have reigned up to about 1896 when Mwami Yuhi IV Musinga took over. King Yuhi IV is said to have collaborated well with German rulers in order to strengthen his authority. He however fell out with the Belgians, who took over the territory after the First World War because of, among other things, his alleged failure to work with the chiefs at local level and also his refusal to be baptized a Roman Catholic. He was thus replaced by his eldest son Mutara III (Mutara Rudahigwa) in 1931. Among the many achievements of King Mutara III was his land reform of 1954 through which he shared land between the Hutu and Tutsi. The last king of Rwanda is King Kigeri V (Jean-Baptiste Ndahindurwa) the younger brother of King Mutara III. He was overthrown during the November 1959 revolt and forced into exile first to Uganda

and later the United States of America (USA) where he lives today. The Achilles heel of the kings (Mwamis) of Rwanda was the fact that they were all Tutsi and were favoured by the Belgian Colonial administration. This fact invited resentment from the majority Hutu in the country which led to several uprisings of the Hutu against Tutsi from 1959 beginning with the November overthrow of the monarchy system.

1.1.1.1 Pre-colonial Rwanda, *upward and downward social mobility and ethnicity in Rwanda*

Throughout pre-colonial Rwanda, lineages were agnate and exogamous. Members of the same lineage were supposed to descend from the same ancestors, whether real or fictitious and identified with the same genealogy. They generally recruited through the male filiations with the agnate type cultural model as referenced and exceptionally through the adoption, assimilation and integration of some rare new arrivals who, subsequently to some felicitous set of circumstances, were able to forge excellent relations of fraternity with their host families and promote matrimonial relations at that level (Nnoli,1998:107-130).

By the end of pre-colonial Rwanda, the populations living within the Rwandan spatial context were classified in panoply of clanic identity denominators (Ubwoko-Amoko). The main clans (Amoko) englobing the Rwandan population of the time were Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Abashambo, Abacyaba, Ababanda, Abongoa, Abungura, Abenengwe, Abasindi, Abakono, Abatsobe, Abaha, Abashingo, Abasita, Abasinga and Abanyakarama. As a consequence of internal and external migratory movements which occurred throughout the pre-colonial period, there developed a practice of assimilating new arrivals who due to contextual and circumstantial factors of the time had to relocate to territories essentially occupied by larger clans. Such, for example, was the case of the members of the so-called Abahage clan who ended up presenting themselves and being usually identified by others as members of a large clan called the Abasinga whose members lived side by side with them in their new spatial environment (Nnoli, 1998:107-130).

On the other hand, certain immigrants who for different reasons relative to the phenomena of splinters, divisions and scattering from their original milieu in one or the other neighbouring countries had to relocate into the Rwandan spatial context, continued to present themselves in their original clanic identity denominators. Such, among others, was the case of the Abanyakarama clan which in all likelihood came from Brundi and whose members (0.028% of the population in Rwanda in 1990) continued to present themselves under their original identity denominator. Such was also the case of certain fractions of Abatelela lineage who came from South-Kivu in Zaire; and such was also the case of certain fractions of lineage of the Abungura clan that came from North-Kivu in Zaire (Nnoli, (1998:107-130).

Ethnic social categories also had many similarities as compared to the above-mentioned clanic categories. Indeed, the determination of ethnic belonging was hardly definitively established by mere birth within a family, a lineage or a clan or by males from the same male stock. The determination of belonging and clanic identity took into account other factors such as for example, social, political, administrative and economic rank and position of individual.

Since position in terms of property, wealth, prestige, influence and power were not always static and many individuals, by force of circumstances, went from one lower stratum to a higher one in the social ladder, or inversely slipped from one higher stratum to a lower one, there were changes in the determination of the ethnic belonging and identities of individuals. As an explanation of such ethnic adaptation to changes in rank and position on the social, economic, political, administrative and other planes, we would like to recall the problem of upward and downward social mobility which characterizes the Rwandan society of the time.

It was this that many a member of that ruling social fraction in high positions both in terms of property (wealth) in the form of cattle, land and food products and in terms of prestige, influence and administrative power were able, on account of the phenomenon of ethnic adaptation to changes in rank and position in society, to prevent themselves, especially in

regions where the political power of the state of Rwanda was solidly entrenched, as being Tutsi whereas they were originally from the families and lineage of Hutu or Twa ethnicity.

The structuring of the ethnic identity during the colonial period

With the advent of the colonial state, we see the beginnings of ethnicization of politics and administration. The feelings of ethnic belonging gradually eclipsed those of clanic identity as the main basis of reference in the identification of people. In its pre-occupation as a systematic classification of various social categories living in Rwanda into ethnic groups supposedly interrelated with the so-called Bantou , Hamite and Pygmy races. Literature at the time placed great emphasis on the panoply of stereotype portraits and racial taxonomies of the people living in the Rwandan spatial environment. In so doing, the literature published greater details on the phenotypic and genotypic characterizes, proving concretely many morphological and physiological and bio-chemical aspects of three social categories which through centuries had developed into one and same people (Nnoli, 1998:107-130).

The issue was first raised by Pouget (1906). In 1906 he wrote that "The concept of "Umuhutu" which referred to Hutu was used at the time to mean mainly "Any man with a Master". in that respect, Pouget added that any individual would at that time present himself as Umuhutu to any Rwandan citizen better than himself. Czekanowski (1917) in turn reported that around 1907 efforts at self-classification by population within the three ethnic categories of the Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa and at self-determination in terms of belonging within those ethnic groups were more connected to social political and economic standing.

While examining Ethnic adaptability and changes in the latter, along the same mind, Classe (1922:681) wrote: "It should be noted that the Name Mututsi frequently connotes, not origin but social condition, property, especially in the number of horned animals: whosoever is a chief or is rich shall be often called Mututsi" often, as well, Batutsi (Plural of Mututsi) is used to mean the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga and

Marangara, as well as Buganza because of the way they do things and their language. In that context, the concept of Mututsi is associated with wealth and appearance and does not necessary imply a genealogical descent with emphasis on heredity."

This was also what the clergyman De Lacger (1993:53-60), pointed out in his writing: "Mututsi and Muhutu are words that tend... to be mere adjectives today, mere labels under which there are capitalists and workers, the rulers and the ruled, without any significant prejudice at birth."

Along the same line, authors like Kagame, Macquet and De Lacger pointed out that originally, the word Mututsi meant anybody owning several heads of cattle, at least seven or eight. They also pointed out that any Mututsi without any cattle or divested for one reason or the other of his bovine wealth would be demoted to the social category of simple peasant and was thus compelled to join that category of farmers.

Once assimilated, absorbed and interacted into that Hutu social environment, he would henceforth marry off his children into his new social milieu. By so doing, members of such family and lineage, originally Tutsi, following such a practice of integration and interplay of successive alliance, would also actually become Hutus. Conversely, the rich Bahutu that managed to own large cattle herds would therefrom be subjected to cattle tax and exempted from the flurry of subsistence levies imposed on peasants. Such was often the case of Bahutu-appointed land prefects by the kings. They were given the rank and the title of chief. Thanks to their owning several heads of cattle and the prestige connected with their new social and political positions, they were regarded as Batutsi.

These few examples sufficiently illustrate the linkage between the equation of upward social mobility and downward social mobility and the dynamics of the determination of identity of self and others. As we have seen, the process of upward social mobility was the sum total of all practices and mechanisms that by revolving around the models established and socially imposed as means of upgrading and gratification such as the case of cattle owned and social and political status tended to push certain individuals

from an inferior stratum into the universe of values of a superior stratum concerned about consolidating its position in terms of power.

As for the process of downward social mobility it followed as the example shown from being deprived of certain goods socially established by the dominant cultural models within the context of the period as value. The social and political status of individuals would in turn induce the devaluation of the individual in the eyes of the other members of the community in his social environment and in his own eyes and hence a downward slip on the social ladder into an inferior stratum of individuals deprived of such goods.

The ethnicizing ideology discussed above was compounded by colonial practice of ethnicizing local politics and administration between 1926 and 1929. The elimination by the Belgian colonial administration and by the missionaries of the last Hutu chiefs and auxiliary chiefs from their posts, functions and their influence in the newly conquered regions and their replacement by an indigenous ruling social fraction recruited and selected on the basis of criteria including that being of Tutsi family-hood lineage and ethnicity to the detriment of merit, competence, effectiveness and so forth are so many factors that contributed to the consolidation of the belief in the exclusion and rejection of those from the Hutu and Twa-ethnic categories. The ethnicizing ideology put into force through such a practice of ethnicizing politics and administration gave rise to emergence and development of an ethnic-based class awareness.

1.1.1.2 Colonial Rwanda

Under the famous Berlin Conference of 1884/85 the area which came to be known as Rwanda fell under the control of the Germans. Present-day Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, were placed under the protection of the Germans, and administered by the German East Africa Company. Germany was later to formalize its occupation of this territory in 1890 and it appointed a territorial administrator in 1907. However, no serious economic development activities were established by the Germans, thus making their

presence in the territory a passing event without any significance to its history (Kamukama, 1993:10).

Following the defeat of the Germans by the allies in the First World War, Rwanda was placed under the Belgian control by the League of Nations in 1924. The Belgians ruled the country until 1962 when it eventually regained its independence. It is the Belgians who shaped the future of Rwanda and perfected the divide and rule in the country and made sure that the so-called ethnic divide of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa was properly entrenched in the country.

Critique

Who gave names to those groups? In fact the Bakiga in Northern Rwanda are subdivided under the Bahutu, and Batutsi as if they are not entitled to their own identity. What do the titles; Batutsi, Bahutu, Batwa and Bakiga mean? And what were their place and occupation prior to colonialism? How did colonialism make use of them? While I do not agree with anybody who tries to reduce African societies to tribes, I am hesitant to accept whoever tries to dismiss ethnicity as a volatile modern political device with enormous destructive potentials of any society!

"The people of Rwanda i.e. the Hutu, Tutsi and Batwa are neither tribes nor ethnic groups; the differences between the Rwandan people have been exaggerated and culturally constructed. All the three groups speak the same language (Kinyarwanda) the Hutu and Tutsi in particular share many cultural characteristics and have a history of intermarriage among them. Indeed their differences are occupational rather than ethnic; however these differences were important for colonial powers in order to confirm their racial theories and perfect the divide and rule policy." Therefore the ethnicization and tribalization of Rwanda is a myth created by colonial powers and their "Thinkers" assisted by the church. (Maina and Kibalama, 2006:18)

Critique

What is clearly visible is the politics of tribalism and revenge. This could be totalizing for ideological purposes. Rwanda has a project to create one nation that could easily sway

people to keep a blind eye to certain issues. If these people were one then the events of 1959 could not have taken place the way they did; the same with 1973, plus the keeping of Batusti in exile till   1 October 1990 and the genocide in 1994 and reconfiguration of power by the Batutsi while excluding Bahutu from power and fighting those in exile. Politics of accommodation and forgiveness is lacking.

Under the Belgians, the minority Tutsi were granted privileged political, economic and social status. A new system of ethnic profile was introduced through the introduction of identity cards which actually determined ethnic origin of person. In 1950s there were winds of change blowing across the whole continent of Africa and Rwanda was no exception. The Belgian colonizers were left in dilemma.

> "Though during the colonial period they had favoured and glorified the minority Tutsi, Independence was inevitable and it automatically invited elections which their allies the Tutsi could not win. The colonialist abruptly changed loyalties! Overnight, they came in total support of the Hutu" (Ibid., p.24).

This was a welcome development to the Hutu who had suffered years of exploitation and subjugation. It was their turn to reign and the numbers allowed this possibility through elections. The first point was the preparation of the so-called Bahutu Manifesto of 1957, the Manifesto *inter alia*, rejected what it called the dual colonialism - of Belgians and Tutsi. It called for an end to the political, economic and social monopoly of the public life by the Tutsi.

The net result of these forms of agitation was the replacement of a Tutsi monarchy with an independent republic led by the Hutu! The colonial hate ideology among the separate groups must have been so hard it did not allow a compromise. Hence in 1959 violence occurred. The Tutsi king Mutara III had just died in Bujumbura under unexplainable circumstances something which was already raising tension.

It was under these uncertainties that Gregoire Kayibanda, one of the authors of the Bahutu Manifesto formed a predominantly Hutu Party. *Mouvement Democratique Rwandais (Parti du movement de l'mancipation Hutu* or *Parmehutu).* Skirmishes began

between the two groups and civil war broke out. It was not a simple matter, houses were burnt, and people were clubbed or speared to death. About 20,000 Tutsi were killed and more than 160,000 fled to the neighbouring countries where seeds for future problems were being sown.

The second revolution of 1973 began with the overthrow of President Gregoire Kayibanda by General Juvenal Habyarimana, the Chief in the National Army and Minister in his government who was a fellow Hutu. Habyarimana formed his own political party movement *Revolutionnaire National pour le development* (MRND) in 1975. Habyarimana clung to power for 21years until his death on 6 April 1994.

1.1.1.3 A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES IN UGANDA AND HOW IT TRIGGED THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Arrival and life in Uganda

Kamukama (1993) captures the arrival and life of Banyarwanda in Uganda as follows

> "Of the 200.000 estimated refugees who fled from Rwanda between 1959 and 1964, almost half of that number came to Uganda. The rest went to Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire. At that time Uganda was comparatively more prosperous and less populated than Rwanda. The humbled and misery-stricken refugees evoked sympathy among the local people especially in the Ankole district where people had a similar lifestyle."

Kamukama (1993), notes further that;

The refugees initially camped at administrative centres and the local populace rendered a hospitable hand of assistance in food and other items. This was through local state functionaries or individual efforts, this generosity came after the realization that the refugees were politically, socially and economically helpless. The local people also thought that the refugees were likely to return home in a short time, With the assistance of UNHCR, the refugees' were eventually gathered in settlement at Rukinga in Mbarara

District. In their settlement the refugees tended to accept their fate with humility and started to address the basic questions of survival. Many of them slowly moved out of the camps in search of employment either as labourers or low calibre civil servants. Those who worked on farms often got portions of land nearby where they would settle and invite their families to join them. Eventually these settlers acquired more land and built permanent homesteads.

Those who escaped from Rwanda with cattle however never needed the UNHCR advice to restrict their numbers to manageable limits. Soon, cattle numbers exploded beyond the ability of settlements to contain them. Many of the cattle owners gradually moved out of the camps in search for pasture land they moved to virgin areas in the new districts of Ntugama, Mbarara, Bushenyi, Rakai, Masaka, Mubende, Luwero and even beyond the Nile River to Apac, Lira, Kitgum, Soroti and Kumi. Within five to eight years, the refugees had mingled with the population in the countryside and in urban areas that their presence started to raise questions in political circles.

The growth of xenophobia in Uganda

Kamukama (1993), records the growth of fear by Ugandans as a result of the increase in status, number and popularity of the Banyarwanda in Uganda as follows:

The climb of the social ladder in Uganda by the Banyarwanda refugees may have been rapid but it was not smooth. Their acquisition of wealth and its attendant social status soon brought them in head on confrontation with the local people. As it is often the case it was land that was the first source of conflict between the new comers and their hosts. In areas where refugees' cattle had multiplied over the years the Ugandan cattle owners started complaining and harassing the refugees in order to force them out of their areas. Friction between refugees and local people over grazing land was particularly evident in many areas of Bushenyi, Kabale and Ssembabule in Masaka District. In the old Ankole District the Tutsis were quickly drawn into the historical ethnic rivalries between the Bahima and Bairu. Since the Batutsi were the same stock as the Bahima and shared the same cattle culture, the lines of antagonism were quickly drawn and the Batutsi became the target of the growing wave of animosity against the Bahima. Since cattle in Ankole is a yardstick for status and class, the refugee herders assumed the high status of the Bahima who for centuries had constituted the ruling class. The Bairu middleclass resented this new alliance which helped to boost the dwindling numbers of their traditional ethnic rivals and quickly the Batutsi became a target for local Bairu chiefs. Even where

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these Bairu–Bahima antagonisms were not prominent the refugees quickly attracted the attention of the local people as they became prosperous through employment as teachers, nurses, veterinary assistants and other jobs. Many of these refugee children had their school fees paid by UNHCR while those of the indigenous people dropped out of school due to lack of school fees, The local people cast an envious eye at these recent arrivals who had surpassed them in nearly everything.

When it came to getting invoved into the country politics, the oppression took another level as Kamukama (1993), further notes,

The resentment at the local level quickly went to the top as the Banyarwanda got entangled in Uganda's politics. In 1960s the ruling party, Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC), whose social base in Ankole was Protestantism became suspicious of the overwhelmingly catholic Banyarwanda. On the basis of their religion they were associated with the opposition Democratic Party (DP) and since most of the refugees had gradually moved out of the Orukinga and Nyakivale refugee camps they were bound to vote in the planned elections. Obote, the president then planned a census of ethnic Banyarwanda, The census was considered in local circles as the beginning of political exclusion of both citizens and refugees of Rwandan origin from the political process and even expelling them from Uganda. Obote was however overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971 before the exercise was implemented. When Amin took over power in 1971 the Banyarwanda welcomed him for security reasons .He quickly moved against the politicians who were behind the growing anti–Banyarwanda campaign. He rehabilitated the deposed Rwandese King Umwami Kigeli and his family. Many Banyarwanda entered the state coercive organs like the notorious spy network, the State Research Bureau and the Army. Although there is no statistical evidence to show that Banyarwanda –refugees, migrants and nationals were inappropriately represented in Amin's coercive machinery, his overthrow in 1979 opened a can of worms for them. The Tanzanian troops and Ugandan exiles that were battling Amin's army passed through Nakivale and Orukinga settlement camps and displaced many settled refugees. The lawlessness in most parts of the country under the UNLF government saw many Banyarwanda lose their cattle to marauding armed groups in the refugee camps as conditions continued to worsen. The return of political parties led to a violent election in 1980. Obote returned to power. His victory was strongly contested by DP and the Uganda Patriotic Movement(UPM).

