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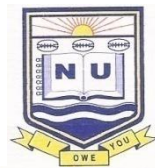
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Rurality and Rural Poverty: What it means to be Poor New Realities, New Choices for Tomorrow

*In quest of understanding more about rural poverty
and an adaptable rural growth among rural poor households in Rwanda:
A case study of two villages in Rwanda's Northern Province*

Ph.D THESIS



Nkumba University

By

Peter Mbabazi Mbabazize

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Post Graduate Studies & Research for the
Fulfillment of the Requirements of Nkumba University for the Award of the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Development Economics**

May, 2014



LIST OF SOME MAPS

Map 1: Map of Africa showing the location of Rwanda marked 2

Map 2: Map of Rwanda briefly showing the physical features.

Rivers and lakes in blue, while mountains are green. Major urban centers are also named.

Map 3: Map of Rwanda showing the five administrative provinces.

The case study was two villages selected from the Northern Province which are painted pink color. The different administrative provinces are: Western Province, Eastern Province, Southern Province, Northern Province and Kigali Administrative Province.

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read, and, knowing that the candidate, PETER MBABAZI has satisfied the senate requirements for which he was enrolled, trained and examined, do hereby recommend, for acceptance by the School of Post Graduate Studies & Research of Nkumba University this Ph.D Thesis titled; “RURALITY AND RURAL POVERTY; WHAT IT MEANS TO BE POOR. *In quest of understanding more about rural poverty and an adaptable rural growth among rural households in Rwanda. A case study of two villages in Rwanda’s Northern Province,*” for the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Economics of Nkumba University.

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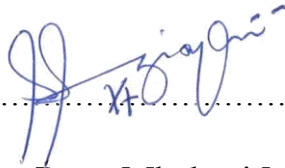
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DECLARATION

I declare that the work herein was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Nkumba University. It is original, except where indicated by special references in the text, and no part has been submitted before for the award of any other degree. The views herein are my own and in no way do they represent those of either Nkumba University or my supervisors. This PhD thesis has never been presented to any other University and, any other sources of information quoted have been acknowledged by complete references.

Signed.....Date **26th May, 2014**



Peter Mbabazi Mbabazize

DEDICATION

To Amelia Bornwinner, Juliet Birungi Mbabazize (Mrs.) and the Lord. On being pushed to the wall, the Lord always keeps to himself one more move which always defeats human understanding, and he always surprises the one on the wall if at all he or she knows God.

Promise Mbabazize and Arsene Baguma, always confront a lion instead of a monkey while in the jungle. Always go over and over at it, again and again. In your life time, try always to fight the six basic fears of life: the fear of poverty, the fear of criticism, the fear of ill health, the fear of loss of love of someone, the fear of old age, and the fear of death. On top of the Wisdom from the Bible, equip yourselves with all the works of Napoleon Hill (1937) concerning the art of success.

As God turns the tide, no one can say no, when it is time for the tide to set in or to set off. In Africa, rural poverty is a hell. But trust some Africans; they never die until all the bones are rotten. And much as rural poverty is hell and prison, it's better to live like a free dog, than living like a caged lion.

“The greatest poorness is the lack of brains”

Arabic proverb

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Doing a PhD has been a very long process, and a long lonely journey. It requires a man with a strong heart, “*similar to the size of a lion’s heart*” to go for such lonely journeys. Is it neither a journey like that from Hoima to Kampala, nor a journey from Hoima to Katanga village in Bugambe Sub County. This is because, it has been a long continuum with a long past, long present and definitely it will have a long future as I strive to become Prof. Dr. Mbabazi Mbabazize.

If I were to begin with the long past, I have to appreciate with the greatest gratitude, my Parents; Kisebo Job and Nyangoma Florence of Katanga village and Kyakasoro village respectively both in Bugambe subcounty-Hoima District. The foundation they impacted on me in the early eighties from Uwalu Sinai Nursery in Chunga Jembe village, then to Bugambe Tea Primary School, Duhaga Secondary School, Hoima Academy up to Livingstone Hall and Northcote Hall in Makerere University was so paramount. It is worth noting, however that all the school fees that helped me through, came from a local brewing processes (*Kunyunka ensande, na haragi*) in Winyi Village in Bugambe.

In that long past, there must be mention of great recognition to some of the best teachers I have met who did their best to share with me their knowledge, despite the fact that they were working in rural environments. I pray that the following teachers be blessed for making me what I am today. First, Joseph my nursery teacher, Kasangaki Francis, Ngasirwaki Paul, Orombi, Avola Vivvy, Muhambya Jakson, all in my Primary School. Yolamu Nsamba, Mulumba Dan, Beraheru Geoffrey, Kandole Frank, Mutatina Dan, Tinkamanyiire Elly, Byakagaba Deo, and Balyesiima Francis all at my lower and higher secondary school. At University level, I have to commend the following role models; Prof. Opolot and Prof. Ssekamwa of Makerere University; Prof. Dee Carabaine and Prof. Peter Kanyandago of Uganda Martyrs University; Prof. Michael Mawa, Prof. Muyindo Mande and Prof. Ijuuka-Kabumba of Nkumba University. The above academicians have always inspired me and they have been my academic mentors. Dr. Laetitia Nyinawamwiza of the University of Rwanda (Principal-CAVM), Dr. Anthony Luvanda and Dr. Oduor Joseph of Jomo Kenyatta University (Kigali Campus); please do accept my sincere thanks and gratitude. I want to thank all of you so much for having shaped my academic career.

In a very special way, let me turn to the long present. An undertaking of this magnitude would not have been possible without all kinds of guidance from my PhD supervisors.

Prof. Dr. Andrew. P.Yiga and Dr. E.Kafeero of Nkumba University I owe you a lot. May God bless you abundantly for your doors were always open to me at any time I needed to see you. To the friends and residents of the two villages in the fieldwork sites that offered their homes, food and warmth which made this all possible, I have learned a lot from you. Hopefully even though the outcome of this research is small, it will make a significant contribution to poverty reduction in the lives of your people.

The long present also includes two men of God from Ruhengeri-Musanze district in Rwanda. These are Padiri Dr. Hagenimana Fabien and Padiri Dr. Deogratius Niyibizi. These men are Priests who, in collaboration with Ruhengeri Catholic Diocese, started a University called INES-RUHENGARI. They are hereby credited in a special way as they predetermined my future from the usual Hoima rural wrangles, to the modern thinking. The two priests have shaped my future alot and they may not realize it unless told. The two priests have contributed so much to the socio-economic development of Rwanda's Northern Province, especially in terms of uplifting the standards of education in rural areas of this province. They came up with INES- RUHENGARI University at the right time especially after the 1994 genocide which dilapidated the whole of Rwanda. As a matter of fact, it is only God who knows how to bless these men for all the work they are extending to this rural population of Rwanda.

I am a Christian with a great Anglican foundation. There is this theory of the importance of the figures of twelve (12) in the Bible. For example;

Jesus speaks his first words in the Bible at the age of twelve (Luke 2:42). Later, He chooses twelve disciples patterned after the twelve tribes of Israel. Twelve baskets of fragments were collected after Jesus fed the five thousand (Mark 6:43). The Book of Revelation says there are twelve gates to the city, twelve angels as gatekeepers and the names of the twelve tribes written on the gates. The gates are twelve pearls and the wall will be on twelve foundations which bear the names of the twelve apostles;

It took me twelve years also to get a sounding job after various rural struggles and rural fights with the people in Hoima. But I learnt a lot especially when you find a "Munyoro" man speaking the truth just by mistake. All what is in the minds of the would be workmates and friends in this land of oil is hypocrisy, envy and deadly moves. To people living today, notice it when "twelve" shows up in your life.