The harsh conditions under Obote one had taught Banyarwanda a big lesson and therefore when Museveni took a step of going to Bush and declaring a guerrilla war, it inevitably became an answer to the Banyarwanda youth who were looking for an exist from sufferage Kamukama (1993) further tells the story about the war,

"In February 1981, Yoweri Museveni who had served as Defence Minister under UNLF and as a leader of UPM went to the bush and declared guerrilla war against Obote's government."

It is paramount to note that, even before declaring the war, Museveni a Munyankole had been publicly labelled Munyarwanda by Obote and his UPC supporters as a way of de-campaigning him as a foreigner. When the guerrilla war started, most Museveni's supporters were Bahima from Ankole. There were also two prominent Banyarwanda refugees, Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame. Rwigyema had trained with Museveni under FRONASA and was one of the commanders of the anti-Amin forces; His careering in the UNLA was, however, cut short by the Ugandan commanders on grounds that he was a foreigner. To drum up support against the National Resistance Army (NRA) guerrillas, the UPC government started playing on anti-Banyarwanda sentiments, grouping all those who were fighting as Rwandese and therefore foreigners. These public utterances by Obote and his supporters frightened all Banyarwanda of all ages and the immediate refuge for the young ones was the "bush" where the NRA was waging a guerrilla war.

"It soon became common knowledge in the whole country that the more Obote and top UPC brass made hostile statements about Banyarwanda, the more the local party operatives harassed them in villages and towns, and the natural thing for them was therefore to swell up in the NRM guerrilla ranks." Kamukama (1993) states.

By joining the anti- government forces in big numbers the Banyarwanda sparked off a vicious circle where they were persecuted even more by the UPC hierarchy, culminating into their mass expulsions in 1982. In this year an alleged murder of a youth winger who had attempted to steal cows from a Munyarwanda family in Isingiro sparked off a wave of terror in which people were killed, houses razed and property looted. With the support of special paramilitary units, UPC youth wingers and local chiefs organized armed gangs and went around all areas where the Banyarwanda lived in south-western Uganda, burning houses, stealing cattle and household property. Between 1982 and 1983, as many as 100,000 people were displaced in Mbarara and Bushenyi districts. About half of these were refugees and the rest citizens, mainly ethnic Banyarwanda and to a less extent indigenous Bahima and Bakiga. In the process, over 40,000 heads of cattle died and an estimated 20,000 homes were destroyed. Half the number of these victims of

massive evictions and looting went back to refuge camps and the other half fled into Rwanda. The Ugandan Government gave conflicting explanations for the expulsions, with Prime minister Otema Allimadi saying that the refugees had voluntarily decided to go back home to Rwanda. The Rwandan government quickly closed its borders with Uganda and confined those who had already crossed into a small area in the north where many people, especially young children and the elderly people, died of starvation and disease. Reacting to international pressure, the UPC government agreed to verify the citizenship of the displaced working jointly with the Rwandese authorities. Although some of those evicted were allowed to return to Uganda, they could not regain their land or property already taken over by the evictors. Between 1982 and 1985 violence and hostility fuelled by government operatives towards Banyarwanda increased as official xenophobia spread in areas even where the Banyarwanda were an insignificant minority, particularly in the northern and north-eastern districts of Kitgum, Apac, Liira, Soroti and Kumi. With almost nothing left to lose, the elderly Banyarwanda crowded into the newly created camps in Kabarole District while the youth went to join the NRA bush war. In 1985 when the NRA took over most of western Uganda, Banyarwanda ranked third in the number of fighters after the Baganda and the Banyankole, Almost half of those fighters were recruited from the Luwero Triagle districts of Luwero, Mubende and Mpigi where Banyarwanda, and to some extent Barundi, made up one quarter of the population. This heterogeneous ethnic mixture ensured the military success of the NRA which took advantage of the population bitterness resulting from the atrocities committed by the Obote's army in the Luwero Triangle.

> Kamukama (1993) further adds that "By January 1986, when the NRM took over power in Kampala, as many as 3,000 of its 15,000 fighters were Banyarwanda of all categories including Uganda's, descendants of pre-independence migrants and refugees. Since promotions in the NRA were based on merit and experience, many of these Banyarwanda including refugees were given positions in the command structure of the NRA ranking as high as the deputy army commander, Maj. Gen Fred Rwigyema, whose parents left Rwanda in the early 1960s when he was a young boy.The NRA victory was hailed in most parts of the country especially in Southern Uganda where the solders were regarded as liberators. But the big number of Banyarwanda in its ranks quickly generated disquiet in the whole country where even the committed backers of NRM could not disguise their anxiety. The disproportionate numbers of Banyarwanda both citizens and

refugees, immediately provided a rallying point for anti-NRM forces both inside and outside Uganda. Animosity was more pronounced in the north and east of the country where NRA was engaged in a vicious war with the Uganda Peoples Democratic Movement (UPDM), who had invaded from Sudan in August 1986.The rebels, most of them from the defeated armies of Tito Okello, Milton Obote and Idi Amin accused NRA of being an occupational force of ''Rwandese mercenaries''. The rebel threat placed heavy demands on the NRA, forcing it to recruit massively all over the country to bring down the rebellion. To command this anti-rebel operation was none other than the deputy army commander, Maj. Gen Fred Rwigema, whose Rwandan origin was disputed. The NRA success under him rallied many sympathisizers both locally and abroad, who turned the Banyarwanda issue into a propaganda weapon against Museveni and the government. As a threat of the rebel war in the north gradually subsided in 1989 the Banyarwanda in NRA including Maj. Gen Fred Rwigyema, Maj. Baingana and others were sidelined .Others like Majors Paul Kagame and Chris Bunyenyezi retained their positions as Deputy Director of Military intelligence and Division Commander respectively. In general, however, the Banyarwanda became less and less conspicuous in the NRA, Ugandans may have been relieved by this development but not the Rwanda government which kept a keen eye on event in Uganda.

The Military Invasion

Kamukama (1993), further records the military invasion in what came to be the liberation struggle of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF);

> The government in Kigali under Maj. Gen Juvenal Habyarimana had never disguised their concern for the Banyarwanda in the NRA from the time the later captured power in 1986. Habyariman was among the first heads of states that came to Kampala to meet Museveni shortly after the later was sworn in as Uganda's leader, Soon after, Museveni returned the visit and more high-level visits were exchanged. Kigali's nervousness about Banyarwanda's high profile in Uganda's security and political set-up surfaced in early 1988 when a cultural show staged Belgian based Banyarwanda attracted thousands of spectators. Some of them had come from as far as USA, Canada and France and the show received prominent coverage in the local media.

The next day the Rwanda embassy in Kampala protested to government for giving a platform for Rwanda's enemies. The cultural show also coincided with more open discussion in all circles on Banyarwanda refugees' desire to return home and subsequent formation of a joint Ministerial Commission in February 1988 between Uganda and Rwanda to explore possible ways to solve the problem of refugees. This was followed by a decision by both governments seeking UNHCR assistance to carry out a survey in the

settlements to determine whether the refugees wished to return to Rwanda or continue staying in Uganda. The survey was to have been carried out in October 1990 (Cathy Watson: Exile from Rwanda). But this never came to pass as events in Uganda and Rwanda moved very first in favour of a military solution. The factors which accelerated the invasion were the large number of militarily trained Banyarwanda who had combat experience in NRA's bush war and later in the anti-insurgency operations in North and North Eastern Uganda. After the rebellion had been suppressed in 1990, these soldiers found themselves generally redundant in an environment that did not seem to appreciate their contribution to Uganda's liberation. In Rwanda, President Habyarimana's grip on to power through his MNRD one-party rule was loosening. Allegations of human rights abuses, nepotism, corruption and the north-south political rift in Rwanda had reached alarming proportions and their effects were beginning to be felt in neighbouring countries. In August 1990, two prominent Rwandese Vicent Kajeguhakwa and Pasteur Bizimungu, the former a Tutsi and the latter a Hutu, but both close business associates of President Habyarimana fled to Kampala. These developments, which coincided with other reports of disgruntlement in the Rwanda security forces, exposed Hanyarimana's vulnerability and gave the military refugees the morale to launch their attack. In Rwanda, and to a big extent in neighbouring countries, it was becoming clear that the political status of the refugees could not remain the same. But no one predicted that they would take up arms in such a daring manner and invade Rwanda. But the whole world was stunned on October 1st when news filtered out that Banyarwanda soldiers in NRA had deserted and invaded Rwanda in large numbers under the umbrella of a hitherto unknown organization, the Rwandese Patriotic Movement (RPF/A). The RPF is said to have been formed in Nairobi as the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) but little had been heard about it although it had always been known in Rwanda and neighbouring countries that Rwandese refugees were fundraising under some welfare organization. The RPF announced an eight-point programme which called for national unity, democracy, the building of a self- sustaining economy and an end to the system which generates refugees. The programme further called for an end of the misuse of public office, the establishment of social services, democratization of the security forces and a progressive foreign policy. The invasion attracted international attention coming at a time when both

Presidents Museveni and Habyarimana were in New York attending a UNICEF World Summit on Children. At the border with Uganda, the invaders crossed through Kagitumba and scored a number of military successes against ill-prepared Rwandan soldiers (Kamukama, 1993).

1.1.1.4 Development in Rwanda

After 1994, the government undertook a period of intense resettlement and reconstruction, lasting through 1997. In 1998, the Government of Rwanda (GOR) turned its attention to transitioning from an emergency situation to a state in which it could undertake activities that would lead to "normal" development. A number of commissions whose principal function is to promote reconciliation among the three ethnic groups comprising the Rwandan population were created. Those commissions included the National Reconciliation and Unity Commission, the National Human Rights Commission, and the *Gacaca* -a community justice programme.

> The government of Rwanda envisages a community that is organised, self motivated, hardworking, forward looking, and has the ability to exploit local potential with innovation geared towards sustainable development. The mission of community development policy is "To ensure effective and sustainable participation of the community in its own development, in order to achieve poverty reduction and self reliance based on the sustainable exploitation of available resources*" (Ministry of Local Government – www.minaloc..gov.rw Community development policy, Revised Version, April 2008).

Following the several upheavals that characterised the history of Rwanda, coupled with the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, it is clearly evident that the RPF government found a state that was in poor shape where: people were very poor, infrastructure spoilt, and inadequate qualified personnel and therefore had to lay clear strategies to increase on community development.

As a result, the Government of Rwanda adopted a number of programmes based on Rwanda's cultural heritage to tackle key development issues by engaging the people and ensuring accountability in governance. Traditional systems that were employed and

incorporated in community development included: *Imihigo* - a performance contract containing development targets for the district during a given period; *Ubudehe* - a culture of collective action of solidarity and mutual help which the Government has adopted as an appropriate approach to fight poverty at community level and which the researcher has put more emphasis; *Umuganda* - a community development action; and *Gacaca* - a traditional community-based justice system, which has played a key role in rendering justice in the aftermath of genocide and the social dislocation caused by its effects.

In general, development is guided by two major policy documents. The first one is Vision 2020 a framework for Rwanda's development, presenting the key priorities and providing Rwandans with a guiding tool for the future. The second one is Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) that seeks to address constraints towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the country's Vision 2020. It builds on achievements in human capital development and promotes three inter-dependent flagship development programmes: Sustainable Growth for Jobs and Exports; Vision 2020 *Umurenge (VUP)*; and Governance. The VUP is an innovative pro-poor growth programme which aims at eradicating extreme poverty by 2020. Its central principle is the release of productive capacities of the poor and extremely poor in order to lift them out of extreme poverty in a cost-effective and sustainable manner (Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy, pp.44-45).

1.1.1.4 Public administration

The country has a highly decentralized system divided into four (4) *Intara* (provinces) plus the city of Kigali. These provinces are made up of 30 *Uturere* (districts), 416 *Imirenge* (sectors), 2,148 *Utugari* (cells) and 14,744 *Imidugudu* (villages). The *Akarere* (district) is the basic political-administrative unit of the country. The *Umudugudu* is the smallest politico-administrative unit, hence closest to the people. It is at this grassroots level that problems, priorities and needs of the people can be identified and addressed.

Specific to Gatsibo District, it is made up of 69 Cells and 603 Villages/Imidugudu. It has an estimated population of 283,456 people. Gatsibo district has fourteen sectors including: Gitoki, Rugarama, Muhura, Kiramuruzi, Kabarore, Nyagihanga, Gatsibo, Kiziguro, Remera, Ngarama, Murambi, Gasange, Kageyo and Rwimbogo. However, the researcher's focus has targeted key people from the national to the sector levels.

Considering the fact that the researcher had limited resources and time however, the respondents for Group Focused Discussion (GFD) came from four cells per sector and the meetings were taking place at the sector level as follows: **Kiziguro sector: (**Rubona, Agakomeye, Mbogo and Ndatemwa)**, Rwimbogo sector: (**Kiburara, Munini, Nyamatete and Rwikiniro) **Murambi sector: (**Rwankuba, Murambi, Rwimitereri and Nyamiyaga), and **Kabarore sector: (**Simbwa, Kabarore, Kabeza, Malimba, Nyabikiri).

Economically, the district relies on agriculture and animal husbandry, agriculture is the main source of income. Coffee production in Gatsibo by 2007 was estimated at 1,240 tonnes, slightly below the 5% of national production levels of 28,000 tonnes (National estimation), Gatsibo has three stations for seed purification. The production is estimated at 140Tonnes approximately 1% of national estimates fully washed (2007) (Gatsibo District Development Plan).

1.1.1.5 Ubudehe

Prior to the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan government was very hierarchical, with power tightly controlled by the central government. This high level of centralization of authority was part of what made the rapid mobilization during the genocide possible. "The new government has adopted a comprehensive decentralization policy to counteract this tendency. The decentralization policy is intended to activate collective action at the community level by developing bottom-up budgeting and planning systems to articulate communities' needs" (National Poverty Reduction Programme, Ministry of Finance and

Economic Planning, *The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper,* June 2002: 13).

Under the new decentralization plan, district governments play a crucial role. They are given 10% of state revenue through the Common Development Fund (CDF) for development needs. In addition to this 10%, they are given an additional 3% of domestic revenue for recurrent costs. The CDF is intended to fund local-level development planning. Ubudehe is the key process for developing local-level capacity for collective action and participatory development planning.

Ubudehe is targeted to the village/umudugudu – the lowest level in the Rwandan government structure. There are 14,744 *imidugudu* (villages) in Rwanda. Each village has 100-150 households. Targeting this level is part of a broader attempt to decentralize the hierarchical Rwandan governance system, and to increase community-level participation.

Under Ubudehe, villagers have been trained to make their own demands to attract CDF funds, based on their priorities and needs. Information collected at the village level through the Ubudehe methodology in turn informs district-level development planning (Ibid., pp. 4-6).

The programme was first piloted in the Butare province in early 2001. It was officially rolled out at the national level with support from the European Commission in 2004. As such, it has the potential to reach most of the poor Rwandan population.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Faced with the prevalent poverty in the country, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) government initiated different programmes to address poverty. Among these was *Ubudehe* a culture of collective action of solidarity and mutual help which the Government has adopted as an appropriate approach to fight poverty at community level. The objective of the program was to "Revive and foster collective action at the community

level. It was designed to rebuild trust in communities, to build accountable local institutions, and to help local people act to alleviate poverty" *(Ubudehe to fight poverty* *http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/poverty_reduction/ubudehe.htm).*Ubudehe programme started in 2001 as a pilot project in Butare district and was rolled out at national level in 2004. It has been given a lot of coverage and praise by the state and ordinary people as a vehicle for reducing poverty. Since its inception, it has not attracted attention of scholars to examine its performance, achievements, and challenges. This study therefore aimed at examining its performance in fighting against poverty in Rwanda.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

To assess the contribution of Ubudehe in fighting against poverty in Rwanda

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were:

1. To examine the character of poverty in Rwanda and its causes
2. To analyse how Ubudehe is fighting poverty
3. To examine people's involvement in Ubudehe project
4. To analyse the challenges facing Ubudehe in Gatsibo District.

1.4 Scope of the Study

1.4.1 Area of study/*Geographical Scope*

The study was carried out in Gatsibo District in Rwanda. This choice was based on the fact that Gatsibo District had embraced the Ubudehe development model. The study hoped to bring out the contributions, failures, challenges and problems of this model. Gatsibo District was chosen based on the fact that it was among the districts that performed well in this model in the 2006/2006 evaluations at the national level.