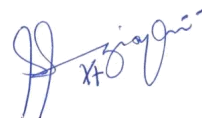
But because am blessed with the anointing of ease as Pastor Joel Osteen (2006) of Lake Wood Church puts it, I had to finally fix my 12th puzzle in 2011 in twelve years. Pastor Joel Osteen explains that, in life, anointed and blessed people meet harder and harder puzzles to fix. They then get exposed to divine connectivity and then finish off the journey. So in my journey of divine

connectivity, I met one of my greatest cousins in Kigali called Kato Paul. From Kato Paul to Mutatina Daniel, Tukahabwa Daniel, Deo Mugisha, Okirry Frankline of JKUAT, up to Oketch of Riviera High school in Kigali. Then by Gods miracle, divine winds carried me to meet Nzabonimana Chrysestom, Theoneste Bambujijumugisha, Tumusherure Wilson, Twesige Daniel, and Dr. Abel Mucunguzi all of INES –RUHENGIERI. These have been my workmates at lecturing level in different Universities in Rwanda and I was able to meet all of them due to divine connectivity simply because I am blessed with the anointing of ease. But just right after my Bachelors degree (1999); to meet good working mates, it took me the Biblical proverbial scripture of twelve years. Imagine twelve years! So, the only way to thank them all is nothing other than asking the Glory of God to be praised. As the scriptures says;

*“You came from heaven to earth, to show the way; From the earth to the cross; my debt to pay,
From the cross to the grave; From the grave to the sky
Lord I lift your name on high”*

Throughout my stay in Rwanda, I was made comfortable by the following; Mukakibibi Scovia, who helped me in typing and typesetting several drafts of early stages in this long journey of my PhD thesis. My computer technician – Sakho from Goma (Democratic Republic of Congo) who designed much of the diagrams and notes type setting. Dr. Kintu John of Kyambogo University who proofread this Thesis. Thank you very much for your unwavering support. To Kabasingwa Evelyn, my senior mentor who made it possible in adjusting and renewing my lonely journeys.

Finally, I am greatly honoured and exceedingly humbled by my family for enduring my frequent foreign travels that upset our family quality time. Despite this enforced absence from you, I was always welcomed back with smiles and celebrations that reinvigorated my spirit to carry the PhD work up to its logical conclusion. To my wife, Juliet, thank you for your support. Your valuable friendship, love and care have embellished the years that I have spent with you in this world. To my mum in-law, Getrude Mulebeki and all other in-laws, be blessed. To our children, Arsene Baguma, Promise Mbabazize and Amelia Bornwinner, thank you for your love and support in keeping my zeal burning at all times, to work hard for this success with the hope that you will be able to carry on with the education legacy as a lasting testament in the Mbabazize grandsons and granddaughters. I believe this PhD thesis will also be a testimony to guide you to your own success stories in future.



May, 2014

Peter Mbabazi - Mbabazize

ABSTRACT

This thesis focused on the nature and extent of persistent rural poverty in rural areas, and in particular to the ways in which rural residences may affect ones poverty status in Rwanda. The central theme of this study was to fully describe what rural poverty is, how rurality leads to extreme poverty and what it actually means to be poor especially when it comes to the eyes of the beholder; the poorest of the poor in the rural areas. It is these poorest of the poor who were the subject / unit of analysis in this study. Two villages in Rwanda's Northern Province were selected as a case study. The study was mostly qualitative and much focus was put on a down to earth naturalistic inquiry about rurality and rural poverty as a whole. The study used participatory qualitative research methods which were supplemented with quantitative research methods.

This study used methods like the questionnaire and focus group discussions to collect data from the rural poor. In data analysis, the study used descriptive statistics and also the researcher relied on established theories to process and concretely analyse the information. Generated theory was compared to existing theory on issues concerning rurality and rural poverty.

This study presents new realities about how poor people living in deep rural areas define poverty and what they understand poverty to mean, as well as what the rural poor specifically conceive to be the major causes of rural poverty, and how the poor people survive in deep rural areas of Rwanda. Increased attention of this study was put on rural social processes with a firm foundation to understanding what rural poverty is, its causes and impact, people's attitudes and experiences of living with it in a landlocked country like Rwanda. The study further explored the possible survival strategies the rural people have initiated on their own to lessen the difficulties they go through.

The study did not intend to provide any solutions to alleviating rural poverty because there as many policies as there are theories on poverty and from the beginning of the 2nd quarter of the 20th century, the World Bank, UNDP, and nongovernmental organizations, suggested very, very many policy options to fight poverty in different places at different times. Governments all over the sub-Saharan Africa have implemented the various policy initiatives to fight poverty but there seems to be no big improvement. As a result, this research study' impression was that, if the poverty eradication solutions have not done an expectedly good job, why don't we go back to the drawing board and see backwards to the grass roots, what exactly the problem is. Given the different scale of concentration of rural poverty in rural areas, the different levels of services

available to rural people and the differences in institutions and social norms, there is certainly some reason to expect that there should be different strategies to fight poverty in rural places.

This research strictly intends to contribute to existing knowledge by sharing new ideas, realities and choices with policy makers, civil rights activists and various governments in the great lakes region on the assumption that our efforts to reduce poverty in rural areas were hampered by our lack of knowledge on how living in rural areas affects ones chances of realizing higher standards of living. Our lack of understanding about the effects of concentrated rural poverty on rural communities could just be a cause of the failures to have the efforts to reduce the level of rural poverty.

The researcher was very much interested in this study because, poverty has often been described by people who are not poor themselves and to make matters worse, poverty has often been generalized as the same type of poverty in both urban areas and rural areas. Yet as a matter of fact, poverty found in rural areas is so much different from the type of poverty found in urban areas.

The study found out that rural poverty is often unseen, misunderstood, or misperceived by outsiders, those who are not themselves rural and poor. The study also found out that there is a great interrelationship between rurality and rural poverty; one of them leads to the other and one of them determines the other. The research result shows that rural poverty depends on rurality. It is again discovered that, the further away one stays from urban areas, the higher the chances that he or she is vulnerable to being poor. This is the place effect theory in determining rural Poverty.

The study contends that social scientists, administrators, field workers, academics, non governmental development practitioners do always misperceive and neglect the ideas of poor people who are living in the country side. The poor in their own words, made this research discover that their views on poverty, their opinions on poverty and their general knowledge on poverty are rarely listened to. If we were to listen to their voice, we would surely have a rich knowledge on the hidden nature of rural poverty.

Rural poverty has been misperceived from generation to generation of researchers, educationists, and social scientists. A culture of rural bias has been inherited to the extent that today, there is a debate about the meaning of the word rurality itself. Some schools contend that the word rurality does not exists in the English language while others contend that the word exists; this shows the

level of biasness and the level of misunderstanding the whole concept of rurality and rural poverty pose.

It defeats one's understanding that even to day, in this 21st century: in a world full of educationists, great researchers and academics, several of them still take rural poverty to be synonymous with urban poverty. They see that there is nothing new about knowing or rather discovering more about the ills of rurality and rural poverty. They just think that they know it all.

But, it is surprising that in this study the poor themselves have described the situation. They are living a life which so much different from what several of these scholars have been assuming to be knowing as poverty. Its common sense that what is perceived depends on the perceived. Several people who think they know much about poverty do not actually know much about rural poverty.

They have been fronting their own interests, preferences and preconceptions, their own rationalizations and their own defences for excluding or explaining the discordant and the distressing. Chambers (1983) states that such people are often ignorant about rural poverty and yet they do not want to know what they do not know. The less they have direct and discordant contact and learning, and the less they know, so the easier it is for the myth to mask the reality. The culture of rural bias has been carried on from a generation of scholars in the last century to another generation of scholars in this century. This study was, therefore, a fundamental step in attempting to argue out the idea that rural poverty should not be misperceived as having the same face as urban poverty.

This study also argues for a new professionalism, with fundamental reversals in outsiders learning values and behaviours, and proposes new models which are more realistic on understanding more about rural poverty backed with a more realistic action for tackling rural poverty.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BNR:	National bank of Rwanda
DRC:	Democratic republic of Congo
GDP:	Gross domestic product
GNI:	Gross national income
GOR:	Government of Rwanda
HDI:	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immuno- deficiency virus
IFAD:	International food and agricultural development
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
MINECOFIN:	Ministry of Community Infrastructure
MPAT:	Multidimensional poverty assessment tool
MPI:	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NISIR:	National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda
UNDP:	United Nations Development Program
WB:	World Bank
EICV:	Enquête Intégrale sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages (<i>From French Language</i>), meaning Integrated living conditions survey
EDPRS:	Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy
MOH:	Ministry of Health
RUPRI:	Rural Policy Research Institute
DHS:	Demographic healthy survey
RNPAR:	The Rwanda National Participatory Assessment Reports (RNPAR),

COMMON NATIVE WORDS USED IN THE STUDY (Words used in Ikinyarwanda)

ABAYOBOZI	: Leaders
AKARERE	: District
GACACA	: Traditional Rwandan methods of conflict resolution through mutual understanding where all people assemble. Today it has been adopted as the traditional courts for genocide suspects
IKIGAGE	: Local brew drink
IKINYARWANDA	: Local Native language used, by the Rwandese
IGICUGUTU	: Local bicycle made of tree stems used for carrying rural products to markets
IGIPIRINGISI	: Another name for IGICUGUTU
IMIDUGUDU	: Many village settlements
GUFATA KUNGUFU	: Manipulating someone into sex (but not rape) without his/her clear consent
NYAKATSI	: Reduction activities at community level to the lawn like grass
UBUDEHE	: A Rwandan term of collective labour to support each other practiced traditionally
UBUKENE	: Poverty, but the word has now been carved to mean participatory poverty
UBUSHAKASHATSI	: Research
UMUDUGUDU	: One village settlement
UMUGANDA	: Traditional mutual help schemes that is also being promoted today as Public understanding by family leaders, the elderly or traditional leaders.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This research study focused on studies of persistent rural poverty in rural areas, and in particular to the ways in which rural residences may affect ones poverty status in Rwanda. The study was mostly qualitative and much focus was put on a down to earth naturalistic inquiry about rurality and rural poverty as a whole.