The research was based in Gatsibo District, Eastern Province. Gatsibo District is made up of 69 Cells and 603 Villages/Imidugudu. It has an estimated population of 283,456 people. Gatsibo district has fourteen sectors including: Gitoki, Rugarama, Muhura, Kiramuruzi, Kabarore, Nyagihanga, Gatsibo, Kiziguro, Remera, Ngarama, Murambi, Gasange, Kageyo and Rwimbogo. However, the researchers' focus targeted key people from the national to the sector levels.

1.4.2 Content Scope

Because the researcher carried out an intensive study of a single group/community in Gatsibo District and at national level, he adopted a case study design. A case study research method is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 1984: 23).

It focused on the interventions against poverty in Rwanda through the use of Ubudehe. This study made analysis on how Ubudehe has led to poverty reduction since its inception is 2001 to date. The study also focused on the participation of communities in their own development. Ubudehe has been chosen because it has been applauded since its inception in 2001 as effective in dealing with rural poverty.

1.4.3 Periodic Scope

Ubudehe programme started in 2001 as a pilot project in Butare District and was rolled out at national level in 2004. The researcher covered the period from 2006 to 2008 in Gatsibo District. Nevertheless, references were made to the years before given the fact that this approach is not very old.

1.5 Significance of The Study

It was hoped that the study would provide additional knowledge and insights to service delivery agencies especially the governments. It was further hoped that the study would

contribute additional knowledge on poverty reduction strategies and improve on the perception of communities on participatory development approaches; the challenges and consequences of not involving communities in planning and implementation of community projects.

It was also hoped that the findings of the study would add to the existing literature for academic use and for practitioners in the area of community growth and development. It would provide insight into how to increase the level of community participation from rhetoric to action.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a synthesis of the existing literature on poverty in Rwanda and Ubudehe as a human development participatory approach to poverty reduction. This literature review is organised under the following thematic areas: poverty in Rwanda; Ubudehe - a process of struggling against poverty; historical development of poverty and Human development perspective; and, the value for people's participation in their own development.

2.1 Poverty in Rwanda

Researchers in Rwanda recognize that poverty in Rwanda is closely related to a series of interconnected issues and in particular the history of war and genocide, land, environmental degradation and low resources. On a broader perspective, poverty as a problem goes beyond the lack of basic needs like food, clothing and shelter, to include lack or denial of social needs as well **(**Bugingo**,** E**. (**2001**),** Poverty Alleviation and Elimination in Rwanda**,** OSSREA, 2nd National Seminar, Butare, Rwanda Ministry of Education).

When one enters in the rural communities in Rwanda, from face value, it is evident that people are very poor and this is also reflected in different documents. For example, It is stated that "Approximately 85% of the population lives on less than two dollars a day, and 36% lives on less than one dollar a day, of the poor, 96% live in rural areas and life expectancy is 49" years (World Bank , *World Development Indicators,* 2003:23*).*

 Furthermore, it is stated in the Rwanda poverty reduction strategic paper that "As a result of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and war, approximately 34% of households are headed by women, and 21% by widows, education levels are also very low, with a 52% adult

literacy rate, and low secondary school enrolment" (National Poverty Reduction Programme, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, "The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper" June 2002: 13). This definitely indicates why poverty levels are high.

In addition to facing staggering poverty statistics, Rwanda is characterized by a population traumatized by a campaign of genocide in 1994, which included not only mass killings, but also systematic rape and massive dislocation. The population not only faces health problems caused by poverty, but also mental and physical ailments related to war trauma. Refugee and returnee movements, along with internal migration and a government-mandated resettlement programme, led to resettlement of a large percentage of the population in new communities. Many of the displaced did not have adequate shelter, and required re-housing. Thus the communities that Ubudehe targets are not only poor and undereducated; they are also traumatized by war, and composed of people who have not necessarily lived together before, and have little reason to trust one another. (National Poverty Reduction Programme, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, "The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper", June 2002: 13).

Reviewing the Rwanda's poverty reduction strategy paper clearly shows that poverty in Rwanda is deeply rooted in the upheavals that have characterised the country ever since ethnic ideologies were entrenched in the early 1950s.

Several agents are engaged in poverty reduction in Rwanda including the government, non government organisations and the private sector as well. Nevertheless the challenges are left to the researchers to discover whether the contributions of different actors in poverty reduction are taking a good stride or not.

2.2 Ubudehe process in the fight against poverty

Picture one: A picture showing the traditional *Ubudehe* approach

Source: Field Research

Ubudehe is the traditional Rwandan practice and cultural value of working together to solve problems. The literal origins of the word describe the practice of digging fields before the rains come and the planting season arrives. A group of households join together to dig their fields; acting collectively to share the burden of the work and make sure that everyone is ready in time for the planting season (Republic of Rwanda National Poverty Reduction Programme and Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, Ubudehe to Fight Poverty, 2007).

In response to the alarming rates of poverty, the government of Rwanda has resurrected this traditional cooperative mechanism as the model for a programme designed to alleviate poverty and provide for community rebuilding in the wake of the Rwandan 1994 genocide and civil war in the early 1990s.

In so doing, the Ubudehe pilot programme started in Butare 2001 with two primary goals: 1) To engage in a participatory poverty assessment and priority-setting exercise; and, 2) Based on the assessment, to implement a community project with €1000 provided directly to the community (Uvin and Nyirankundabera, "The Ubudehe Project in Butare: A Prospective Evaluation", Judith Dunbar, MALD 2004). These goals have been carried over into the national rollout, although the grant amount has been reduced to €900 because of the limited budget for the programme.

The objective of the programme is to 'revive and foster collective action at the community level'. It is designed to rebuild trust in communities, to build accountable local institutions, and to help local people act to alleviate poverty. The programme is part of a larger decentralization effort and data collected at the local level during Ubudehe is meant to be integrated into development planning at higher levels of government *(Ubudehe to Fight Poverty http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/povertyreduction/ubudehe.htm).*

2.2.1 Ubudehe as a community development policy

Picture two: A picture showing the current *Ubudehe* approach at village level

Social mapping and wealth ranking at village level 2008

Source: Field Research

The main guiding principles for the policy implementation are: grassroots community participation, exploitation of the local potential, promotion of commerce, continuous improvement, enhancing a culture of transparency and accountability and common benefit (Ministry of Local Government – www.minaloc..gov.rw, Community Development Policy, Revised Version, April 2008).

The policy implementation is anchored on the fact that it is a process and relies on the cooperation and harmonisation between formal and informal communities, the private sector, the civil society, international and national organisations, central and decentralised government institutions.

The Ubudehe process involves Government ensuring that every umudugudu/village has access to some funds to engage in collective action to solve one local problem of their choosing. The process creates opportunities for the people at the umudugudu/village level to interact with one another, share views and create institutions of their own which assign duties, benefits, responsibility and authority. The role of the government in the process is that of an enabler (not a patron) providing an environment for the socio-cultural rights and obligations of citizens towards one another to be reinforced (Ministry of Local Government, www.minaloc..gov.rw, Community Development Policy, Revised Version, April 2008).

The process puts into operation the principles of citizens' participation through collective action and seeks to strengthen democratic processes and governance starting from the people's aspirations, abilities and traditions. The Ubudehe process facilitates a range of other community processes and services at the community level including the following:

> Abunzi-or mediators who voluntarily work to improve self governance by resolving disputes and conflicts, Community policing involving collaboration between residents and police to prevent, monitor and report crime, Health counsellors two in each umudugudu/village man and woman to enhance health care awareness and provision of healthcare services, Water committees to oversee the provision of sufficient clean drinking water for every household, Education fund community

contribution for the education of destitute children, Mituelle de Sante community contribution to health insurance scheme, Extension services community support to good farming practices agriculture and livestock development, Cooperatives joint capital for commercial activity, Macro finance individual or joint access and accountability for credit, and HIMO government sponsored labour intensive public works to develop community infrastructure through monetisation of rural area (Ministry of Local Government, www.minaloc..gov.rw, Community Development Policy, Revised Version, April 2008).

2.2 Poverty

While trying to underline Ubudehe as a poverty reduction tool, it is paramount that we also understand what poverty is. Charles Karelis (2009:1) argues that, "Nobody with a practical interest in poverty can be overjoyed to spend time defining it." He wonders if the definition should be descriptive or simulative. He notes that one approach seems to risk vagueness and ambiguity, while the other seems to risk irrelevance. He, however, goes further and quotes the Oxford English Dictionary that defines poverty as "indigence", and it defines "indigent" as "lacking in what is requisite". He further uses Greg J. Duncan's definition of poverty as follows: "Poverty is a state in which resources are insufficient to meet basic needs." Of all arguments on basic needs, poverty is finally mirrored as having insufficient material resources to meet all basic needs, whether these basic needs stem from our animal nature or not.

According to Oppenheim and Harker (1996:4-5) as quoted by Alcock (1997: 3), "Poverty means going short of materially, socially and economically". It means spending less on food, on heating and on clothing than someone on an average income… above all, poverty takes away the tools to build the blocks for the future, (Your life chances)." It steals away the opportunity to have a life unmarked by sickness, a decent education, a secure home and a long retirement.

In his book, *Poverty Planning and social transformation,* Alcock (1997: 4), views "Poverty as deprivation, but not only deprivation, it is deprivation for the many and affluence for the few". He regards poverty therefore as, "The socio-economic phenomenon whereby the

resources available to a society are used to satisfy the wants of the few while the many do not have even their basic needs met."

To Robert Chambers (1983:2), the poor struggle to find enough to eat; are defenceless against diseases and expect some of their children to die. That the poorer people are trapped in what they cannot often help themselves out, the initiative in enabling them better to help themselves lies with outsiders who have more power and resources and most of whom are neither rural nor poor. Chambers further says that "The rich have much in common; they are relatively well-off, literate, and most urban based. Their children go to good schools; they carry no parasites, expect long life, and eat more than they need. They have trained and are educated; they read books and buy newspapers. They live in all countries of the world, belong to all nationalities, and work in all disciplines and professions. They are a class.

According to the World Bank (2000), "poverty is pronounced deprivation in wellbeing". This of course begs the questions of what is meant by *well-being* and of what is the reference point against which to measure deprivation. One approach is to think of well-being as the command over commodities in general, so people are better off if they have a greater command over resources. The main focus is on whether households or individuals have enough resources to meet their needs. Typically, poverty is then measured by comparing individuals' income or consumption with some defined threshold below which they are considered to be poor. This is the most conventional view—poverty is seen largely in monetary terms—and is the starting point for most analyses of poverty.

A second approach to well-being (and hence poverty) is to ask whether people are able to obtain a *specific* type of consumption good: Do they have enough food? Or shelter? Or health care? Or education? In this view, the analyst goes beyond the more traditional monetary measures of poverty: Nutritional poverty might be measured by examining whether children are stunted or wasted; and educational poverty might be measured by asking whether people are literate or how much formal schooling they have received.

Perhaps the broadest approach to well-being is the one articulated by Amartya (1987), who argues that well-being comes from a capability to function in society. Thus, poverty arises when people lack key capabilities, and so have inadequate income or education, or poor health, or insecurity, or low self-confidence, or a sense of powerlessness, or the absence of rights such as freedom of speech. Viewed in this way, poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon and less amenable to simple solutions.

For instance, while higher average incomes will certainly help reduce poverty, these may need to be accompanied by measures to empower the poor, or insure them against risks, or to address specific weaknesses such as inadequate availability of schools or a corrupt health service. Poverty is related to, but distinct from, inequality and vulnerability. *Inequality* focuses on the distribution of attributes, such as income or consumption, across the whole population. In the context of poverty analysis, inequality requires examination if one believes that the welfare of individuals depends on their economic position relative to others in society. *Vulnerability* is defined as the risk of falling into poverty in the future, even if the person is not necessarily poor now; it is often associated with the effects of "shocks" such as a drought, a drop in farm prices, or a financial crisis. Vulnerability is a key dimension of well-being since it affects individuals' behaviour in terms of investment, production patterns, and coping strategies, and in terms of the perceptions of their own situations.

2.2.1 Poverty Reduction and Development

Poverty reduction became a topical theme in the 1990s (World Bank, 1990; UNDP, 1993; ODA, 1995). In development literature, poverty reduction mirrors two pronged approaches. That is, the income/monetary approach and the empowerment approach. The former is legendary. It is in the latter that the focus of this study is framed. In defining the goal of poverty reduction as *empowerment,* this approach recognizes 'The complementary relationships between civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other' (OHCHR, 2002:5).

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Arguably, the empowerment approach is both the *means* and the *end* to participatory development strategies of poverty reduction because according to a UNDP report on overcoming human poverty (2000: 72-73), "The foundation of poverty reduction is self-organization of the poor at the community level – the best antidote to powerlessness, a central source of poverty." This is argued out that when organized; the poor can influence local government and help hold it accountable. They can form coalitions with other social forces and build broader organizations to influence regional and national policy making.

This point is in agreement with the objective of Ubudehe which looks at collective action to poverty reduction and holding the government accountable through established structures. The report further states that, "The ability of the poor to influence policy at national level, assume (rightly) that the poor are often the best initial resource to combat poverty – and that the surest road to eventual poverty eradication is encouraging their own organization" (UNDP, 2000) It is no coincidence, therefore, that poverty is likely to be most prevalent where people's organizations are the weakest or least numerous. Powerlessness goes hand in hand with other forms of deprivation, such as malnutrition, illiteracy and lack of a decent income.

In conformity with the above UNDP report, Amartya Sen 1999:3, 35), argues that, "The process of expanding freedoms is both the Ends and Means of Development." Therefore, empowerment of poor people is an end in itself and is also critical for development effectiveness. To the World Bank, "It is not a stand-alone strategy but a way of doing development, grounded in the conviction that poor people themselves are invaluable partners in the task of poverty reduction" (Poverty Reduction Group, World Bank, "A Framework for Empowerment: Summary", May 2002).

Rwanda is solely an agricultural society; citizens depend on food production according to United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation

The basic fault in the conventional approach is that the rural poor are rarely consulted in development planning and usually have no active role in development activities. This is because the vast majority of the poor have no organizational structure to represent their interests. Isolated, undereducated and often dependent on rural elites, they lack the means to win greater access to resources and markets, and to prevent the imposition of unworkable programmes or technologies. The lesson is clear: unless the rural poor are given the means to participate fully in development, they will continue to be excluded from its benefits" (FAO, 1997).

For United States Agency for International Development (USAID), "Development assistance works best when it contributes to efforts that people in the recipient society are already attempting to carry out, and when it fully takes into account the priorities and values of affected groups" (J. Brian Atwood, Administrator, USAID, 16 November l993).

The efficiency of this approach has been shown repeatedly, whether we look at the local level of a water-user association, or consider the degree of social consensus that a national government must count on to carry out and sustain changes in policy or social and economic programmes. it is against this background, therefore, that struggling against poverty in Rwanda is not a one way strategy but an amalgamation of several factors as evidenced in the poverty analysis from different scholars.

2.3 Conceptual framework of poverty

Although poverty is often seen as material deprivation, it is more than this. Many circumstances and conditions can perpetuate poverty – war, climate change, degradation of the environment, lack of resources and more.

Poverty is conceptualised differently by different scholars, however we learn a lot from Nelson Mandela in his statement that:

Massive poverty and obscene inequality are such terrible scourges of our times… that they have to rank alongside slavery and apartheid as social evils. Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings. Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. It is the protection of a

fundamental human right, the right to dignity and a decent life (Mandela, 2003:23).

A 1999 World Bank study found that poor people describe poverty in a variety of ways: hunger; lack of shelter; being sick and not able to seek medical care; not being able to go to school; not knowing how to read; not being able to speak properly; not having a job; a fear of the future; living one day at a time; powerlessness; hopelessness; lack of a voice; and lack of representation and freedom. In many instances, poverty is experienced as a lack of access to, and an exclusion from meaningful participation in, the various systems that affect their daily lives. While conceptualising the interlocking causes of massive poverty in Rwanda, several factors interact as illustrated in figure one below. According to Labayen and Delfin (www.outreach-international.org) there are four major factors that interact and cause massive poverty namely; economic, social, cultural and political.