This study focused attention on the poorest rural households in Rwanda and addressed the real faces of poverty among rural poor households specifically in the selected two villages of the Northern Province of Rwanda. This study sought to address questions about the determinants of rural poverty among the rural households. The study focused on how poverty is defined, how it is understood, what are its causes and impacts, and what are the coping strategies the rural poor have come up with to survive within the Rwandan context. This research sought to inform stakeholders, particularly the local elites, to understand the complexity of rural poverty in the region.

The study did not intend to examine solutions to poverty alleviation because there as many policies as there are theories on Poverty. From the beginning of the 2nd quarter of the 20th century, the World Bank, UNDP, and nongovernmental organizations, suggested, very many policy options to fight Poverty in different places at different times. Governments all over the sub-Saharan Africa have implemented the various policy initiatives to fight poverty but there seems to be no big improvements. Policies to fight poverty have changed from one policy to another, albeit from one government to another. The 2006 (NISR 2006) Rwanda poverty update report shows that at least 92 percent of the total population lives in rural areas and out of this 58 percent are women and 24 percent are men in rural areas.

Table 1. 1: Distribution of household groups by urban and rural percentage distribution

Household type	urban	Rural	National
Female headed	17.3	82.7	100.0
Widow headed	16.9	84.1	100.0
Child headed	22.9	77.1	100.0

Source: 2006 NISR Poverty Report

Many rural dwellers in Rwanda are landless peasants living in conditions of extreme poverty. Moreover the HIV/AIDS epidemic is wreaking human resource development to which 8.7 percent of the rural population is affected (MOH, 2010). Rural poverty in Rwanda is mainly accelerated by the issue of population increase. Today, the rural population is 10.9 million and it is estimated to reach 36 million people by 2030 (UNDP 2011). Rwanda has (2398 Sq km²) only, which is much smaller than Lake Victoria. The little land available is also covered with a rough terrain and erosion. Rwanda is a landlocked country in which all these constraints keep poor farmers in rural areas from earning sufficient income from agriculture.

1.1.1 The situation of rural poverty in the world

One of the demographic characteristics of the developing world is its rural nature of the population. According to the World Poverty Report (2011), some 3.1 billion people or 55% of the population in developing countries live in rural areas. It however predicts that between 2020 and 2025, the total rural population will reach its peak and then start to decline and thereafter the developing countries' urban population would overtake its rural population. The basic fact is that most of these people in rural areas live in poverty, finding it difficult to enjoy the necessities of life. According to the World Poverty Report (2011), at least 70% of the world's very poor people are rural.

The livelihoods of rural poor households are diverse across regions and countries, and within countries. The World Bank Report (2000), estimated that 20 million people in Africa live in abject poverty. The report estimated that which 50 percent of sub-Saharan people live below the international poverty line of one American dollar a day. Rwanda is classified as a low income economy or a low human development country (World Bank 2000, UNDP report 2010) by the UNDP whereby human poverty is affecting over 80 percent of the population. Even before the 1994 Genocide, poverty headcount index has always been above 58 percent. In 1993 it was estimated at 53 percent, in 1995 it was 70 percent, and in the 2001 it was 65 percent (GOR 2002, HCLS 2000).

On planet earth, where we live, there are two salient "evils" disturbing mankind. These "evils" are wealth and poverty; to have a better welfare, or a poor life style. It is this poor life style that has made a billion people (World Bank, 2010) live from a bad lifestyle to a worse lifestyle. This is the real face of poverty.

It is not surprising that some people are well off while others are badly-off. It is like those who are well off are already in heaven while those who are badly off are already living a life comparable to living in hell. In rich homes, families and clans, someone dies in the evening

whereas in poor homes, someone dies in the morning due to differences in health service accessibility. George Bernard Shaw (1907) argues more than 100 years ago, that the greatest of evils and the worst of crimes is poverty. Poverty today, is just a tragedy with consequences which is completely ruining the lives of many people across this planet earth.

Nelson Mandela (2005) observes that, massive poverty and obscene inequality are such terrible scourges of our times; times in which the world boasts of breathtaking advances in science, technology, industry and wealth accumulation that they have to rank alongside slavery and apartheid as social evils. However, as for purposes of fighting this greatest scourge and evil ever to have consumed almost every 80% of the world's generation of mankind, we need to know what it is, depending on where we are, whether in rural areas or in urban areas. We need to come up with options to reduce it or alleviate it, although some people would prefer eradicating it completely which would not be perfectly tenable. Whatever form of poverty mankind is facing, we just need to know it and reduce it. That is what matters as stated by Ladarch, Stewart and Staith (2003) in their new paper on poverty concepts and definitions.

As for this study, poverty was taken to mean a situation of deprivation of the general basic needs of man. This study also looked in details at the relative terms of poverty such as: relative poverty, absolute poverty, chronic poverty and extreme poverty. These forms of poverty were defined very well and also were compared to how the World Bank takes poverty to be in terms of income per capita and the amount of US dollars one is able to spend per day.

Rural poverty as used in this study, referred to the type of poverty commonly found among people who are living in deep rural areas. Rural poverty should be distinguished from urban poverty which is the type of poverty mostly affecting people living in urban areas such as towns, trading centers and district headquarters.

Poverty has denied us of all our rights to freedom and choice in African countries, poverty has denied us happiness and if one stands along the road and observes ten people who pass by him or her, three are happy while seven cross while talking and grumbling to themselves with all the gestures of being unhappy (Duncan, 2008). The causes and consequences of poverty have made men and women live unhappily in African tradition. It is widely known that the man is the major bread earner in the family and if a husband fails to feed his family, the consequences affect the woman in forms of domestic violence.

Although many countries have seen substantial economic growth over the past two decades (Brann 2008), many poor people have experienced considerable improvement in their welfare. For

some countries, people's progress has been dismally slow. The very poorest individuals tend to be from socially excluded groups, live in remote areas with little education and with few assets. Women and children in rural areas are the biggest casualties.

1.1.2 The situation of population and poverty in Rwanda

Rwanda is a landlocked, resource deficient country. The population is about 12 million people, and 87 per cent of Rwandans live in rural areas. The population density in the country is the highest in Africa, with about 379 persons/km². The annual demographic growth rate is 3.7 per cent, and the population is expected to increase to about 14 million by 2015.

Table 1. 2: Rwanda National population Statistics

GNI per capita, Atlas method (current US\$) (2010)	520.0
Population, total (2010)	10,624,005.0
Rural population (2010)	8,616,068.1
<u>Number of rural poor (million, approximate) (2010)</u>	<u>5,531,515.7</u>

Source: *United Nations Statistics (2010)*

The above figures were for 2010 and they show the total rural population at about eight million people. This can be compared to the population structure by stratum in the table below which was having population figures of 2005 and 2006. Common to both tables is that both surveys show that the population in rural areas is much bigger than the population in urban areas.

Table 1. 3: Population structure, by stratum

Stratum	<u>EICV1</u>		<u>EICV2</u>	
	<u>Estimated Popn</u>	<u>Share(%)</u>	<u>Estimated popn</u>	<u>Share (%)</u>
City of Kigali	663,000	8.3	703,000	7.4
Other urban	618,000	7.8	865,000	9.1
Rural	6,683,000	83.9	7,893,000	83.4
Total	7,963,000	100	9,460,000	100

Source: *Integrated living condition survey (EICV 1 & EICV 2), National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda- NISR (2005/2006)*

Rwanda is a country of many hills and it is densely populated as compared to other countries in Africa. It is still a generally poor country and an essentially rural one. This has been partly caused

by its significant demographic and social shifts. Rwanda's population multiplied eightfold in just half a century (IFAD 2008). The 1994 Genocide followed this spiraling demographic growth. The 2010 UNDP report shows that 94 percent of the population lives in the countryside and is engaged in peasant agricultural farming, generating barely 100 US Dollars in gross domestic product. Rwanda's demographic structure has also changed whereby women today account for about 52 percent of the population (Koster 2008). And, as a direct consequence of the genocide, many households are headed by women.