Figure One: A Description of the interactive factors that cause Poverty
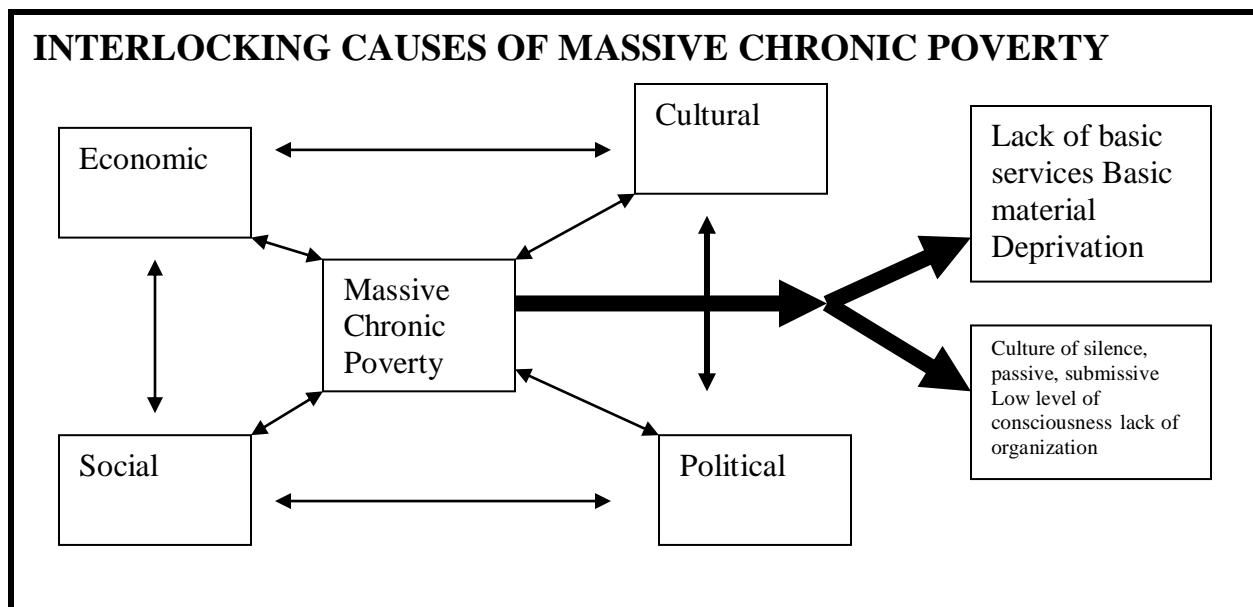
Source: (*Dennis Labayen, M.D. and Eduardo Delfin www.outreach-international.org***)**

From the above diagram, the end result of massive poverty is lack of services, basic materials and total deprivation. To Dennis et al, massive poverty also results from the culture of silence, passiveness, and submissiveness, low level of consciousness and lack

of organisation. The way to get out of this situation is through adopting the participatory development paradigm where development is focused on to the beneficiaries other than taken to them.

The interlocking causes of massive poverty are explained as below according to the figure above: Within the ECONOMIC SYSTEM (the framework that organizes the production and exchange of goods and services), the poor often lack access to: Land, Raw materials, Capital, Employment, Technology and Skills development. This can lead to growing inequality, in which the poor feel left behind by economic growth, or suffer the brunt of recession (Labayen. and Delfin.www.outreach-international.org)

Within the SOCIAL SYSTEM (the organization of society relations and structures), the impact of privilege and discrimination can lead to stratification based on: Class or Caste, Race or ethnicity, Religion, Gender and Age. This can lead to a growing sense of inferiority and lack of self-worth. This loss of confidence can result in a passivity, negativity and inertia, hindering action against poverty. In short, social systems can disempower the poor (Labayen and Delfin).

Within the POLITICAL SYSTEM (the institutions that adjudicate conflicts of value and interest), the poor may be marginalized from fora where important decisions are made. As such, they may suffer the impact of: Unfair electoral practices, Repressive policies, Graft and corruption, Nepotism, Lack of access to basic public services, unjust laws and regulations and Regressive taxation.

They often experience the CULTURAL SYSTEM (the means of transmitting, shaping and interpreting norms of value, thought and action) as top-down, one-way communication in schools, churches and the media. Brazilian educationist Paulo Friere said this "banking education" (where knowledge is simply "deposited" unprocessed into people by an authority figure) leads to a "culture of silence", characterized by: Submissiveness, Apathy, Fear of authority, Cynicism, Lack of critical thought and Non-contestation of dominant

cultural values. While separated out here for discussion, these systems are not separate, discrete entities. They interact with each other, making it difficult for the poor to renegotiate their position and ensure their voices are heard.

2.4 Human Development Perspective

2.4.1 Historical development

The discovery of human development is not a new invention. It is a tribute to the early leaders of political and economic thought. The idea that social arrangements must be judged by the extent to which they promote "human good" dates at least to Aristotle (384-322 BC). He argued that "wealth is evidently not the good we are seeking, for it is merely useful and for the sake of something else". He distinguished a good political arrangement from a bad one by its successes and failures in enabling people to lead "flourishing lives" (Mahbub ul Haq, 1999: 13-23).

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) continued the tradition of treating human beings as the real end of all activities when he observed: "so act as to treat humanity, whether in their own person or in that of any other, in every case as an end withal, never as means only". And when Adam Smith (1723-90), an apostle of enterprise and private initiative, showed his concern that economic development should enable a person to mix freely with others without being "ashamed to appear in public", he was expressing a concept of poverty that went beyond counting calories - a concept that integrated the poor into the mainstream of the community.

2.5 Participatory human development as means to poverty reduction

Participatory Human Development Paradigm (PHDP) is defined as a participatory experiential, non-violent and evolutionary approach with problem-solving, consciousness-raising and empowerment (organizing) of the poor within a particular community or area. Aspects of this paradigm include a process (PHDp) sometimes referred to as community organizing. PHDP encourages collective action by community members toward equitable redistribution of valued resources through political/decision-making power, economic and purchasing power, information and more. This is accomplished in order to establish just, humane, and meaningful social relationships (Labayen. and Delfin).

Rationale

Participatory Human Development Process is formulated in response to a specific situation in the world: specific to Rwanda, Ubudehe as a participatory approach, There is massive chronic poverty at community level yet chronic poverty is not naturally caused; instead it is caused by oppressive and exploitative social structures and relationships.

The poor are caught in a "culture of silence" and dependence. The poor are marginalized from participating in the systems that govern and impact their lives. Privileged persons will rarely voluntarily share their power with the marginalized and many development efforts fail to address the basic underlying problems of poverty. Therefore from the literature reviewed so far, it is clear that there is a need for a more appropriate development methodology to address poverty and counteract the forces of social decay.

Analysis based on the literature reviewed

The basic principles of participatory human development processes should be followed so that the people may have a say in what impacts their lives as enunciated in the section that follows.

Throughout the process, let the people decide. Rather than imposing solutions or manipulating decision-making, the role of the Human Development Facilitator (HDF) is to support people in making a well-informed and intelligent decisions based on thorough investigation, discussion and reflection. Start where the people are, but do not end there. The people may have beliefs and attitudes the HDF might find offensive. Sometimes a group will make a decision that does not create the best end result. However, HDFs should not aggressively attack the people's ideas and actions. They should encourage them to reflect on their experiences of life and collective action, raising their level of consciousness and understanding.

People initially act on the basis of self-interest. People will seldom act on issues that do not directly affect them. Thus the HDF inspires people to see how participation in collective action will benefit them personally and collectively. Moreover, projects and mobilizations, especially early ones, are not carried out for abstract ideas and grand rhetoric (like liberation, dignity or social transformation). They exist simply to address the concrete shared problems of the community (like lack of clean water, poor irrigation or unemployment).

Start with simple, concrete issues and work toward the more complex, abstract and long-term ones. People often lack the collective experience and skills needed to solve complicated problems at the beginning of the process. Often they lack confidence. The HDF must allow them the opportunity to experience the success of a few simple projects to gain the self-assurance to tackle complex ones.

Reflection on the status quo – current situation – can motivate people. When people take the time to analyze their situation carefully, they can begin to recognize the issues holding them back from realizing their full potential. Without a full acknowledgement of their problems, people will not act to solve them. Thus reflection on their life can motivate people to change their circumstances.

No one possesses a monopoly on the truth. All people, due to their distinctive life experiences and perspectives, have unique knowledge that can contribute to a

community's understanding of its problems. Through discussion and interchange people can learn from each other.

Social change is usually a long, tedious and painstaking process. Just as Rome was not built in a day, lasting social change, including development, is rarely achieved in a short time. It requires considerable struggle and sacrifice.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology that was used in this study. It explains the study design, the area of study, the population, sample size, sample selection, research instruments, methods of data collection, data management and analysis.

3.1 Population

According to the Gatsibo District Development Plan 2007, the population of Gatsibo is estimated at 283,456 and, presently, it is distributed among 62,000 households. Males account for 48%, females 52%, while children under 25 years represent 60% (Gatsibo District Development Plan 2007) Table 3.1 below shows population distribution according to sectors, cells, villages and the percentage (%) composition per sector.

Table: 3.1 Gatsibo District population per sector, cell and village

No.	Sectors	Cells	Villages	Population	Percentage
1	Gitoki	6	57	22918	8.1
2	Rugarama	6	54	22796	8
3	Muhura	5	57	21951	7.9
4	Kiramuruzi	4	39	21674	7.7
5	Kabarore	6	25	21556	7.6
6	Nyagihanga	6	55	21298	7.5
7	Gatsibo	5	44	21265	7.4
8	Kiziguro	4	53	20667	7.3
9	Remera	6	43	20406	7.2
10	Ngarama	5	51	19815	7.1
11	Murambi	4	35	18862	6.8

12	Gasange	4	17	18141	6.5
13	Kageyo	4	33	16737	5.9
14	Rwimbogo	4	40	15370	5.0
	Total	69	603	283456	100

Source: **District Development Plan 2007**

3.2 Sample size

Given the fact that Gatsibo District is big with fourteen sectors and with a population of over 283,456, the researcher selected and used a sample size of 106 respondents. It was thought that this sample was representative enough and that the research findings would be sufficient for the purposes of this study.

As this study was a case study design, other influential people in Ubudehe who did not necessarily belong to Gatsibo were contacted. Therefore, the respondents were as follows: the Minister of Local Government, the Mayor of Gatsibo District, the EU Representative, fourteen sector executive secretaries, The person in charge of Good Governance at Gatsibo District, two Ubudehe coaches at national level, eight Ubudehe Community Facilitators at sector level and Communities from four sectors represented by 20 respondents, bringing the total to 80 respondents from among community members.

3.3 Sample selection

Purposively, the researcher selected the Minister of Local Government and the European Union representative to Rwanda. Using lottery method from national level, Ubudehe facilitators were selected for this research, while at Gatsibo District level, two facilitators were selected from sector level, two facilitators from Cell level and two facilitators from Village level. The researcher got names of the participants from Ubudehe villages and these included: Ubudehe facilitators, donor agencies and local government leaders and then the researcher used these names to draw a sampling frame. Stratified random sampling was used to select the communities that participated in the study. To some

level, however, purposive sampling was used because there are specific brains behind Ubudehe Approach.

3.4 Research tools

The researcher used a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Data were collected using various tools namely: Questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and document review,

3.4.1 Document Review

Extensive review of documents on community participation was done. Document review involved the Ministry of Local Government annual reports, Ubudehe project continuous annual review documents, reports and other published research relating to community participation. This review was crucial because there was a great need to find literature to enrich the study with a variety of related findings by other researchers and project implementers.

3.4.2 Interviews

In order to generate qualitative and quantitative data, the researcher conducted both structured and key informant interviews with 21 respondents as per Table 3.2 below.

Table 3:2 Key Informants Categories

	Respondent categories	**Number of participants**	**Variables**
1	Local government Ubudehe Directors	Major national level Ubudehe Directors	Two national level Ubudehe overseers and liaison officers with the donor agencies
4	Local, government authorities	District Mayor, Executive Secretaries to the fourteen sectors	These included : 1-The Minister of Local Government 1-The Mayor of Gatsibo District 14-Sector Executive Secretaries

5	Donor Agencies	European Union, Action Aid	1-The representative of European Union 2-The attached Action Aid representative and the consultant to the Ministry of Local Government These participate as key informants, on accountability of funds given to Ubudehe.

Source: Field Research

Different research tools were developed and used during the study in order to suit the various categories of respondents shown above.

3.4.3 Focus Group Discussions (FDGs)

Focus Group Discussions were held with 8 Ubudehe facilitators two from each sector of the four selected sectors. The purpose was to get information from an informed group since facilitators are the focal persons at sector level. The total number of respondents for the FGDs was 88 including 80 community respondents and 8 Ubudehe facilitators. FGDs were very important to this study because they helped in the triangulating of the study methods through getting more understanding, feelings and perceptions of the respondents on the issue under investigation, which could not be captured by one method. Details of respondents' categories and their numbers are shown in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Focus Group Discussion Participants' Categories

	Respondent categories	Number of participants	Remarks
1	Ubudehe Communities	80 From Ubudehe villages in the scope of the study	These comprised of equal numbers of females and males, 20 from each sector and five

			from each cell.
			They gave success stories of Ubudehe at the local community level
2	Ubudehe facilitators	8 Local Government trained facilitators who advise communities on how to go about Ubudehe approach	These were selected from the four sectors and they included eight (8) two from each sector. They were interviewed as subject matter experts

Source: Field Research

Guiding questions / interview guides were developed and used to guide the researcher in the Focus Group Discussions for the different categories of participants in each focus group as shown above.

Both structured and open-ended questionnaires varying according to the category of respondents were used to collect data from 106 respondents. This enabled the researcher to generate quantitative and qualitative data. This was done so as to get focused responses and to complete the study in a short time. For the rest of the study, respondents' interview guides were used to generate data from focus group discussions.

3.5 Procedure

Before setting off to the field, the researcher obtained a letter from the Department of Public Administration and Management, Makerere University, introducing him as a student on research. The researcher then presented the letter to the Ministry of Local Government, European Union, and Action Aid Rwanda, District, Sector and Cell respondents that were to be involved in this study. Community leaders guided the Researcher in clear identification of beneficiaries of the Ubudehe approach.

3.6 Data Management

The researcher used a notebook to keep the information that was gathered during interviews and Focus Group Discussions. Information from the questionnaires that were recovered from respondents were fed into the computer, data organised in tables on the basis of frequencies and percentages for analysis and interpretation into a final report.

3.7 Data analysis up to report writing

Quantitative data collected were analyzed using simple descriptive statistical methods like frequencies and percentages. Qualitative data from FGDs and KIIs were subjected to thematic analysis. Content was well arranged according to themes and the relative occurrences of the responses and various themes were ascertained.

Qualitative data were analyzed during and after the study. During the study the themes were developed as the interviews, questionnaires were collected from the respondents. Coding was done using tables and graphs More analysis was done after the interviews to identify more themes. Categorizing themes enabled the researcher to establish a relationship or patterns therein. The interpretation of these data and formulation of generalizations was then developed into a report. Data were analysed using EXCEL computer programme and generated tables, charts, aggregates and percentages indicating the trends and patterns in the quantitative data. This was followed by report writing.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Before the study was carried out, the research proposal was reviewed by the faculty committee to ascertain its moral and ethical standing. The researcher then obtained an informed consent from all the respondents and participants in this study.

Strict adherence to confidentiality about the information that was obtained from respondents was observed. Some respondents were referred to using pseudo names while others were referred to by their real names and titles because of their roles and responsibilities in Ubudehe approach and since the respondents represent the views of the larger population, findings were generalized and not linked to a particular participant.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents interpretations and analyses of the research findings. It follows the major themes and objectives of the study. After a description of each of the finding, an interpretation is given in the context of the study objective. Graphs and tables are used to illustrate and summarize the findings.

4.2 Respondents Profile

4.2.1 Response Rate

Table 4.1 describes the different categories of respondents that the researcher used. It also highlights how questionnaires were distributed and the rate of response.

Table 4.1: Response Rate of the Respondents

CATEGORY	STUDY POPULATION	SAMPLE POPULATION	RECOVERED QUESTIONNAIRES/ SUCCESSFUL FGDS AND INTERVIEWS	RESPONSE RATE
Minister of Local Government	1	106	1	100
Ubudehe Secretariat team at national level	2	106	2	100
EU Representative	1	106	1	100
Community	80	106	80	100

respondents				
Ubudehe Facilitators at Sector Level	8	106	8	100
Sector Executive Secretaries	14	106	14	100
Total	106	106	106	

Source: **Field Data**

The above table indicates that all targeted respondents were positive because they turned out with the necessary responses whether through questionnaires, FGDs or interviews as required. This made the research a success and the intended objectives were achieved.

The researcher used scheduled interviews, questionnaires and Focus Group Discussions. The categories of the respondents ranged from the National level to the community/village.

After identifying the different categories of the respondents, Table 4.2 describes gender, that is whether male or female. It is of paramount importance to know the gender of the respondents so that in designing questions the researcher may not offend anybody on the basis of the responses. More, using different genders is paramount because it produces balanced responses.

Table 4.2: Gender of the respondents

Gender	Respondents	Percentage of respondents
Male	46	43.40
Female	60	56.60
Total	106	100

*Source***: Primary Data**

Many of the respondents were females as indicated by 56.6% compared to 43.4% for males. The reason for the few males was witnessed during Focus Group Discussion meetings when men never turned up and instead sent their wives.

The participatory human development approach (Ubudehe) therefore, is at stake given the fact that most men do not turn up for meetings. The district of Gatsibo has established penalties in relation to absenteeism from group work/activity. Those who do not turn up for group activity pay a fine in the range of 5,000 to 100,000 Rwandan francs which is used for other development activities.

4.3 Causes of Poverty in Rwanda

The literature reviewed shows that poverty in Rwanda is a complex phenomenon that is characterized by the double impact of inherent structural problems that date back over the last 30 years. Struggles against poverty in Rwanda, therefore, need to examine the type of society therein because the structure of Rwanda's agrarian economy has historically predisposed it to economic crises. The domestic market remains weak and segmented and despite a good record of economic growth and civil service reform, Rwanda remains one of the poorest countries in the world.

Poverty in Rwanda is embedded in historically distorted economic structures and an equally bad history of political and social management particularly the 1959 uprisings, the 1960 mass killings, the 1973 revolution and 1990 to 1994 War and Genocide. The

outcome of these malaises caused institutional decay and the entrenchment of absolute poverty among the bulk of the population.

However, since 2001 the Rwanda Patriotic Front Government (RPF-Government) embarked on recovery programme. In its Vision 2020, the government's main concerns were to secure the nation, rebuild the economy, grow enough food, build roads, provide housing, educate children, provide health care and ensure that justice was done.

The next step has been the development of the Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS). This is the Government of Rwanda's medium-term strategy for economic growth, poverty reduction and human development, covering the period 2008 to 2012, whose aim is to consolidate and extend the strong achievements in human development while promoting three flagship programmes: Sustainable Growth for Jobs and Exports, Vision 2020 Umurenge (integrated rural development programme to eradicate extreme poverty and release the productive capacities of the poor) and Good Governance, was adopted.

A number of mechanisms have been strengthened to promote accountability links between citizens and local governments, including *Umudugudu / village* meetings, social audits, *Ubudehe (collective action against poverty programmes)*, *Abunzi (*mediators), Service Satisfaction Surveys, *Imihigo (Performance Contract* reviews), Debates on Radio and Television, the Joint Action Development Forum (JADF), and Youth and Women Councils. Other participatory management and monitoring activities include Health Insurance *"Mutuelles de Santé"* Committees, Parents-Teachers Associations (PTAs), Water Committees and Management Boards in hospitals. The researcher found out that all these programmes geared towards poverty reduction are recent initiatives although some originate from the traditional Rwandan practices of communal work that was aimed at reducing on poverty.

Special focus in this research was on Ubudehe, a community collective action for poverty reduction. *Ubudehe* is a traditional practice and culture of collective action to solve

community problems. It has been adopted by the GoR as an approach to fight poverty. It is practised in 14,744 villages/*Imidugudu* all over the country. The 2006 *Ubudehe* survey results suggest it should be a core method of the Government's approach to fighting poverty because it is embedded in Rwandan mindsets and is seen as an approach that benefits the poor, primarily through increasing access to livestock, promoting social capital and unification, increasing participation in planning and decision-making, and empowering the poor and women (MINECOFIN, 2007a).

Poverty analysis and measurement among the Rwandan villages

In order to understand poverty at community level in Rwanda, it is paramount to first understand community-level characteristics, which include the availability of infrastructure (roads, water and electricity) and services (health, education), proximity to markets, and social relationships.

Furthermore, poverty analysis in Rwanda demands clear knowledge of household and individual characteristics, among the most important of which are the **demographic** ones, such as household size, age structure, dependency ratio, gender of head; the **economic**, such as employment status, hours worked, property owned; and, the **social**, such as health and nutritional status, education, shelter. Table 4.4 describes poverty profiles and categories of households in Rwanda. That way the researcher was able to understand the situation poverty and the way the government is struggling against it *(Haugton and Khandker , 2009).*

Poverty Profile in Rwanda

Poverty is "pronounced deprivation in well-being". The conventional view links wellbeing primarily to command over commodities, so the poor are those who do not have enough income or consumption to put them above some adequate minimum threshold. This view sees poverty largely in monetary terms.

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Poverty may also be tied to a specific type of consumption; for example, people could be house-poor or food-poor or health-poor. These dimensions of poverty often can be measured directly, for instance, by measuring malnutrition or literacy. The broadest approach to well-being (and poverty) focuses on the capability of the individual to function in society. Poor people often lack key capabilities; they may have inadequate income or education, or be in poor health, or feel powerless, or lack political freedoms.

There are four reasons to measure poverty: To keep poor people on the agenda; to be able to identify poor people and so to be able to target appropriate interventions; to monitor and evaluate projects and policy interventions geared to poor people; to evaluate the effectiveness of institutions whose goal is to help poor people. To help countries think systematically about how the position of poor people may be improved, and to act accordingly, the World Bank favours the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process (Haugton and Khandker, 2009:1).

The World Bank's *Poverty Reduction Handbook* (1992:20) has a long list of questions that a poverty profile should address. Provided the data are available, it is helpful to show how poverty has evolved over time. The change can often be linked to economic growth, and sometimes to specific government policies.

Most household surveys do not sample enough households to allow the analyst to break down the results at the sub-regional level. Yet, poverty targeting—building roads, providing grants to poor villages, and the like—typically requires such detail.

One solution is to use poverty mapping (like Ubudehe's Social Map): use the survey data to relate a household's poverty econometrically to a set of variables that are also available from the census; then apply the estimated regression equation to the census data to estimate whether a household is poor. This information can then be aggregated to give poverty rates for small areas. A poverty profile is descriptive, but it serves as the basis for the analysis of poverty.

The government of Rwanda has designated six categories for characteristics of households in Rwanda that the communities use to assess poverty in their villages. (*Umukire* (the money rich), *Umutindi* (the very poor), *Umukene* (the poor), *Umukene wifashije* (the resourceful poor), *Umukungu* (the food rich) and *Umutindi nyakujya* (those in abject poverty)

Table 4.3 Poverty Profile and Categories of Households in Gatsibo District

The poorest of the poor/ Abatindi Nyakujya	The poorer/ Abatindi	The poor Abakene	The least poor Abakene bifashije	Abakungu slightly rich	Rich people/ Abakire	Total
3700	2115	32000	21500	1500	1185	**62000**

Source **: DDP Gatsibo, 2007, p.21**

Characteristics explained

Abatindi Nyakujya/The poorest of the poor: They have to beg, and have nothing: No clothes, no food, no shelter. Their children cannot go to school. They cannot afford medicare and they have no farmland

Abakene/The poor: They do not have sufficient food and they can work for others to survive. They dress poorly, have insufficient farmland and can hardly get medicare. They have shelter but no livestock and are always suffering.

Abakungu/Middle: They have small and poor shelter and a minimum harvest. Their children can go to primary school; they can clothe themselves but with difficulty; they can hardly access medicare but manage to have sufficient to eat and they have small animals.

Abakire/Well off: They have excess harvest to sell and livestock. They can afford medicare and have a little money. Their children can go to secondary school. They eat well; are neat; have a good house and a bicycle; and can engage others as labourers.

Communities have also identified education/adult literacy as an impediment to their social and economic wellbeing. Discussions had shown also social concerns like violence against women and children especially girls and other human rights abuses.

Rural poverty in Rwanda is immense, standing at 67%, with 37% of Rwandans living in extreme poverty and unable to meet their daily dietary needs. Poverty is extremely high at 91% in families whose main source of income is agricultural wage labour. This has particularly been the case in households that are female-headed or with smaller landholdings. The lack of capital, limited financial management skills and lack of credit facilities in rural areas also contribute to the low productivity of small-scale farmers.

4.3.1 Priorities at National Level for Poverty Reduction

Increase economic growth by investing in infrastructure; promoting skills development and the Service Sector; mainstreaming Private Sector development and modernizing agriculture by introducing improved land administration, land use management practices and adopting techniques to reduce soil erosion and enhance soil fertility.

Slow down population growth through reducing infant mortality; family planning and education outreach programmes, while also improving the quality of health care and schooling, particularly for girls.

Tackle extreme poverty through improved food security and targeted schemes of job creation and social protection. It is particularly urgent to create new employment opportunities for young persons just entering the labour market.

Ensure greater efficiency in poverty reduction through better policy implementation which includes enhanced coordination among sectors and between levels of government; sharper prioritization of activities; better targeting of services for the poor; widespread mobilization of the Private Sector; and the more effective use of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.

4.3.2 Key development implementation steps and the chronology of Ubudehe according to the Minister of Local Government

Musoni, the Minister of Local Government, writes about the chronology of ubudehe on www.cdf.gov.rw/Ubudehe as follows:

1999 – 2001: Emergence of initial ideas, theories, and vision to create a process that increases citizen's ability to self-govern and become proactive citizens in shaping the design of their governance - the idea of Ubudehe emerges. At the same time, PRSP process requirement for a PPA also exists. This serves as an opportunity to demonstrate the power of citizen participation in its truest form. Agreement reached to run a pilot process on condition that citizens will be in charge and in control of generating their own poverty information, and will also be given the opportunity to act collectively in solving common problems.

2001: Pilot process run in Butare, Nyanza Province, Rwanda to demonstrate the possibilities and abilities of citizens to exercise their own power to act in analyzing their own poverty and also having the ability to act together to solve specific problems in the production and provisioning of public goods.

Twelve Master Trainers trained and cell residents in Butare selected one resident to be the cell (village) facilitator. Between February and June 2001, 1823 facilitators were trained to embark on the pilot

2002: Citizens in 681 Villages / Cellules in Butare had completed detailed social maps (in large cloths making visual validation possible – from individual household names, social categories, infrastructure and service provision and other characteristics) analyzing their

poverty characteristics. The European Union had committed one million Euros for this pilot which went directly to the 681 pilot villages between 2002 and early 2003. For the first time, resources were disbursed directly from a donor to a central bank of a government and then to citizens in the villages with no intermediary.

2002 – 2003: Citizens across all the 681 pilot villages acted collectively with technical support from relevant stakeholders to solve problems they had prioritized during social mapping, making this the first time PPAs led to active action by citizens.

Citizens had full freedom and control in budgeting and allocating resources, building greater ownership and recognition by citizens that state resources were theirs to use as active citizens. Village bank accounts were opened by citizens and resources transferred directly from the central bank.

2003 – 2004: Results from the Butare pilot demonstrate successfully the power of citizen participation and collective action. The pilot is enough to convince Government to make Ubudehe a national policy and the EU to allocate 10 million Euros for a nationwide rollout with the aim to reach over 9175 cellules (villages) covering the whole of Rwanda.

2005-2006: 18,350 cellule-level facilitators trained and nationwide rollout begins in 2006. Information from Butare pilot begins to be used to demonstrate how nationwide, evidence-based policy making can take place using analysis and data generated by citizens.

2007-2008: Government of Rwanda budgets 500 million Rfrancs from national budget for Ubudehe. EU allocates additional 15 million Euros. Ministry of Local Government now using data generated by citizens to hold other ministries to account. Citizen participation increasing. More people becoming interested. Good achievement of projects incorporated in "performance contracts".

By 2008 citizen collective action was running in 24,028 villages with over EUR 25 million disbursed to citizen-controlled and driven initiatives.

4.4 Ubudehe at Community/Village Level

The research held a FocusGroup Discussions (FGD) with 80 respondents and several questions were asked including: the respondent's description of Ubudehe; why the government chose Ubudehe approach; the objectives of Ubudehe; how Ubudehe approach operates at the village level; the roles of the committees; how Ubudehe approach supports the decentralised system; how funds flow from the national level to the village level; the challenges faced by Ubudehe approach; and, the targets for the period 2009 to 2012.

4.4.1 Respondents' Description of Ubudehe

Many of the respondents identified *Ubudehe* as an approach that promotes social cohesion and they said that it is deep-rooted in the Rwandan culture of working together. *"Ubudehe N'umuco Nyarwanda."* Respondents further said that Ubudehe is when people who know each other and have many characteristics in common work together in the fight against poverty *"Ubudehe n'ugufatanya kw'abantu baziranye".*

They also said that Ubudehe has to do with freedom of association, working together willingly: *"Ubudehe n'ubufatanye kubushake".* To others *Ubudehe* means having concerted efforts on an activity for an individual or a community: *"Ubudehe nuguhuriza imbaraga ku gikorwa cy'Umuntu, cyangwa rusange."*

Ubudehe is getting together, sharing and fellowshipping in everything without any kind of segregation or isolation of the concerned parties" *Ubudehe n'ubufatanye, Ubusabane muri byose, kudaheza, buri wese bimureba."* They all, however, overemphasized that *Ubudehe* is putting emphasis on social coexistence/social cohesion at village level: *"Ubudehe gushimangira umubano mu Mudugudu."*

4.4.2 Why the government chose Ubudehe as an approach to development

The government chose Ubudehe approach because it encourages participatory planning at grassroots level *"Igenamigambi abaturage bagizemo uruhare".* Ubudehe also fosters bottom-up approach to development: *"Ibitekerezo n'ibyifuzo by'abaturage bihabwa agaciro kanini"*. The respondents said that through the participatory approach, decision-making is done at the grassroots level: *"Bene ibibazo (Umudugudu) nibo bafata iyambere"* and that *Ubudehe* approach encourages appropriation where communities have a say in what activities to give priority: "*Ibikorwa abaturage bibonamo".*

4.4.3 The objective of Ubudehe according to respondents

Establishing a framework in which village people/communities address and talk about the problems they face at their lowest meeting level: "*Gushyiraho uburyo buhoraho Abaturage baganiriramo ibibazo bibugarije (ku rwego rw' Umudugudu.)"*

Respondents further said that Ubudehe allows for simple planning in which local people actively participate and they collectively set targets to solve their own problems: *"Gukora igenamigambi riciriritse abaturage bagizemo uruhare, bakagena n'ingamba zo gukemura ibyo bibazo bafatanyije."*

4.4.4 How Ubudehe works according to the respondents

Trainings are held involving facilitators at all administrative levels: two people at the District, two at the Sector, one person at the Cell level, and two people at the village level. *"Guhugura abantu ku nzego zose (Akarere 2, Umurenge 2, Akagari 1, Umudugudu 2)."*

Those who are trained at the village level help villagers/local people to have a thorough identification and a clear analysis of their own problems *"Abahuguwe ku Mudugudu nibo bafasha abaturage gusesengura ibibazo byabo."*

The identified activity by communities is led by the two elected committees (The Leadership Committee and the Evaluation Committee). These committees are selected by people themselves, *"Igikorwa abaturage bahisemo kiyoborwa na Komite bitoreye (ebyiri* : **Nshingwabikorwa na Ngenzuzi***)."*

The committees give a report on every sitting of the Ubudehe general assembly. *(***"Komite igomba guha abaturage raporo mu nama y'Ubudehe"),*** and that every village/umudugudu has an account that is supervised by the Ubudehe committee "***Buri Mudugudu, ufite konti icungwa na Komite y'Ubudehe.***"

4.4.4.1 Roles and responsibilities of Ubudehe committees at village level

(There are two committees: The Leadership and Evaluation committees).

4.4.4.2 The Leadership Committee is responsible for:

Implementing the activity the local/village people have prioritised: **"Gushyira mu bikorwa umushinga abaturage bahisemo mu Mudugudu"**, The committee is also responsible for withdrawing the Community Development Fund contributions from the village account, collecting all the local people's contributions and is responsible for savings of the communities as well. *"Kubikuza inkunga, gukusanya imisanzu iva mu baturage no kuyizigama kuri konti y'Ubudehe."* Respondents further revealed that the leadership committee also gives a report of accountability on how funds are being used during the village meetings: *"Gutanga raporo y'ikoreshwa ry'inkunga mu nama y'Umudugudu,"* The committee also is responsible for ensuring that those who receive funds at family level use a rotating character of these funds according to the family's ability. *"Kwitura inkunga yatanzwe kuyigenera undi mucyene binyujijwe mu nama."*

4.4.4.3 Evaluation Committee

The members ensure that projects are implemented according to the agreed standards by the local people. They also call for the village meeting at any time the leadership committee does not fulfil its duties as required and in case the leadership committee is to be replaced. ***"Komite Ngenzuzi: Gukurikirana ko Umushinga w'Ubudehe mu Mudugudu ushyirwa mu bikorwa uko abaturage babyiyemeje, gutumiza inama y'Umudugudu igihe cyose hagaragaye imikorere mibi ya komite nshingwabikorwa no gusaba ko isimburwa."*** The evaluation committee also ensures that the support given to a poor family is in rotation form and they give a report on the Ubudehe implementation during the village meeting and they make recommendation and work with the leadership committee as well. ***"Gukurikirana ko inkunga ikoreshwa neza kandi yiturwa (rotation); gutanga raporo y'ubugenzuzi k'ubudehe mu nama y'Umudugudu, gutanga inama za ngombwa no gukorana n'ubuyobozi."***

Figure Two: Funds Transfer from the National Level to the Village Account

The figure below shows how funds are disbursed right from the supporters to the government and then from the government to the beneficiaries. The money goes through the National Bank of Rwanda through to the popular banks and community beneficiaries receive their money from their local account as demonstrated below**.**

Figure Two: A figure showing follow of funds right from the National Bank to community bank accounts in the commonly known Popular Banks
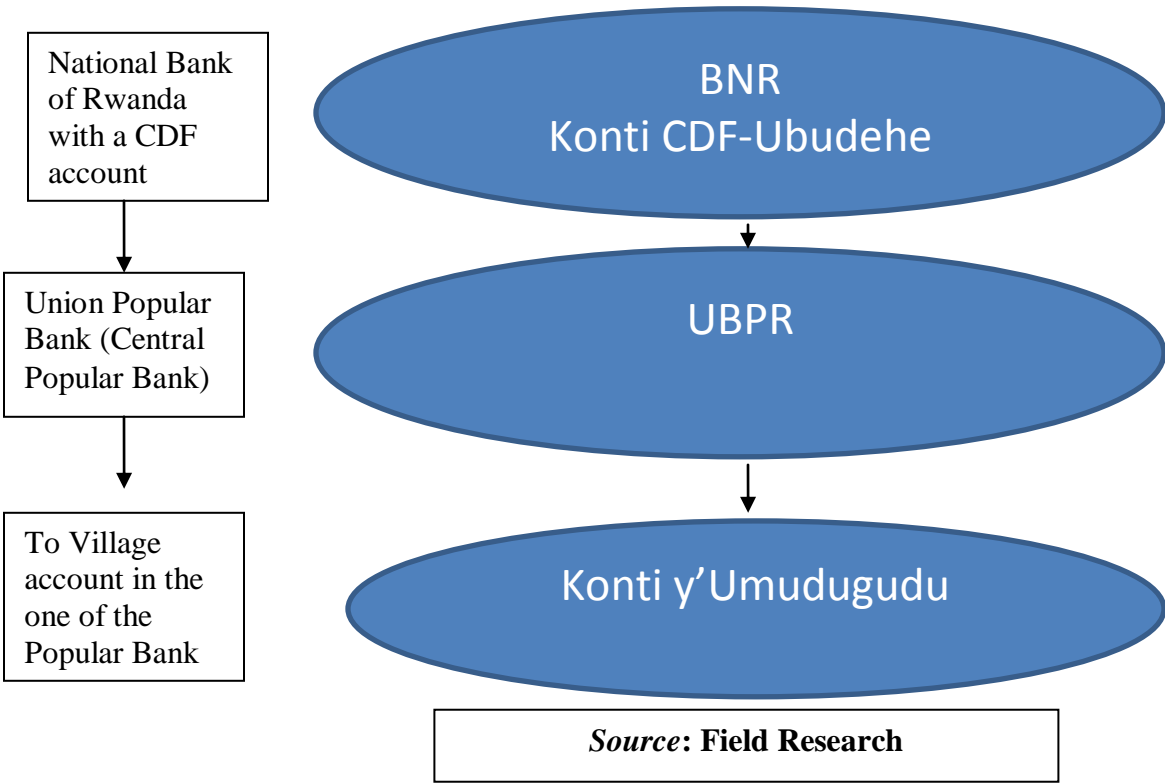
It should be noted that each village received 600,000RWF each year from the Community Development Fund and two poor families receive 60,000RWF each year to improve on their conditions of living from the CDF as well. When the conditions get better, they will, out of their own goodwill, rotate that fund by giving it to another poor family.