Every economy recovering from war is always affected severely (Lopez and Wooden 2005) and this impact can be long lasting and a great percent of these negative consequences normally affect the rural poor people who end up living with a very poor livelihood. Rwanda is classified into a group of African countries facing the most serious binding constraints in development (Ndulu and O'Connell 2008). In addition, its history of social division and ethnic diversity increases the country's needs for ethnically neutral institutional development (Bigsten and Isakson 2008). The country is one of the poorest in Africa. Gross domestic product per capita was US\$530 in 2008, and Rwanda ranked 166th out of 187 countries in the 2011 United Nations Development Programs Human Development Index. Poverty is widespread throughout the country. In 2006, 56.9 per cent of the total population was living below the poverty line and 37.9 per cent was extremely poor. In rural areas about 64.7 per cent of the populations were living in poverty.

The genocide of 1994, which led to the loss of about 1 million lives and the creation of some 800,000 refugees and displaced persons, had a devastating social and economic effect on the country. It led to a change in the country's demographic structure and women today account for about 54 per cent of the Rwandan population. In addition, many households are headed by women and orphans. Households headed by women (29 per cent of the total rural population), households headed by children, and households affected by HIV/AIDS are also affected by poverty or are at risk of falling into poverty. Close to 14 per cent of rural dwellers have become landless peasants who live in conditions of extreme poverty, and, a large number of demobilised young soldiers have swollen the ranks of the unemployed. The National Bank of Rwanda (Central Bank, BNR) assessment report (1998) reveals that by 1960, 45 percent of the population was living in one form of Poverty, by 1990 the number of those living in poverty had risen to 75 percent and, mostly rural women were more affected. About 30 percent women in urban areas and over 45 percent of them lived in rural areas lived in poverty. A report by the World Bank (2010) shows that about 76

percent of Rwanda population was living below the poverty line of one (1) US dollars per day (600 Rwandan franks) as per the 2012 average prices

Throughout the world, poverty is a concern. But this concern should be more than people think or look at it. If they were to understand the real nature of poverty among the rural poor in a land locked country like Rwanda, their ideas would help such a country which is rising from Genocide. Much as the United Nations declared 1996 an International Year for the eradication of poverty and then a decade following (1999-2006) also being declared a united Nations Decade for Education of Poverty, this multi-faced “evil” of poverty is still on the rise.

Whereas some people are becoming rich in urban areas, rural women and men are becoming poorer and poorer. Every year the world celebrates 19th October as a special international day to eradicate poverty. In Rwanda the government has established the 2020 vision, Vision Umurenge, EDPRS and many other private oriented programs to alleviate poverty. This research study did not look at policies to alleviate poverty; instead, it intended to explore more about rural poverty as a whole, circumstances that make it prevail, its costs and adaptable ways to which the rural poor have tried to live.

1.1.3 The concepts of rurality and rural poverty within the Rwandan context

Poverty rates are highest in the most urban and most rural areas of the world. Rural poverty has received less attention than urban poverty from both policymakers and researchers. This research study examined the factors affecting poverty in rural areas. It focused on studies that explore whether there is a rural effect that is whether there is something about rural places above and beyond demographic characteristics and local economic context that makes poverty more prevalent in those places.

Fisher and Weber (2005) used the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to develop measures of asset poverty for metro and nonmetro areas. They found out that residents of central metropolitan counties are more likely to be poor in terms of net worth, but that nonmetropolitan residents are more likely to be poorer in terms of liquid assets. Rural people tend to have non liquid assets, such as homes that they may not be able to convert to cash in times of economic hardship. Urban people, on the other hand, do not appear to be as able to accumulate non liquid assets, but may be better able to withstand short-term economic disruptions. Households in rural areas are more likely to be poor than their urban counterparts. There is apparently something unmeasured about being in a nonmetro or rural area that affects the odds of being in poverty, even with controls for individual and community characteristics.

All of this contextual research suggests that there is something about living in a rural area that increases one's chances of being poor. This conclusion holds even when one considers individual and household characteristics. Two people with identical racial, age, gender, and educational characteristics in households with the same number of adults and children and workers have different chances of being poor if one lives in a rural area and the other lives in an urban area. The one living in a rural area is more likely poor. The conclusion holds when one also controls for certain community characteristics: people with similar personal and household characteristics are more likely to be poor if they live in a rural labor market as compared to those in an urban labor market, even if the labor markets have the same industrial and occupational structure and unemployment rate.

In this study, rural poverty was taken to be the type of poverty persistently existing in rural areas. The Rwanda National Participatory Assessment Reports (RNPAR), combined with the National statistical surveys, has provided these definitions of rural poverty. At an individual level a man or woman is considered poor if; they are confronted by a complex of inter-linked problems and cannot resolve them. All those people who do not have enough land, enough income or other resources to satisfy their basic needs, and, as a result live in precarious conditions, are all categorized to be poor. People who lack basic needs like food, clothing, medical costs, and children's school fees and are unable to look after themselves are also taken to be poor. Households whose total level of expenditure is of less than 64,000 Rwf per equivalent adult in (Year 2000 prices), or if their food expenditures falls below 45,000 Rwf per equivalent adult per annum, then such a household is considered poor. At the household level, land owned, household size and characteristics of the head of household were important criteria for poverty. In particular, households headed by widows, children, the elderly and the handicapped are deemed likely to be poor. At the community level, the shortages of economic and social infrastructure and of natural resources are as well important criteria for poverty.

Rural poverty is a very complex and multidimensional phenomenon. It can be relative, absolute, transient, and chronic. The impact of the crisis of rural poverty is particularly acute on the most vulnerable sections of the society; women and children (UNDP 2003). The worst kind of poverty is when people do not have access to basic food and water to fulfill their basic physical needs. However, education attainment, health status, women's participation and empowerment of the poor do also matter.

From the confinements of this study, in which two villages in Rwanda's Northern Province were key, the following table shows the percentage of population which is poor per province and also comparison is made on the percentage prevalence of poverty in both urban and rural areas of

Rwanda. The comparison of observation is taken from the surveys since the year 2000 to 2011 as shown below.

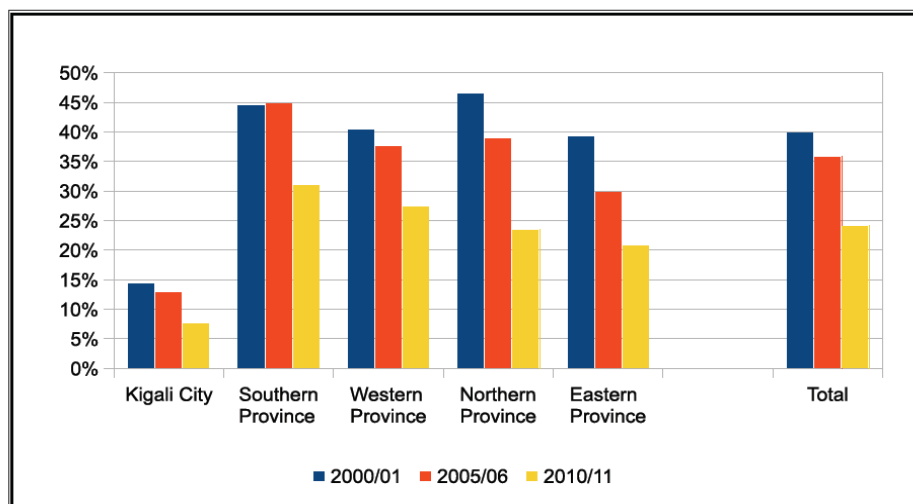
Table 1. 4: Percentage of the Rwandan population identified as poor

Province	2000/01	2005/06	2010/11
Kigali City	22.7%	20.8%	16.8%
Southern Province	65.5%	66.7%	56.5%
Western Province	62.3%	60.4%	48.4%
Northern Province	64.2%	60.5%	42.8%
Eastern Province	59.3%	52.1%	42.6%
Urban		28.5%	22.1%
Rural		61.9%	48.7%
Total	58.9%	56.7%	44.9%

Source: *The evolution of poverty in Rwanda from 2000 to 2011. Published by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (2012)*

The above table depicts that the type of poverty in rural areas is 61 percent, far much more than the percentage of poverty in urban areas which is only at 28percent

Figure 1. 1: Percentage of the Rwandan population identified as extreme poor



Source: *The evolution of poverty in Rwanda from 2000 to 2011. Published by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (2012)*

The analysis has been put on test to further analyse the percentage of the population which is extremely poor per province in Rwanda. In the above table, it is clearly seen that by the year 2001, the Northern Province had the poorest population (47percent) in general, followed by the Southern Province which had about 45% of the poorest people. This was the basis of this research study.

The Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis conducted in 2009 by the World Food Program, in close collaboration with the Rwanda National Institute of Statistics, indicated that 4% of the households had poor Food Consumption Scores, and 17% had borderline Food Consumption Scores (WFP, 2009). This presents a marked improvement from the 2006 rates of 7% and 28%, respectively. Although access to primary education has improved in rural areas (where the school enrolment rate is 77 per cent, against a rate of 87 per cent in urban areas), the enrolment rate in rural secondary schools is as low as 6 per cent, and dropout rates are higher than those in urban areas, particularly for girls.

When we look at the Rwanda household surveys carried out by the National Institute of Statistics (NISR) like that of EICV1 and that of EICV2, there were also important regional dimensions to Poverty as shown in Table 1.4 below. For instance the poverty headcount fell substantially in Eastern Province, fell by smaller amounts in Northern Province and the City of Kigali, and actually rose slightly in Southern Province. Calculations show that 68% of the total reduction on poverty was accounted for by poverty reduction in Eastern Province.

Table 1. 5: Poverty headcount by province, EICV1 and EICV2 (%)

PROVINCE	EICV1	EICV2
City of Kigali	24.4	20.2
Southern Province	65.8	67.3
Western Province	63.1	62.0
Northern Province	66.9	62.7
Eastern Province	61.8	50.4
National	60.4	56.9

Source: *Computations from EICV1/2 surveys carried out by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (2006, 2007).*

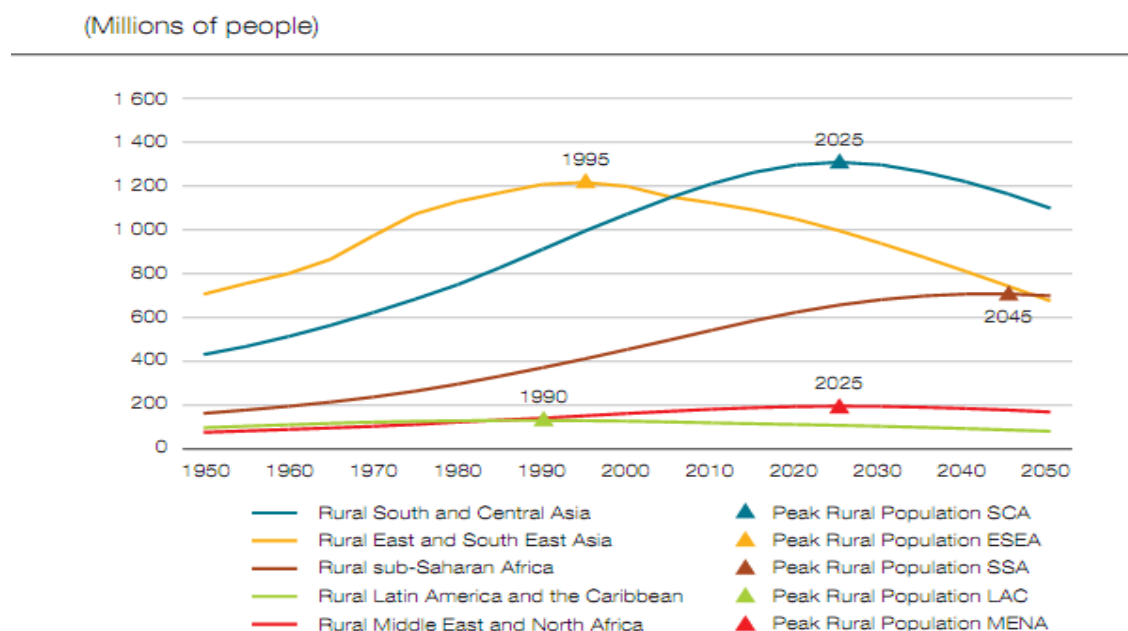
Rwanda has achieved considerable economic growth over the last decade and a decrease in poverty levels from 77 percent (1995) to 57 percent (2005). However, the 2006 household survey indicates that the benefits of this growth are unequally divided and the incomes of the poorest 20 percent have stagnated over the last ten years. This means that the rural poor in particular have not benefited fully from economic growth. Poverty is widespread throughout the country, with 2005/06 poverty rates ranging from 50 percent in Eastern Province to 67 percent in Southern Province. The southern province is the only province where the poverty headcount has increased since 2000/01. In Northern Province, things are worse. The poor are primarily rural households (98 percent) and households headed by women or children. Two-thirds of all rural people are poor and have little access to health facilities (13 percent). Many of them are illiterate (44 percent compared with 26 percent in the urban areas, and 49 percent for women) despite access to primary

education having improved in rural areas, with 77 percent school enrolment against 87 percent in urban areas (DHS, 2009).

1.1.4 Rurality and rural poverty within the global context

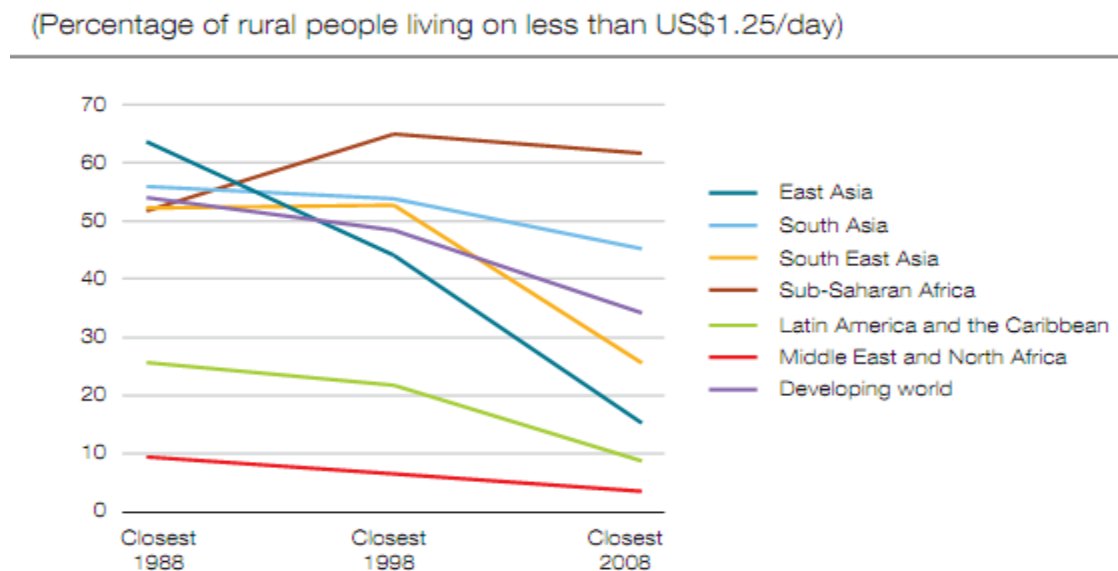
Globally, rural poverty has started declining since the beginning of this millennium with more than 350 million rural people (IFAD, 2011) having lifted themselves out of extreme poverty. Although 70 percent of the developing world's 1.4 billion people are extremely poor and are still living in rural areas particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia. It is estimated that between the years 2020 and 2025, two major demographic changes will take place: first the rural population will peak, and then total number of rural people will start to decline. Secondly, in the developing world, the urban population will overtake the rural population (Ravallion and Sangraula 2007). Further empirical evidence from the figure below shows that in sub-Saharan Africa in which Rwanda is inclusive, the rural population is increasing. Whereas other countries will reach their peaks by 2025, in sub-Saharan Africa, we shall reach our peak by 2045.

Figure 1. 2: Population of rural trends globally



Source: IFAD, *Rural Poverty Report 2011*

Needless to say, is the rural people in Sub-Saharan Africa are facing extremely high levels of poverty compared to their counterparts in other countries. Figure 1.4 below shows that almost 90 percent of the rural population which lives on less than 2 US dollars per day.