The 600,000RWF is supposed to be used to support any project communities agree upon in the Ubudehe meetings. For example, one village confessed that they used their funding to buy a maize grinding machine and they now have savings of about two million. They have also gone ahead to buy a motorcycle which they used for public transport and savings are deposited on their account.

Under Ubudehe project, most families in Gatsibo District have received cows under the "One Cow Per Family Project". These cows have so far produced and they have

multiplied. The logic is that the family that receives the cow commits that when it produces then that family gives the calf to another family that is poor. This operates in a rotation form.

During the 2007/8 Ubudehe evaluation at national level, villages that emerged to have used their funding very well were rewarded with 2million Rwandan Francs and one villages in Gatsibo District scooped a second position at the national level (Gisiza village in Kageyo Sector). Today communities in that village have benefited a great deal because their funding has been complemented. That is they received 600, 000RWF from CDF and 120,000 for two poor families and now 2,000,000 RWF from the national level competition.

4.4.5 Ubudehe as the Pillar of Decentralisation

As a decentralisation tool, the local people are given an opportunity to have a participatory role in their problem solving processes at the village level: "**Guha abaturage uruhare mu gufata ibyemezo ku bibazo bibareba.**" Respondents further said that Ubudehe coaches communities/local people in the management of the national resources including money since they have to manage CDF funds: **"Gutoza abaturage kugira uruhare mu gucunga umutungo w'Igihugu."**

Ubudehe enables local people to solve their own problems without waiting for foreign support: **"Uruhare rw'abaturage mu kwicyemurira ibibazo by'Umudugudu badategereje akimuhana."** *Ubudehe* brings in the culture of dialogue in solving both social and economic problems: **"Umuco wa "dialogue" mu gucyemura amakimbirane."**

4.4.6 Problems encountered in Ubudehe

Research findings from the respondents revealed that *Ubudehe* committee leaders tend to personalise the activities of Ubudehe to suit their own selfish motives: **"Abayobozi na**

Komite z'ubudehe bigarurira igikorwa cy'ubudehe bakakigira icyabo ku nyungu zabo bwite."

The study further found out that the principles of transparency and accountability are not adhered to by all beneficiaries: *"Kwica umuco n'amahame ya "transparency na Accountability" ku nyungu za bamwe.''* More so, the study found out that there is heavy corruption among the *Ubudehe* committees and the general local leadership in the villages and this is not followed up from the national level. *"Umuco wa ruswa mu Midugudu myinshi aho komite z'ubudehe n'ubuyobozi badakurikira."* Respondents revealed that ignorance and illiteracy among local leaders and the villagers as well also hinders the proper functioning of Ubudehe approach: *"Imyumvire iri hasi ku baturage ndetse no ku bayobozi bamwe b'ibanze."*

4.4.7 The way forward for Ubudehe in the period of 2009-2012

According to the respondents, Ubudehe has set right from the national level target and respondents identified the following; They said that Ubudehe approach intends to establish a profit making project at the village level that will fight against poverty at community level. *"Gushinga ibigega by'Ubudehe bibyara inyungu mu Midugudu kugira ngo duhashye ubukene."*

Communities/ local people will be challenged to identify profit making projects that have a multiplier effect so that waiting for foreign support may be eliminated in the process. *"Gushishikariza abaturage guhitamo imishinga ibyara inyungu vuba kandi ifite "effets multiplicateurs" kugira ngo ibyo gutegereza inkunga iva hanze tubyibagirwe."*

The target for Ubudehe approach now is fighting extreme poverty among families: *"Kurwanya ubukene bukabije mu Miryango."*

Ubudehe approach to be made a pillar in the fight against poverty and in the promotion of development at the national level: ***"Kugira Ubudehe inkingi ikomeye yo kurwanya ubukene n'Iterambere mu gihugu."***

4.4.8 Conclusion

One of the facilitators at the national level said in his concluding remarks that; it should be recalled that Ubedehe operates in 14,837 villages nation- wide and has 14,837 accounts nation-wide, together with about 29,674 projects according to 2007-2008 annual report. This therefore calls for increased efforts, hard work, willingness and self-sacrifice of everyone involved. ***"Ubufatanye bw'inzego zose ku budehe.Ubudehe bukorera mu Midugudu ingana na 14, 837, amakoti 14, 837, Imishinga 29, 674 (2007-2008) y'ubudehe, birasaba imbaraga, Ubufatanye, ubushake, ubwitange bwa bose."***

The respondents wish that everybody should be informed about the fact that the support that was given reached the beneficiaries, did what it was meant to be used for, and that a report was given on its usage***. "Buri wese yagombye kumenya ko inkunga yatanzwe yageze kuri bene yo, ko yakoze icyo yagombye gukora, ikiguzi (cost) cy'igikorwa ndetse ko yatangiwe raporo."***

We should know which poor family was selected, how it was selected, what was given to that poor family, what it has done to improve its living conditions, and how it has achieved it: ***"Kumenya: umuryango ukennye watoranyijwe gute? na nde? wahawe iki? wakoze iki? wageze kuki?"***

The respondents also wish that the rewards that were given should be made known to everyone who received them, and how those rewards can be used give profits/dividends: ***"Ibihembo byatanzwe, byahawe uwo byagombye guhabwa? ni gute byabyazwa umusaruro?"***

4.5 Causes of poverty according to Ubudehe survey

The major causes of poverty identified by *Ubudehe* survey respondents were lack of land, poor soils, unpredictable weather and lack of livestock (4.3). Exit strategies out of poverty were identified as paid employment, commerce and livestock. Over half of the population sampled felt that their income or livelihood had not improved in the past three years. Principal activities to be undertaken in future *Ubudehe* work were identified in the areas as livestock rearing, agriculture, small business, water and roads.

Table 4.4: Major Causes of Poverty

Major Causes of poverty	Share of respondents
Lack of land (Kutagira isambu)	49.5
Poor soils (Ubutaka butera)	10.9
Drought/weather (Izuba ryinshi)	8.7
Lack of livestock (Kutagira itungo)	6.5
Ignorance (Ubujiji)	4.3
Inadequate infrastructure (Ibikorwa remezo bidahagije)	3.0
Inadequate technology (Ikoranabuhanga ridahagije)	1.7
Sickness (Uburwayi)	1.7
Polygamy (Ubuharike)	1.2
Lack of access to water (Kubura amazi)	1.1
Population pressure (Ubwiyongere bw'abaturage)	0.7
Others (Izindi)	10.6
Total	100.0

Source: **MINECOFIN (2007a).**

The *Ubudehe* survey suggests Rwandans ranked water access as highest priority in infrastructure services (followed by roads, health, schools and electricity). In the survey, 60% of respondents considered the mutual insurance scheme to be a success and 52% considered that health service delivery had greatly improved.

4.6 Analysis of how Ubudehe is fighting poverty

The Ubudehe programme is now the most credible tool for needs identification and prioritization of those needs which would lead relevant and coherent programmes. It also runs social mapping exercise, hence it has helped in producing baseline data that policy makers and implementers base on in designing local development strategies and allocation of funds. To the communities, when one talks of *Ubudehe*, they think of funding of their initiatives. It has worked as a mechanism to fund directly the communities' initiatives and to help the poor in our communities to put a foot on the first ladder in the progress out of poverty. Under *Ubudehe* programme, each village receives on annual basis, 60000 Rwandan Francs to invest in community projects and also fund two poorest families who pledge to pay back to the community in a process called "Kwitura".

Table 4.5: Causes of poverty according to respondents in the FGDs

Responses	Scores
Strongly agree	5
Agree	4
Undecided	3
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	1

CAUSES OF POVERTY IN THE DISTRICT RANKED	RATING				
	1	2	3	4	5
Ignorance level in the district	00	00	00	60	20
Climatic conditions change	00	00	00	50	30
Illness/sickly/Epidemic and Prevalence of diseases	00	00	00	80	00
Landholding size insufficient to support Livelihood and Infertile and Lack of fertilizers / manures	00	00	00	80	00
Lack of labour opportunity	10	20	00	50	00
Access to health	80	00	00	00	00
Population density increase	00	00	00	60	20
Unemployment/Lack of employment	00	20	00	50	30
Lack of income generating opportunities	00	00	00	80	0
Problem of access to education	00	00	00	74	06
Lack of potable water	00	00	00	80	00
Lack of roads	00	00	00	80	00
Laziness	00	00	00	80	00

Source: **Field Research**

The village-level process of open discussion above helped local people to assign priorities to problems. These problems are shown as a district summary and can be used by both government and NGO officials for planning.

The major causes of poverty include: Laziness, climatic conditions changes; Ignorance level in the district; Landholding size insufficient to support; Livelihood and Infertile; and, Lack of fertilizers / manures; Lack of income generating opportunities; Problem of access

to education; Lack of potable water; Lack of roads; Illness/sickly/Epidemic and Prevalence of diseases.

Information gathered at the Umudugudu/village level by the population helps to understand people's experience of poverty and the key priorities needed to be addressed in order to fight poverty.

Ubudehe is made up of two distinct processes, one at the community level and one at the household level. At the community level, with the help of facilitators and trainers, they determine the poverty profile as perceived by the people themselves and also establish the causes and consequences of poverty. Thereafter, they draw up the social map of the village, which includes the names of heads of household, their social category – different categories are again decided by the people themselves – development infrastructure.

At the household level, the idea is to have some kind of model in the community that shows that poverty can be overcome if one is determined to fight it. For the household, the methodology consists of analyzing and identifying the household's survival strategies. The Ubudehe facilitators, together with community leaders, then analyze these strategies in order to come up with a strategy favourable to the promotion and improvement of the living conditions within the household.

A pertinence test is then carried out by wise men in the village to make sure that the retained strategy is appropriate and will be of good use to the household. The household members finally accept and sign for the funds that are accorded to them. They agree that the funds supporting the execution of their strategy will have a rotating character.

Table 4.6: Survival strategies the communities engaged in ranked out of 10

Survival strategies / Characteristics	TOTALS		
	Cultivating sweet potatoes	Selling labour	Adults eat nothing
Develops quickly	10	7	0
Helps the family	10	8	0
Aids a good night's sleep	10	9	0
Resists stealing	10	8	0
Gives energy	10	6	0
Easily managed	5	0	0
Passes the days	8	7	0
Avoids the children's tears	10	8	8

Source: **Field Research**

Most Rwandans depend on agriculture. Whenever you ask them their major problem, they always say they are poor because of low agricultural output, which is again caused by poor soils and small plots. They say they need fertilizers and some farm inputs. Many again go for small livestock like goats, pigs, which again they argue is a good source of fertilizers for their farms.

When asked what they seek for from their government and donors, they said that they go asking for support on the health insurance policy and also some request money to establish clean water in their area.

According to the above table, the survival strategies undertaken are the following: cultivating sweet potatoes; selling labour; eating little; and, eating nothing.

The communities carried out *preference scoring*, as at the community level, to mark the characteristics of each strategy out of ten. The strategy that was consequently selected for support was growing sweet potatoes since it had the greatest positive effect on the family's well being. It fed the family reliably and adequately whereas selling labour was difficult to rely upon and was tiring, and eating insufficiently only benefited the children of the house since they could not eat more.

Table 4.7: Income strategy frequency in the district

INCOME STRATEGY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Business of shops Starting a small scale Selling beans and Selling alcohol	14	17.50
Cattle rearing	20	25.00
Piggery	3	3.77
Selling animal products	5	6.25
Carpentry	5	6.25
Selling matooke/ Bananas	7	8.75
Sheep rearing	05	6.25
Poultry	03	3.75
Goat rearing	07	8.75
Tomato growing	03	3.75
Passion fruit growing	05	6.25
Selling age plants	03	3.75
Total	80	100

Source: **Field Research**

Research findings reveal that cattle keeping is the major solution to poverty reduction and this has been true due to the fact that there is one sub-project of Ubudehe called "ONE COW PER FAMILY" whereby people with local breed cows have been challenged to give their local breeds to other people who do not own any animal and these are compensated with the high-breed exotic cows. Also in the Ubudehe meetings, communities decide on the beneficiary to this project. It is participatory in nature.

4.7 How Ubudehe has reduced poverty levels in Gatsibo District

The drawing of social maps on a piece of cloth forms a basis for measuring improvements achieved by the communities. The picture below demonstrated the social map drawing activity.

Picture Three: The Social mapping exercise at Umudugudu

- SELF–GOVERNANCE
- PARTICIPATORY PLANNING
- ENTERPRENEURSHIP &
- INVESTMENT MULTIPLIER
- BASELINE DATA

The Ubudehe initiative seeks to promote self-governance and greater citizen engagement in matters of governance. It puts into operation the principle of citizens' participation through local collective action. While the Ubudehe initiative is still ongoing, it has achieved several milestones.

Picture Four : A picture showing the reference document on the Ubudehe Program

THE

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A LESSON IN ENCOURAGING BAD GOVERNANCE

Kagame commends Ubudehe programme

● Awards best performers

BY EDWIN MUSONI & JOSEPH MUDINGU

PRESIDENT Paul Kagame yesterday awarded the best performing individuals who successfully implemented and achieved Ubudehe goals.

Ubudehe, a form of traditional mutual assistance, operates at the lowest ad-

ministrative unit, the Cell, and brings together all members of the community to assess their socio-economic conditions, define their priorities and decide on what to do in order to improve their well being.

Speaking at the award-giving ceremony, President

TO PAGE 3

NURC commissioner arrested

BY BONNY MUKOMBOZI NORTHERN PROVINCE

MUSANZE - A Commissioner with the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, who also doubles as the coordinator of the RPF in the Northern Province, Djamali Mbangutse, has been arrested for stealing over Frw2 million

by falsely adding figures to increase the amount of money signed on the cheques.

He was arrested as he attempted to withdraw Frw1,110,000 from an Ecobank branch using a cheque worth Frw110,000 on which he had added a zero and forged the corresponding figure.

TO PAGE 3

President Kagame giving an award to one of the people recognized for excelling in Ubudehe, Vianney Sebazus. (PPU photo)

BY INNOCENT GAHIGANA

Best researcher to get award

THE author of the best researched article that appeared in the re-established Rwanda Medical Journal

will receive an award at the July 10-11 international conference on cardiovascular diseases in Kigali. This

prize was pledged at the journal's launch last year.

"It's time to honour our last year's pledge," the

journal's Chief Editor, Dr Joseph Mucumbisti said

TO PAGE 2

The Minister of Local government revealed to the researcher how Ubudehe has succeeded in reducing poverty.

One of the milestones is the fact that Ubudehe has transformed the nature of Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs), moving away from traditional approaches to ones where citizens are truly in control. Rwanda is the only country to have achieved 100% nationwide coverage where all 14,744 villages were actively involved and participated in developing their own social maps and visual representations and data of the state and extent of poverty and exclusion that various social groups face in Rwanda. The use of social maps has begun to transform and influence new thinking in Rwanda about how national statistical systems can shift away from survey- based methodologies

to ones that are controlled by citizens and thereby capture citizen voice and preferences regularly. By 2007 citizens in all villages had actively participated in generating social maps and defining and stating their preferences and priority problems. The information generated from social maps is now being used to act as performance measures to hold national government and relevant ministries accountable against commitments made.

Critique

Indeed, poverty levels have been identified by the social mapping. This is evident where development partners like NGOs liaise with the districts to actually determine who to support using the social maps. In so doing, poverty is tackled at its core levels, that is, at the grassroots using the very beneficiaries. However, all this has been constrained by limited funding. For example, it was suggested that all community development funds should be channelled to construction of the lower secondary classrooms after the January 2009 decree that Rwanda should embrace the Nine Year Basic Education and now the money that was meant for Ubudehe projects in the Community Development Fund (CDF) is being channelled to another important development but is still insufficient.

The second major achievement is the fact that citizens did not only capture and state their preferences and characteristics of poverty, but had the opportunity to come together in collective action to do something about priority problems they had stated. In 2006-2007/2008, across 14,744 villages, citizens came together to solve the problems they had highlighted (from restocking livestock lost during genocide, to provision of public goods such as primary health care or water in collaboration with government). In 2007-2008, 15,000 villages benefited from the same support, In total, 25 million Euros has been distributed directly to all the villages from the central bank demonstrating how resource transfers from central government can take place fluidly and without much administrative costs directly to citizen groups. This major experience has begun to influence the design and shape of the Common Development Fund (CDF) to ensure that citizens become active agents in planning, budgeting, use, implementation and monitoring of state and donor resources in the provisioning of public goods. The Ubudehe initiative now boasts several thousand examples of citizen action demonstrating the power of a proactive

citizenry if governments can play a more active enabling role for their citizens. The ability of citizens, emerging from the trauma of genocide, to come together and work to solve common problems has contributed significantly to national healing and trust- building that are crucial for long lasting peace.

Research findings have revealed that several independent audits and studies have consistently demonstrated that Ubudehe has achieved high value for money by ensuring resources go directly to citizens and contributing to increased citizenship and democratization in Rwanda. But, most importantly, across all villages in Rwanda, ubudehe is known and citizens have been actively engaged in one way or the other in problem defining and solving processes.

4.8 Ubudehe processes at village level analysed

The communities at village level go through a process of collectively mapping their community and come up with a community map drawn on a 'kaki' cloth. That exercise is facilitated by two trained community volunteers at village level. These are the focal persons at decentralized structures (village, cell, sector and district) who facilitate the process

Communities further go through a process of collectively defining and analyzing the nature of poverty in their community; look at local categories of poverty, characteristics of each category, and mobility between categories, the causes and impact of poverty, and so on.

Then communities rank the problems identified in order of priority and the ones that the community wants to spend most of its time, effort and resources on. An action plan to address the problems they have prioritized is drawn and communities come up with about five projects to be funded. The communities clarify their role and participation.

The communities of particular villages put in place a permanent mechanism to manage the projects. There are two committees - the implementation committee and

corrective/evaluation committee. The National Coordination sets criteria to guide the selection of the management committees.

Each village opens a bank account in the nearest popular bank (Banque Populaire) where the Community Development Fund (CDF) deposits the money allocated to each village selected beneficiaries.

4.9 People's involvement in Ubudehe project examine

Picture Five: A picture showing Ubudehe Session at village level

Ubudehe session at village level 2008

Source: Field Research

4.9.1 Government's perception of Ubudehe as a tool to poverty reduction

Ubudehe is a Government of Rwanda-enabled process to help local people create social capital, nurture citizenship and build a strong civil society. This process helps citizens to engage in local problem-solving using their own locally-designed institutions, in voluntary association.

The programme "Ubudehe", allows the community to understand their own problems and development practitioners do not bring their own solutions and instead improve on the solutions the community proposes.

Furthermore the programme empowers the community to decide on their own development. Under this approach, development practitioners need to "handover the stick". We should allow the community to do mistakes and learn from them. The programme calls for development agencies to do facilitation rather than implement and monitoring is ensured by the community themselves through regular meetings.

According to the remarks by President Paul Kagame of the Republic of Rwanda at the US Fund for UNICEF Children's Champion Dinner in Boston on 2 June 2009, "A good partner supports programmes that we Rwandans have conceived, and works with us on effective implementation aimed at improving lives and creating greater prosperity. Indeed a good development partner's success is tied to its client's own success" (*The New Times,* Thursday, June 4, 2009).

In Ubudehe, development agencies do what they call spot check whereby each village has a notebook where they record the minutes of the meetings under which many resolutions are made and monitored. In so doing, the impact is measured on the basis of communities/households' well-being and against poverty reduction indicators.

4.9.2 European Union

According to the European Union (EU) Representative to Rwanda, the following is the EU perception and involvement in Ubudehe approach.

I.   **What EU see in Ubudehe**

Suffice it to note that Ubudehe fits in well with our philosophy and approach to development aid for the following reasons:

1. The fundamental aim of EC aid is to reduce poverty. Ubudehe tackles poverty directly.

2. It both fits in with national policy and builds on the Rwandan tradition of community involvement. Specifically, it will operate at Umudugudu level at which community work – Umuganda – is organised and at which the lowest level of democracy now takes place.
In addition, traditional approaches to helping those most in need - known as Kugabira and Kwitura – are followed, which are ways of dealing with serious poverty in Rwandan village society.

3. Ubudehe means not creating parallel structures to meet the needs of individual donors. This is an important advantage in keeping administration and management costs down and improving the chances for long-term sustainability. Ubudehe operates through existing structures - the CDF and the Banque Populaire to meet the needs of already existing communities, the Umudugudu. It applies across the whole country and reaches the whole of society which is not the case with projects which have a geographical focus.

4. We support the decentralization programme and are doing this in other ways by building capacity and supporting districts through the CDF. It is important to complement this by bottom-up approaches and Ubudehe is a means of doing this *par excellence*:· In the immediate term it addresses poverty directly by financing needed activities identified and implemented by the communities themselves. This strengthens society and helps

achieve national reconciliation. Achievements by communities help to build a sense of empowerment. This helps lead to genuine participatory democracy which is an important objective of the decentralisation programme.

II. Function of EU

In 2001/2 a pilot phase of Ubudehe was funded by the EC in an area around Butare. This demonstrated how the programme can work. It also provided useful information on poverty which fed into the PRS. The EC-funded Decentralised Programme for Rural Poverty Reduction (DPRPR) included a component of €10 Million i.e. approximately 7 Billion FRW - so that Ubudehe could be extended nationally for one year.

The national rollout occurred in 2005/6 and has now been fully implemented. Each of Rwanda's 9,150 communities at cell level received a grant of €900 to finance a project of their own choosing. Prior to this, each of the cells selected persons to be trained in village level needs assessment.

The country now has some 20,000 trained persons. Each community has been involved in a planning exercise to identify their priority needs and how these could be addressed. And each of the communities has implemented a project.

This exercise involved identifying households in greatest need. In addition, each community was asked to identify two families to be helped and the heads of households were each provided with the equivalent of €100 – about 70,000 FRW – to finance a project for their benefit. The traditional principles of *Kugabira* and *Kwitura* are applied so that the benefits are later extended to other needy households.

Its implementation involved the Banque Populaire which distributed the funds delivered from the EC through the Common Development Fund. This first national programme has been successfully audited and favourably assessed.

4.10 Lesson learnt from Ubudehe approach so far

There are several elements that have contributed to the evolving success of the Ubudehe initiative.

No doubt one of the most important success factors is the hope and passion of millions of Rwandans who after witnessing one of the worst disasters in human history have a desire to never repeat that history and who have a strong desire to rebuild and recreate a new Rwanda.

It is this hope that has driven many of the visionaries behind the Ubudehe process to be bold and innovate with an approach that seeks to strengthen proactive citizenship and liberate citizens from control and dependence on national governments.

Secondly, a firm belief in the principle of real participation and opportunities to demonstrate what this participation looks like in practice have visually demonstrated and encouraged greater support from others. Starting small and scaling up was a core strategy.

Thirdly, recognizing that any long-term change process takes time, and persisting with long-term processes has ensured that Ubudehe makes small but gradual inroads into national acceptance.

Fourthly, keeping overheads low and ensuring over 80% of resources are controlled by citizens themselves has been central in ensuring Ubudehe's success. The ubudehe secretariat comprises a small team of no more than 5 people nationally, and there are no intermediaries in ensuring resources flow between the central government and villages.

Fifthly, and more tangibly, the successes of the initiative are the social mapping of all households with their social categories in a visual too (social map). This initiative helped people to come together to develop a common understanding of a problem and experience problem solving through direct engagement. With the initiative, people learn

that they are capable of governing themselves. People have development a sense of implementing and managing their affairs. In the process citizens debate, negotiate and reach an agreement which contains details about a commonly agreed purpose, budget and rules of association that will bind citizens. All of this increases local pools of knowledge. By default, this initiative has increased the accountability and transparency in the management of their collective action leading to wider calls for accountability and transparency. And this approach now provides for the next phase of Ubudehe – a basis for planning longer-term and larger-scale support to citizens at district level.

Sixth, the ability of donors such as the European Union to take initial risks and experiment with the process have given much boost and demonstrate the need for donors to move beyond strait-jacket approaches and try out initiatives that may be more relevant to specific contexts.

4.11 Challenges facing Ubudehe in Gatsibo District

As with any emergent process Ubudehe has encountered, and continues to encounter, new challenges.

The challenges can be summarized in three categories: Mindsets and Belief Systems; Administrative Bureaucracies and Bottlenecks; and lastly, the time it has taken to generate wider stakeholder support towards the core participation principles that drive Ubudehe.

Mindsets and belief systems of citizens and policy makers alike have at times been obstacles. The ability to believe that citizens have power and they can exercise that power to act and be proactive citizens instead of helpless apathetic recipients of State patronage and power is a powerful belief system that is not easily accepted. For citizens to find, experience and discover that they could engage in collective action with others to solve common public problems was powerful and the success has depended on the abilities of citizens to engage and trust one another. At times this trust- building process has taken long for citizens to realize their innate potential. Similarly, the discovery by government officials that actually citizens have more information and understanding than

them has equally been a powerful obstacle to break. By engaging over time with citizens more and more, government administrators are realizing how they can work in partnership with citizens instead of treating them as helpless subjects. Greater popular education and increased experiences by citizens in Ubudehe processes has helped contribute to changing citizen worldviews and worldviews of government officials and those in power.

Administrative bureaucracies and bottlenecks have also been obstacles. For example, trying to design a system where resources could be transferred directly from the central bank to villages took time and at times the procedures of various donors have led to greater administrative workloads. Deadlines and conditions have sometimes prevented different processes from building on the experiences of ubudehe. These administrative bottlenecks are gradually being reduced through experience.

Most development actors, whether governments, NGOs or donors, prefer to do things for citizens instead of trusting and encouraging the ability of citizens to exercise their own power to act on their own problems and become proactive participants in determining the shape and nature of governance and government. At the heart of Ubudehe is the core principle of citizens' participation and their own power to act. And whilst this is promoted on the one hand, many civil society organizations and government departments continue to impose their own practices and views on citizens thereby contradicting the very essence of Ubudehe. However, with growing interest in Ubudehe it is hoped that a more collaborative approach grounded in Ubudehe principles will be taken over time as opposed to many of the parallel initiatives that often lead to wastage of resources and low sustainability.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research and draws conclusions and recommendations of the study. The conclusions are made bearing on the research findings identifying the challenges the researcher found out, and recommendations have been made on how those challenges can be addressed.

5.2 Discussion of the research

Rationale for Ubudehe (a collective action)

Studying about Ubudehe, gives a clear indicator that poor people and communities know exactly the problems they face; have the best time and space information about their situation and what changes would have real impact on their lives. However, they often do not have the appropriate technical and scientific information to design the best solutions and are not aware of the options available and costs they entail. This is where external assistance is needed. What communities require is the information to help them design better solutions and the skills and confidence to develop arrangements regulating how they will work together to implement them. While financial and physical resources play a vital role, the amounts needed when working at this level are surprisingly little.

Ubudehe demonstrates that making changes on your own is very difficult. This is evident from the fact that many of the most important problems have to be tackled by people working together. The people have designed systems and institutions in communities to solve problems and regulate their behaviour and access. The traditional practice of

ubudehe in Rwanda illustrates the strong historical understanding of this by Rwandan communities.

Ubudehe as a government approach has changed the trends of governance. For instance, it encourages moving from a top-down, autocratic approach associated with the past to developing local self-government structures which can facilitate collective action. Therefore Poverty Reduction Strategy and Decentralization processes have been focused not only on individuals or the macro structure and processes, but on villages. Villages, as the lowest administrative units of around one hundred households, are small enough to foster collective action but are also linked directly into the system of government. A key element in this process is developing the ability of communities to hold structures of government accountable to them. Building up strong governance structures in the absence of building communities' capacity to understand and interact with them will not result in better governance.

Capacity building for effective collective action at the village level is important in several ways. First, it allows the village/Umudugudu to identify and act on its own problems independently. Second, once problems are identified, collective action could lead to lobbying for resources, including funding and services. Finally, collective action can lead to increased faith in local governance institutions to address community needs, and begin to rebuild social capital at the grassroots level, both critical to the long-term sustainability of decentralization efforts. If Ubudehe effectively fosters collective action, it has the potential to create much more than a small, annual community project that reduces poverty.

The Theoretical Roots of Ubudehe (or collective action)

From a theoretical perspective, Ubudehe is collective action and a learning process. People construct problems and opportunities from the diversity of local perspectives. It involves the use of both sides of the brain by creating information using visual tools - for instance, the village social map. Citizens also form the basis of the discussions; create

foundations of democratic functioning by helping diverse forms of associational experience to express local liberties at the family, neighborhood, and village levels.

Ubudehe is a process that has tried to rebuild trust for peaceful co-existence in the Rwandan society. Conflict destroys relationships of trust and reciprocity. People need to be helped to come together around neutral issues that affect them. Some external resources provide the motivation for coming together in meetings. The allocation of resources, their use, and monitoring: all of these activities require people to interact and to have some hope that others will behave in a reciprocal way. Each round of successful interactions builds incremental trust.

Poverty as a complex, dynamic, multi-dimensional phenomenon

No single factor ever causes poverty, deprivation or vulnerability, for these change over time. Poverty is invariably the consequence of the interaction between many different problems and processes in peoples' lives. Crop failure alone does not, for example, make the members of a household vulnerable to hunger. Factors such as having no store of food from the previous season, that the people are newly settled in an area and have not yet established friendship networks that will help them through their troubles, will all affect their level of vulnerability. They may also be part of a social group that is marginalized, a key member of the family may have died or the prices of staple commodities have shot up. While generalizations can be made about the causes and effects over an area or country, for each individual or family and community the interaction of those different causes and their impact is unique.

Finding solutions

The complex and specific nature of how poverty plays out at household level, however, does not mean there are no solutions or that these solutions have to be complicated. What it does mean is that outsiders cannot design those solutions for people. There is sometimes a tendency to underestimate the abilities of illiterate peasants to analyze what

is going on around them and their ability to implement solutions. Ubudehe breaks the long-held bias that the poor have no say in their own development and instead suggests that the poor have the resources and the willingness to help themselves out of poverty.

Reducing poverty at its simplest is about change; social, economic and political change, and change is about people, individuals, who together form the relationships, systems and processes that need to be altered. It is about improving individuals' ability to access and control resources of all sorts whether financial, physical, natural, human or social. Re-building the social capital, the relationships and interdependencies, so horrifically destroyed during the war and genocide, is a key part of Ubudehe approach.

Rwanda has experienced recovery since the Ubudehe approach started in 2001.Since the end of the emergency period in 1998, growth rates have averaged 5.8% per annum, making Rwanda one of the top performers in Africa and an example of successful post-conflict reconstruction. This economic success has enabled significant progress in the fight against poverty, with poverty rates dropping from over 70% at the end of the war to 56.9% today (with a national target of 23.8% by 2015). Progress has also been made in the areas of education, health and gender equality, with human development indicators recovering to pre-war levels and even exceeding pre-war achievements in some cases (United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2008-2012 Rwanda*).

Despite progress since the 1990-1994 war, Rwanda still faces daunting challenges in terms of poverty, peace and reconciliation as well as rebuilding an efficient and inclusive state, a free and representative political system and a fair and transparent justice system. These challenges have to be met alongside issues of transitional justice, clearing the backlog of genocide-related cases, and maintaining security. Any poverty reduction measure, therefore, should focus and aim at strengthening governance while addressing the consequences of social upheaval and the imperative of accelerating socio-economic development (United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2008-2012 Rwanda).

Ubudehe, a participatory approach to poverty reduction, has been sought as one of the measures to poverty reduction. Hence several expectations await its long-lasting impact as it is in the second phase but being integrated into the local and decentralized structures of governance. Nevertheless, at district level progress in poverty reduction have been registered.