Figure 1. 3: Incidence of extreme rural poverty

Source: IFAD, *Rural Poverty report 2011*

Figure 1.4 above shows that in sub-Saharan Africa millions of people in rural areas are becoming poorer and poorer and the number of people living below the poverty line (below 1 US dollar per day) is increasing and, averagely higher compared with rural poverty in other countries.

1.2. Problem Statement

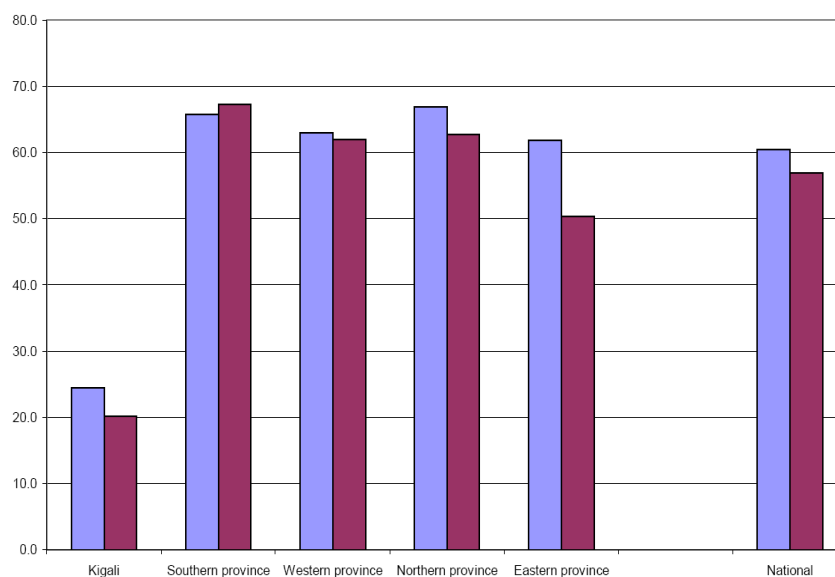
Rwanda has a strong economic policy which has focused on reconstruction and GDP growth and it is financed largely by foreign funds through multiple channels of international donors and a few public investment sources. Today, Rwanda boasts of peace, security, political and economic stability throughout the east African region. There is a great and remarkable improvement in the business environment and as a result, private investment has increased from about 6% in 2001 to an estimated 9% of GDP in recent years (Morris et Al. 2008). Although the country has made a remarkable progress in many key areas such as education, economic stability, peace and general economic development; there is still poverty, especially among poor rural households in the country side.

Notwithstanding its improving economic performance and strong focus on health and education, Rwanda is still one of the World's poorest countries, ranked 161 out of 177 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index in 2007. And then in 2011, Rwanda ranked 166th out of 187 countries in the United Nations Human Development Index (UNDP, 2011). Life expectancy is estimated at 45.2 years. An estimated 45% of children in rural areas suffer from chronic

malnutrition, 28% of the population is food insecure and another 24% is highly vulnerable to food insecurity. Over half of the population is poor. Women represent 54% of the population and generate 70% of total agricultural output. In 2006, poverty in women- and widow-headed households was about 60%. In 2006, 56.9 per cent of the total population was living below the poverty line and 37.9 per cent were extremely poor. In rural areas about 64.7 per cent of the population was living in poverty.

The 2011 international multidimensional poverty index ranks Rwanda as a country still with low human development index and positioned at 168th position and Uganda is in the position of 161, Kenya 143, Tanzania 152, and Burundi at 185 and Congo DRC at 187 (MPI, 2011). The multidimensional poverty Index (MPI) also shows Health (Nutrition and child mortality), education (Years of Schooling and number of children enrolled) and the standard of living (water, toilet, cooking fuel, electricity) for Rwanda are inadequate. The MPI helps to measure the intensity of poverty and head count ratio to which by the Year 2005 the percentage population in severe poverty in Rwanda was 50.6 percent and 58.5 percent of its population was living below the income poverty line, its Gross National Income (GNI) per Capita (PPP 2005) is 1.133 US dollars.

Figure 1. 4: Percentage of urban poverty and rural poverty in Rwanda's provinces



Blue = rural poverty Purple = urban poverty

Source: Rwanda Poverty Update Reports (December, 2006). Integrated living conditions surveys of the National Institute of Statistics

To put the whole situation down to earth, the government of Rwanda carries out systematic surveys on the integrated living conditions (EICV) of its population. Such surveys have been significant in showing the level of urban livelihoods and rural livelihoods of people per province.

Borrowing a leaf from the first survey (EICV 1) and the second survey (EICV 2) which were carried out in 2005 and 2006 respectively by the National Institute statistics of Rwanda (NISR) as shown in the above figures and tables, it is seen again here that our area of study, Northern Province as the one with the highest level of rural poverty. It is from this background, therefore, that this area necessitates a serious investigation into the real causes of persistent rural poverty, its causes and effects, as well as way people here have been able to cope with rural life to survive all this long.

Therefore, this study is imperative because it seeks to come up with better views about rural poverty rather than urban poverty. Rural poverty has, in most cases been synonymously related to urban poverty and yet here in Africa, a rural lifestyle is quite different from an urban one. Many scholars and researchers have tended to take poverty as one general evil with the same features, both in urban and rural areas.

To make matters worse, as various scholars have put forward different definitions of poverty, it is eminent that many of them have always defined poverty while seated in western capitals and talking all the hell about poverty in air conditioned conference rooms and offices without exactly going down to the grassroots of rural people in very deep villages of the developing world.

It should also be noted that in the last millennium, pioneer scholars and researchers about poverty especially beginning with the 1960's when they first "discovered" this scourge of poverty, have always taken poverty in general as either that type of poverty in urban areas and studying it together and giving the same conclusions as with the same type of poverty in the rural areas.

Today, in this millennium, rural poverty is a completely new phenomenon which needs to be studied on its own as different policies all over the globe have been initiated to alleviate poverty but, there seems to be no big difference. Rural poverty in the modern era operates on somewhat different dynamics from those class based urban poverty.

According to the rural policy research institute (RUPRI 2004), rural places have different characteristics from those of urban areas: different levels of access to resources, different economic structures, different institutions, different social norms as well as different demographics which in turn distinguish the causes and consequences of rural poverty from those of urban poverty. Urban approaches for reducing poverty and its negative effects are unlikely to be equally effective in rural areas. The main concern of this study is attempting to move a step to rediscover more about circumstances of rural poverty as it persistently lives as a scourge among the rural societies in particular. Since poverty eradication solutions have not done a deservedly

well step, there is need to go back to the drawing board and see backwards to the grass roots; what exactly the problem is, given the different scale of concentration of rural poverty in rural areas.

Could it be that our efforts to reduce poverty in rural areas were hampered by our lack of knowledge about how living in rural areas affects ones' chances of being well off? Could it be that our lack of knowing what is rural poverty and how it is understood by the rural people could be responsible for the high poverty levels? Or could it be that our lack of understanding about the causes and effects of concentrated rural poverty on rural communities could just be a cause of the failures to have the efforts to reduce the level of rural poverty a blimp?; And what are the coping strategies the rural households should use to lessen their difficulties in living with rural poverty in Rwanda? In the rural areas to which this shall be the main focus, rural poverty seems to be fluid. It is a situation or condition people find themselves in and not a permanent characteristic. Most people living in rural poverty do not suffer fatalism or low aspirations; rather, they take initiatives to their conditions and most of them are confident that with hard work they will prevail. Poor people value freedom and social relationships, and they want to use them to improve their wellbeing in a variety of ways. But their initiatives, whether individual or a collective, often come up against blocked opportunities in rural areas due to nothing else other than rural poverty.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This research study investigated the reasons behind the trend or nature of poverty in rural areas with specific reference to two selected villages in Rwanda's Northern Province. The rural dwellers were important when it came to seeking their views, which was able to guide this research study. The study aimed at exploring and describing the lives and experiences of the rural poor households. The study also, ascertained the reasons as to why the rural people are poor, discovered the consequences of rural poverty on their lives and researched on the rural poor's own self-initiated adaptable livelihood (coping) strategies they have always used to cope up; and finally, the study advanced appropriate models on what they ought to do with this evil of rural poverty.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The following were the research objectives that formed the basis of this research study:

- 1. To determine how the rural poor describe, in their own opinion what rural poverty is.*
- 2. To establish the real causes of rural poverty so as to have an established set of syndromes of rural poverty in particular in contrast with urban poverty.*

3. *To establish how concentrated rural poverty in rural places affects the social-economic livelihoods of the rural poor households.*
4. *To establish the coping strategies the rural poor have resorted to; so as to advance a model on what the rural poor should do in order to live a fulfilled livelihood and move out of rural poverty.*

1.5 Research questions

Basing on the research objectives stated above, the following were the research questions that guided this study.

1. *How do the rural poor in these two selected villages of Rwanda's Northern region understand rural poverty?*
2. *In their own opinion, what do the rural poor households perceive to be the major causes of rural poverty among themselves?*
3. *What are the general effects, costs and impacts of concentrated rural poverty on the day to-day lives of poor rural households?*
4. *How should the rural poor households adapt or cope up with the situation they are in so that they can be able to survive and live a fulfilled livelihood?*

Answers to these questions gave the study more conclusions and recommendations in exactly knowing what rural poverty is. The reality about the life style in the villages was not overlooked as it ended up being paramount in understanding rural poverty, depending on place and the social-cultural attitudes of the people in that area.

1.6 Justification of the study

This study was carried out to establish the difference between rural and urban poverty. This is because many social scientists have, flattened the whole world by giving an impression that poverty is similar in both rural and urban areas. In the great lakes region, little research has been done on rural poverty and even the little available research carried out on poverty is based on urban and peri-urban areas. This shows that, that there has been little contact with rural poverty, which, in general, is the deepest poverty. This is because most academics find it cheaper, safer and more cost effective in terms of academic output to do research work in urban areas or village trading centres rather than doing it in the deep rural areas. If rural work is to be done, then peri-urban is preferable. Work in fairly remote areas is can be done, but not in the most remote rural areas.

This study was carried out, also, so as to break up the dichotomy of lies brought up by the rural development tourism paradox. Most of the observations and studies on poverty are done by urban based professionals who just occasionally pay brief rural visits on special occasions like breakup of disasters such as cholera, floods, landslides and perhaps accompanying a minister's visit to such areas. These visits and studies stop only at village trading centres. To make matters worse, these academic visits (by some researchers) and political visits have three things in common; they all come from urban areas; they want to find something out as fast as possible (*in line with their calculations on allowances so as to remain with a balance of profit*); and they are short of time. Chambers (1983), in his studies on rural development said that unless this trend of rural development tourism is checked, then all academic works by technical specialists may in practice have little contact with the rural people living in rural poverty. The emphasis below shows how and why studies and mere observations through rural visits or rural tourism by officials from Aid agencies (like ACTION AID, WORLDVISION etc), government officials, academic researchers, politicians, diplomats, and technical specialists; compel them to miss the reality on exactly what rurality and rural poverty is; and what it means to be poor.

“More and more of their time has to be spent being shown and moved around. Inundated by the celebrated village farmers, progressive village traders, chairmen and chairwomen of village committees, women clubs like self-help associations which is doing well, and only one home which is doing well averagely in that village are the ones visited only, just for special purposes of impression. The visitors then get the opulent treatment as the rural poor people put on their best clothes and faces to receive them well. Due to courtesy, the visitors are given goats, huge bananas; speeches are made in praise of the village achievements according to ecology, economy, and culture. School children sing and clap, photographs are taken, new varieties of harvested crops are got from a different distant urban place, flown in and shown to the visitors as if that is the village's output and they are shown like a trade show, exotic birds and animals are shown and villagers are deceived that instead of demanding for Rural electrification, they can use or collect cow dung from their animals and generate electricity through Biogas Technology. What a complicated idea to a rural poor person who can't even afford to maintain one exotic cow? What a hell of advice? Recommending biogas technology to rural poor people is just going astray by whoever recommends it! As the process of being moved around continues, a fluent guide follows a standard route and standard routine. The same people are met, the same buildings entered the same books signed, the same polite praise inscribed in the book against the visitors names and finally the visitors leave with memories of some of those who are better off and impressed by the charisma of the well-dressed villagers”.

Source: Adapted from Chambers (1983, 11-17); other emphasized examples are by the researchers' own observation during his pilot studies and data collection process, deep in rural areas.

Most of these officials do not hang around for more than two days in these rural areas. They just find out what they want quickly and go. Checking information is difficult with rural people who are unlikely to read what is written and most visits by such officials makes them both actors and victims in the brief rural visits. Lack of Time and overloaded programs are visible on the

officials' side. As the day wears on and heats up, the officials (journalists, politicians, aid agencies, researchers and more others) become less inquisitive, ask fewer questions and finally retire to the circuit bungalow, the guest house, the guest officials' residence, or back to an urban home or hotel. The village returns to normal, no longer wearing its artificial special face the next day.

The above emphasis deeply shows the nature of lies in the paradox of rural development tourism in regard to the extent of rurality, rural poverty and urban poverty. It is clearly seen here that, the real poor people from the deepest places in the villages and the country side shift away out of site and are never seen. They (*politicians, researchers, journalists, Aid agencies, etc*) see some ribbon developments along roadsides which ends up giving them a wrong impression because the better the road, the nearer the urban centre. The fact is that the real poorer people are always hidden from the main streets and the places where people meet. The bureaucrats and some researchers mostly see those who are better off and those who are extremely poor living in deep rural areas are not seen and have never been seriously researched on.

This study therefore, intended to narrow this gap and do the opposite so as to come out with new realities on rurality and rural poverty. The researcher fully did this by staying with the rural people, deep in the villages, eating and sleeping with them for over eight months.

Much work on this study therefore concentrated on rural poverty behavioral underlying circumstances and changed the above impression. To add further to this point, the poverty eradication solutions have not been satisfactorily applied in solving rural poverty because many of them have been implemented basing on the studies done on poverty in urban areas.

The findings in this study are expected to be shared and provide more knowledge and new ideas on rural poverty so that social scientists, policy makers, civil rights activists and all necessary stakeholders must know that, actually, actually rural poverty is quite different from urban poverty and that concentrated rural poverty in rural areas has hampered much the economic development of rural households. This study was carried out with a major bias on rural poverty other than urban poverty because it was hoped that it could help stakeholders in development economics understand much better the rural social processes with concrete data so that in future, the failures to have rural poverty reduced should not be linked to lack of knowledge. By this study, these stakeholders are now equipped with knowledge about the extreme poverty levels in rural areas.

1.7 Significance of the study

This research study offers a wide range of significance to the academic world and to the general political decision makers in the region. The research will contribute to a new understanding of rural Poverty and it will also show how rural people in the Northern Province of Rwanda distinguishes poor rural people, poor urban people, rich rural people and rich urban people. This study also helps the local political decision makers and technical province and district officials to design effective options and appropriate policies to reduce rural poverty and lift rural growth basing on the various advanced models in uplifting rural livelihoods.

Throughout the world, poverty is still the biggest challenge; it must be tackled with a real fight so as to achieve economic growth. But experiences in other parts of the world on how poverty is being fought may not work for rural poverty warfare especially in a land locked country like Rwanda and especially in these particular two villages up country in Rwanda's Northern Province. This study was able to bring up new ideas, approaches and options on understanding rural poverty in places with similar geographical, historical, economical and religious circumstances like this province. Such places include; the rural population of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the rural populations of Uganda bordering the Rwanda's Northern Province, the rural populations along the volcanic mountains of Muhabura and Virunga, as all these three countries share these mountains.

Poverty can be diverse but rural poverty among typical rural people can be more diverse and with complex dynamics. Much as this research recognized the fact that some studies have been carried out on poverty in Rwanda, little none has been done in the deep rural areas, hence making it difficult for rural poverty to be understood from a rural context. It was the purpose of this research study that such an anomaly must be removed and the nature of rural poverty, its causes and symptoms, should be put to its exact rural contextual understanding.

As a Doctoral thesis, this study enhanced my professional research ability as a researcher. It also enhanced my capacity as a Lecturer of Development Economics and Development Studies and also, I was able to come up as a very good professional researcher in this field of study. Overall, the researcher will be able to defend all the demands and expectations required to pose as a Doctor of Philosophy and join that high status class of people (Kabumba, 2012). The expected award of a Doctorate Degree after the completion of this study was of utmost importance and a big driving force behind this endeavor. A mastery of this rare discipline of rural poverty will be beneficial to rural societies as the researcher intends to continue living alongside the rural environments in this region and contributing to rural growth. Therefore, this study is of great contribution to policy

dialogue and for Rwanda to achieve the 2015 millennium development goal of reducing poverty (MDG Goal 2015); as it needs serious professional inputs like this area of study.