5.3 Research Findings

Research findings revealed that *Ubudehe* process involves trained facilitators assisting the communities to do the following: determine the household poverty profile as they themselves perceive it: examine/determine the causes of poverty and its consequences; draw up the social maps that have the names of the heads of the households, their social categories, the development infrastructure, materials of each household etc, this has facilitated a collective action to poverty reduction. At community level, it is evident enough that people are fully informed of their poverty levels and are seeking for a way to get out of poverty. A team of national master trainers develops district trainers who then train 2 persons selected by the community of each village. These two function as facilitators of the collective action process that moves from generating information in a visual / public process to creating an adaptive system. Such a system manages a need-meeting benefit through self-governing local institutions (Ubudehe update Kigali June 2005, Sam Joseph, Ubudehe coach, Pages 2 to 10).

Research found out that in step one, the Village/Umudugudu collectively defines and analyzes the nature of poverty in their community using tools like social mapping, seasonal poverty assessments, preference scoring and process techniques. The government has designated six categories for characteristics of households in Rwanda that the communities use to assess poverty in their villages. These are: (*Umukire* (the money rich), *Umutindi* (the very poor), *Umukene* (the poor), *Umukene wifashije* (the resourceful poor), *Umukungu* (the food rich) and *Umutindi nyakujya* (one in abject poverty)

Facilitators, further identify and analyse the problems facing the community and determine priority problems to be addressed first; plan activities and resources required to address the priority problems; put in place the system to manage the collective action(s); submit action plans to evaluate whether the retained strategies are the best to solve the identified problems and elect the management committee which will approve the execution of the projects earmarked for the collective action.

Facilitators provide data on all problems identified and prioritised, set solution and outcomes in form of aggregates at Cell, Sector and District level and use those data to inform the wider government interventions for community development and lesson learning.

Other formalised community processes use Ubudehe principle to address community needs, Umuganda/Community service, for example, is another core process of collective action. The Umudugudu/Village is mobilised once a month (currently the last Saturday of every month at National level and every week at local level) to clean and maintain community infrastructure and environment. Subsequently, the Umudugudu assembles for a general meeting to discuss the national and local issues (for social and economic development).

The communities that Ubudehe targets are not only poor and undereducated; they are also traumatized by war, and composed of people who have not necessarily lived together before, and have little reason to trust one another.

Research findings revealed that the objective of Ubudehe is to revive and foster collective action at community level. It was designed to work with and reinforce the government initiative of political and financial decentralization process and to provide a direct infusion of financial capital into the rural economy, aimed at overcoming one of the main obstacles to pro-poor economic growth.

Benefits of the process include strengthening decentralization, fostering collective action and rebuilding social capital, training the community to self diagnose problems and design

solutions (learning by doing), and providing an injection of funds at the grassroots level to recapitalize the rural economy and provide limited poverty reduction.

From the field research, it is clear that Ubudehe as a participatory human development perspective empowers people with varied abilities. People are able to build alliances, manage financial resources, assess and analyze their own situations, develop ability to mobilize and organize, are able to negotiate, have access to technical resources and able to advocate proactively for shared interests.

The programme is funded primarily by donors, principally the European Union, but also the government has channelled funding through the Common Development Fund (CDF). Research findings revealed that funds are disbursed through the National Bank of Rwanda to the Union Bank and from Union Bank to each village's account in the popular banks that are located right at the community level.

Ubudehe has been seen as an effective approach of tackling poverty directly by financing project activities identified and implemented by the communities themselves. So far, it is evident through the "ONE COW PER FAMILY" government project that has reduced on the malnutrition levels among communities in Rwanda. Ubudehe fits in with national policy and builds on the Rwandan tradition of community collective action. This is evident in the culture of "KWITURWA" whereby families that have benefited from the Ubudehe one-cow-per-family project have also given cows to their neighbours and friends and, in so doing, have promoted social cohesion.

The programme operates at umudugudu (Village) level at which community work is centred. The traditional approaches to helping those very poor are employed including "Kugabira' and 'Kwitura" where a beneficiary of Ubudehe fund also supports those in abject poverty in return and, in so doing, serious poverty is dealt with in the Rwandan rural society. The traditional practices of Kugabira and Kwitura are applied so that the benefits are later extended to other needy households.

Ubudehe operates through existing structures - the Community Development Fund (CDF) and in the Popular Banks "Banque Populaire"- to meet the needs of already existing communities. This means that the model has the advantage of keeping administration and management costs down and improving the chances for long-term sustainability.

Achievements by communities help to build a sense of empowerment. The capacity of the local people to solve their own problems is enhanced.
The programme promotes collective action a good indicator that making changes on one's own is very difficult and, therefore, it is paramount that problems have to be tackled by people working together.

Ubudehe has strengthened the Government of Rwanda policy of decentralization. Ubudehe approach has also supported the government in availing necessary data for planning at district level. Ubudehe is a learning process (learning by mistake) and allows for sustainability of activities.

The approach of Ubudehe promotes accountability, transparency and responsiveness. Through Ubudehe, the community skills are identified and the missing skills are provided through what is done as capacity building.

Ubudehe helps partners to be facilitators of development instead of doers and it reduces the cost of project by eliminating/reducing overhead costs (limited number of staff). Ubudehe allows community participation in planning and development and it empowers communities in funds management and builds self-confidence so people deal with loans and savings (working with the bank)

With ubudehe, supporters/donors break the myth of transferring only skills not money and allow people to talk about poverty even to the lowest level, for example, household poverty. The programme "Ubudehe", allows the community to understand their own problems and development practitioners do not bring their own solution instead improve on the solutions the community proposes.

Furthermore, the programme empowers the community to decide on their own development and, therefore, empowers the community. Under this approach, development practitioners need to "handover the stick". They allow the community to make mistakes and learn from them.

The programme calls for development agencies to facilitate rather than implement or monitor to ensure full participation of communities themselves. Development agencies do what they call "spot check" whereby each village has a notebook where they record the minutes of the meetings under which many resolutions are made and monitored. In so doing, according to Chambers, when this approach is used, the impact is measured on the basis of communities/household well-being and against poverty reduction indicators (Chambers, 1983: 36).

Critical findings from the respondents

Research findings from the respondents revealed that *Ubudehe* committee leaders tend to personalise the activities of Ubudehe to suit their own selfish motives*.*

The study further found out that the principles of transparency and accountability are not adhered to by all beneficiaries.

More so, the study found out that there is heavy corruption among the *Ubudehe* committees and the general local leadership in the villages and this is not followed up from the national level. Respondents revealed that ignorance and illiteracy among local leaders and the villagers as well hinder the proper functioning of Ubudehe approach*.*

Ubudehe is simplistic in nature because it addresses the basic needs of the communities that are short-term in nature that they focus much more on the provision of physiological needs like food, shelter and clothing for these communities but the provision of services like education and energy are far beyond the community's ability.

5.4 General Conclusions

From the findings, therefore, for the struggle against poverty to succeed, there is need to re-awaken the role of participation in poverty reduction by recognizing the contributions of human beings as agents of development. Communities have equally been denied rights to determine (through *influence* and *control*) the direction and form of development initiatives and resources that affect their well-being and the decision has been left to the development agencies. The failure to recognise the people as the ultimate reason of development is a big mistake because it is disempowering to those whom development is meant for. After many decades of development, development actors are rediscovering the obvious that people are both the means and the end of economic development. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Therefore the RPF government is trying to involve the beneficiaries through a decentralised system of administration using the process of Ubudehe as a means to poverty reduction.

Given a description and analysis of poverty, what policies may be invoked to reduce poverty?

There is a very strong link between economic growth and poverty reduction; Dollar and Kraay (2002), basing on a study of 418 "episodes" worldwide, found out that a one percent increase in per capita income is associated with a one percent increase in the incomes of the poor. The relationship is robust and has not changed over time. Although a number of policy variables, as measured by economic openness, the rule of law, and fiscal discipline, appear to boost economic growth, they do not have a discernible independent effect on the incomes of the poor.

The World Bank classifies its antipoverty activities into three groups:

> *Fostering opportunity*—through well-functioning and internationally open markets, and investments in infrastructure and education;

Facilitating empowerment, which amounts to including people in the decision-making process. This requires government accountability, strong media, local organizational capacity and mechanisms for participation in making decisions;

Addressing income security, which tackles the problem of vulnerability. This calls for insurance programmes, disaster relief procedures, and a solid public health infrastructure.

Any good poverty reduction plan begins with an analysis that identifies the nature and evolution of poverty, a profile of poor people, and the factors that contribute to poverty. Building on an accurate understanding of poverty, the strategy for poverty reduction has to prioritize the poverty reduction goals and take into account complementarities and compatibilities of various policy tools. Then specific implementation modules, including resource allocation and monitoring mechanisms, need to be designed.

5.5. Recommendations

5.5.1 Recommendations for project implementation

Basing on the conclusion above, recommendations were drawn accordingly as follows:

1. It should be the role of local leaders to monitor Community poverty reduction projects and give a hand where necessary to support community participation. This will encourage communities to do the same and will enhance relationship and communication among people in the same locality.

2. Support organisations should sign an agreement with the communities in matters related to funds management because this helps the communities to be accountable and work in transparency.

3. At the village level, Ubudehe monitors should make close follow-up on the effectiveness of the committee on project management.

4. At all levels of administration, there should be a deliberate support to community participation to guard against the risks that may arise out of conflicts.

5. Most projects should be implemented in collaboration with communities. Project activities should integrate daily activities communities are engaged in.

6. Non-Governmental organisations should take time through an organized process and offer awareness seminars to communities on the values of participatory human development perspective.

7. At all levels in the project cycle, indicators of meaningful community participation should be developed.

5.5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

This study was limited in scope due to a number of factors as indicated in chapter one. Future research may go beyond the selected district.

The research has revealed low perceptions on community participation; Future research may focus on the causes of such perception and the strategies for dealing with them.

The research was also limited and did not go into details of how participatory human development perspective is useful and how it empowers people. The study therefore recommends that further research is necessary in areas of community participation as well as human development paradigm.

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. **Questionnaire**

Dear respondent,

I am a graduate student of Makerere University-Uganda carrying out research on "**Interventions Against Poverty in Rwanda: A case study of Ubudehe in Gatsibo District Eastern Province Rwanda"** as a partial fulfilment for the requirement of an award of a Master Degree in Public Administration and Management (MAPAM).

Please extend your assistance to this study by answering the following questions according to your personal observation and feelings. The information you give will be treated confidentially and used solely for the purpose of this study.

Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Thank you,
Alfred MUPENZI

RESPONDENT'S BIOGRAPHY

Kindly tick (√) on the appropriate for you

1. Respondent's Gender
   a) Male ☐
   b) Female ☐
2. Respondent's age
   a) 18 - 25 ☐
   b) 25 - 45 ☐
   c) 46+ ☐

3. Respondent's educational level attained

    a) Primary   ☐

    b) Secondary   ☐

    c) Vocation training   ☐

    d) Degree   ☐

    e) Masters   ☐

    f) PHD   ☐

4. What is your occupation?

    a) Farmer   ☐

    b) Local leader   ☐

    c) EU delegate   ☐

    d) Ubudehe Facilitator   ☐

Questionnaire for Focused Group Discussions (FGD)   (FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE)

"**Interventions Against Poverty in Rwanda: a case study of Ubudehe in Gatsibo District Eastern Province Rwanda**"

Name of the moderator: …………………………………………..

District ------------------- Sector --------------Cell---------------------. VILLAGE/Umudugudu --------------

BENEFICIARY CATEGORIES

    a) Absolute poverty (Umutindi nyakujya)

    b) Very poor (Umutindi)

    c) Poor (Umukene)

    d) Resourceful poor (Umukene wifashije)

    e) Food-rich (Umukungu)

    f) Rich (Umukire)

1. What do you know about Ubudehe?
2. Since when did you start implementing Ubudehe approach?
3. What are major causes of poverty in the district of Gatsibo?
4. What changes have you had as a result of Ubudehe approach?
5. What are the components that make up Ubudehe package?
6. Who are the users of Ubudehe approach?
7. How do communities in your sector, Cell and village implemented, managed, monitored and evaluated development projects?
8. What projects does Ubudehe approach focus on in the bid to reduce poverty levels?
9. Who are the key stakeholders at the centre of the main process of planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating ubudehe projects?
10. In which project cycle stage and activities have communities demonstrated high level of participation in ubudehe projects?
11. In which project cycle stage and activities do communities demonstrate less participation in Ubudehe projects?
12. What are the challenges faced by Gatsibo district communities in participating in Ubudehe projects?
13. What are the people's feelings towards involving everybody in decision making, planning, implementing, and monitoring and evaluating Ubudehe projects?
14. Are there any benefits that can accrue from community participation in the decision making, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating Ubudehe projects?
15. What suggestions can you give that can support and facilitate practical community participation in the decision making, planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating other community projects?
16. How has ubudehe reduced poverty levels in this district?
17. Do you think poverty has raduced as a result of Ubudehe approach?
18. Do you think poverty reduction will be realized in the future as a result of ubudehe approach?

19. What do you think would be the consequences of not involving communities in their own development?

Interview schedule with different stakeholders in Ubudehe Approach

"Interventions Against Poverty in Rwanda: a case study of Ubudehe in Gatsibo District Eastern Province Rwanda"

Name of the moderator...…

The part of the district from which the respondents comes: …………….

1. Which people were involved in the planning, implementation, monitoring and management of Ubudehe projects?
   a) Communities/Village people
   b) Local leaders
   c) Ubudehe Facilitators
   d) Community Based Organizations (CBOs)
   e) Donors
   f) Children

2. Please indicate the roles of each stakeholder in these projects?

a) Ubudehe Facilitators

- Carry out community training and facilitation
- Contribute ideas
- Monitor and evaluate the success of the projects
- Mobilize communities
- Make decisions

   b) Ministry of Local Government/local leaders

- Contribute money
- Mobilises donors
- Pays community facilitators
- Is accountable to donors and the citizens
- Manage the projects
- Make decisions

c) Communities/Village people

- Participate in community meetings
- Makes decisions on the kind of projects they need
- Contribute money
- Provide labour
- Contribute ideas
- Manage the projects
- Mobilize others

    f) Donors

- Supports the Ubudehe project financially
- Provides technical support
- Reports back to their home governments

d) Children
- Are parts of the decision making
- Provide labour
- Contribute ideas
- Mobilize others

3. Which stakeholders are interested in the success of ubudehe projects?

  e) Ubudehe Facilitators

  f) Ministry of Local Government/local leaders

g) Communities/ Village people

h) Donors

i) Children

4. Why do they have high/low interest please explain?

5. Which Ubudehe supported community development projects have you participated in to raise your income?

Income strategy	Number of respondents	% (Percentages)
Business		
Cattle rearing/One cow per family		
Piggery		
Selling animal products		
Carpentry		
Selling matooke/ Bananas		
Sheep rearing		
Poultry		
Goat rearing		
Tomato growing		
Selling alcohol		
Passion fruit growing		
Selling beans		
Starting a small scale business of shops		
Selling age plants		

6. What role did you play in project development processes?

7. Do you think these projects came as a result of every body's consensus in this community?

a) Yes

b) No

8. How would you rate the level of community participation in the planning process of Ubudehe Projects?

   a) Very high
   b) Medium
   c) Low
   d) Very low
   e) None

9. What would be the benefits of your participation in the planning of Ubudehe Projects?
   a) Acquire knowledge and skills.
   b) Learn how to work with others.
   c) Own the projects
   d) Enjoy my right to participation.
   e) Get recognized & feel am important to my community.
   f) Accountable for the sustainability of these projects

IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

10. Who implements Ubudehe Projects?

11. How much do implementers get?

12. How are these resources mobilised

13. Who determines the amount of money to be given to each beneficiary?

14. What contributions does the local government and donors contribute?

15. How is the distribution of the donor and government resources done country wide?

16. What are the mechanisms put in place to control project resources?

17. What challenges do you face as communities in handling the project resources?

18. Do you think you have been / were adequately involved in decision making about Ubudehe projects?

a) Yes

b) No

19. If no, why do you think you were not involved?

    a) Lack of knowledge & skills

    b) Lack of enough time

    c) Ubudehe facilitators make decisions themselves

20. Are your views considered in the monitoring and evaluation of Ubudehe projects?

a) Yes

b) No

21. If no, why were you not considered please explain?

❖ **Interview schedule for EU Delegate to Rwanda**

22. How does Ubudehe fit in the EC development aid philosophy?

23. What has EC done, is now doing and plans to do in future to support Ubudehe.

24. What would EC like to see from other donors to Ubudehe approach?

❖ **INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR Mr. Protais Musoni, The Minister of Local Government in the Government of Rwanda and the core driving force behind Ubudehe)**

25. What was the situation before the initiative (the problem)?

26. What were the key benefits resulting from the initiative (the solution)?

27. Who proposed the solution, who implemented it and who were the stakeholders?

28. What were the strategies used to implement the initiative?

29. What were the key development and implementation steps and the chronology?

30. What were the main obstacles encountered? How were they overcome?

31. What resources were used for the initiative?

32. Is the initiative sustainable and transferable?

33. What are the lessons learnt?

General questionnaire

"Ubudehe and poverty reduction in Rwanda; a participatory human development perspective: A case study of Gatsibo District Eastern Province."

1. What is ubudehe?
2. How does ubudehe work?
3. What is the trade-off between ubudehe and poverty reduction?
4. What is participatory human development paradigm?
5. What is the relationship between Ubudehe and participatory human development perspective?

How has Ubudehe approach reduced poverty in Gatsibo district