1.8 Operational definitions of language and syntax used.

The key operational terms that were used in this study include among others: rural poverty, rural areas, rurality, the rural poor, and poverty theories.

Rural Poverty

Various concepts of poverty and the magnitude of concentration of poverty in both urban and rural areas were looked at. Rural poverty in this study was categorically implied to be the type of poverty found in deep, extremely remote village areas as compared to urban poverty which is said to be the type of poverty concentrated in cities, towns, municipalities and trading trading centres.

Poverty, in general, manifests itself in different forms, and various scholars have defined poverty in different ways. There are as many definitions of poverty as there are scholars in this world.

This is due to lots of research on poverty being focused on different criteria over time due to divergent research interests. Scholars like Orshansky (1969), Oyey (2005) have asserted that poverty, like beauty, lies in the eyes of the beholder. However, despite the wide range of definitions poverty attracts, it generally describes a wide range of circumstances associated with need, hardship and lack of resources to satisfy basic human needs (Nolan and Whelan ,1996; Abbott and Pollard, 2004). Chambers (2002) notes that, the mood of definitions and rhetoric on what poverty is depends on who asks the question, how it is understood and who responds.

Many other scholars have described poverty to be a situation where one lacks the daily necessities of life such as food shelter, clothing and medicine. Chambers also added that poor people were so powerless and they do not make their own decisions collectively. Poverty also needs to include the social ,economic and political deprivations for individuals, families and groups within a given population.

Tsakloglon and Papadopoulos (2002) contend that poverty and social exclusion are often inseparable as both terms refer to when people are prevented from participating fully in economic social and civil life. Poor people therefore are deprived of many opportunities and in general are incapable of participating in the collective governance of their societies and there is totally no collective decision making among the communities

The Rural Poor

This research faced a problem of using the words like the rural poor people, the rural poor women, the rural poor men, the rural poor households and the poorest of the poor living in rural areas. This study sought to enable the poorest rural people trapped in deep rural areas of Rwanda to express their views about what they knew on rurality and rural poverty.

So in order to avoid mixing up the meanings of the above words, the researcher decided to use one major word, “the rural poor” to refer and describe the rural poor men and women living in deep rural areas of Rwanda. The rural poor were taken to be all women, men, children and all categories of rural households in the villages of the study area mentioned herein. The rural poor terminology also was used to imply all the very poor men headed households, very poor women headed households, and very poor children headed households in the deep far away isolated villages.

Rural Areas

In this study, rural areas were meant to be those areas which are isolated, found very far away from an average trading center or urban area. They can also be referred to as countryside areas or upcountry areas in the common layman’s usage. Rural areas, or upcountry, or countryside areas of land are those that are not urbanised.

However, when large areas are described, country towns and smaller cities can be included among the areas which are rural as far as the modern way of “rural areas” usage is concerned. They have a low population density, and, typically, much of the land is devoted to agriculture and there may be less air and water pollution than in an urban area. The degree to which areas of wilderness are included in the term varies; very large uninhabited wilderness areas are not likely to be described by the term in most contexts.

In most parts of the world, rural areas have been declining since the 19th century or earlier, both as a proportion of land area, and in terms of the proportion of the population living in them. Urbanisation encroaches on rural land, and the mechanisation of agriculture has reduced the number of workers needed to work on the land, while alternative employment is typically easier to obtain in cities. In parts of the developed world, urban sprawl has greatly reduced the areas that can be called rural, and land use planning measures are used to protect the character of rural areas in various ways.

Rurality

Rurality is simply a new word in English attempting to express the notion of what it involves and means in leaving in the deepest rural areas. It is related to ruralism. According to the world English dictionary, rurality when used implies having rural characteristics or having rural traits. The rural characteristics in this case would imply things like subsistence farming, backwardness, and primitivity; having traditional characters relating to rural areas which are too primitive and backward. The word itself originates from the word rural, which also originates from a Latin word; *ruralis* or “*rus*” which means country side.

This means that this research study took “rurality” as a new concept in the modern world categorically meant to refer to the nature of people who, all the time have a lifestyle more synonymous with the traditional country life or more typical with village life in the typical African villages in general. However, this research confined itself on the particular typical village lifestyle of two selected villages in Rwanda’s Northern Province. Sociologists define the term “rural” as those areas which are not urban in nature but just places in the country side (Duncan Green, 2008). This study used rurality as a term to mean therefore, a traditional country lifestyle, or “a rural lifestyle” or “villagism” or simply “ruralism”.

1.8.5 Rural Poverty theories and causes

The various theories that cause poverty are divergent, and each results in a different type of community development intervention strategy. Although there are many other causes of rural poverty in the Northern Province of Rwanda, a region investigated by this study, emphasis was put on the theories of poverty we are presenting below. This study endeavored to operationalise and test their validity in explaining whether in Rwanda, rural poverty is also a result of similar causes.

Individual deficiencies’ theory

This is poverty caused by individual deficiencies. This theory of poverty is a large and multifaceted set of explanations that focus on the individual as responsible for their poverty situation. Typically, politically conservative theoreticians blame individuals in poverty for creating their own problems, and argue that with harder work and better choices the poor could have avoided (and now can remedy) their problems. The belief that poverty stems from individual deficiencies is old. Religious doctrine that equated wealth with the favor of God was central to the Protestant reformation (Weber 2001) and blind, crippled, or deformed people were believed to be punished by God for either their own sin or their parents’ sins.

Cultural systems theory

The second theory of poverty roots its causes in the “Culture of Poverty”. This theory is sometimes linked with the individual theory of poverty, but it recently has become so widely discussed that its special features should not be minimized. This theory suggests that poverty is created by the transmission, over generations, of a set of beliefs, values, and skills that are socially generated but individually held. Individuals are not necessarily to blame because they are victims of their dysfunctional subculture or culture (Bradshaw, 2006)

Poverty Caused by Economic, Political, and Social Distortions or Discrimination

Whereas the first “individualistic” theory of poverty is advocated by conservative thinkers and the second is a culturally liberal approach, this is a progressive social theory. Theorists in this tradition look not to the individual as a source of poverty, but to the economic, political, and social system which causes people to have limited opportunities and resources with which to achieve income and well being

Geographical disparities theory

This is when poverty is caused by geographical disparities. Location of an area and distance from a major urban centre or distance from the ribbon developments of roads, commercial infrastructures in form of a trading centre, do matter a lot in the livelihoods of the people.

Rural poverty, ghetto poverty, urban disinvestment, southern poverty, third-world poverty, and other framings of the problem represent a spatial characterization of poverty that exists separate from other theories (Bradshaw, 2006) While these geographically based theories of poverty build on the other theories, this theory calls attention to the fact that people, institutions, and cultures in certain areas lack the objective resources needed to generate wellbeing and income, and that they lack the power to claim redistribution. As Shaw (1996:29) points out, “Space is not a backdrop for capitalism, but rather is restructured by (capitalism) and contributes to the system’s survival. The geography of poverty is a spatial expression of the capitalist system.”

However, it should be worth noting right from the beginning that in operationalisation of the theories, this study had to lean more on the Geographical disparities theory, which tends to explain about “rurality and rural poverty”. This theory gives a better impression that rural poverty is persistent at times due to the remoteness of the area, location of the area as these impacts negatively on the livelihoods of individuals. And this eventually formed what was majorly the main basis of investigation in this research.

1.9 Scope of the study

This study focused on exploring the real meaning of rural poverty in the minds of the lowest common man and woman in Rwanda. The researcher particularly selected two remotest villages in Rwanda's Northern Province as the case study. These villages were;

(i) *Kamanyana, found in Cyanika sector (Burera district)*

(ii) *Nyabigoma found in Kinigi Sector (Musanze District)*

The time scope for this study was a research time period from 2011 to 2013 and then the research findings were presented to the School of Post Graduate Studies and Research-Nkumba University.

Rwanda being a landlocked country, its biggest population is rural. The country is divided into five provinces and with thirty districts commonly known as Akarere. The provinces are Northern Province, Eastern province, southern province, western province and Kigali urban city as a province (MINECOFIN, 2003).

This study investigated the reasons behind the trend of or nature of poverty in rural areas with specific reference to the above two villages in the Northern Province of Rwanda. The 2007-2008 Rwanda demographic and healthy survey (NISIR, 2009) shows that the wealthiest proportion of the population (70 percent of the two richest quintiles) live in urban areas and rural areas are extremely poor. It can be said that the Northern Region is one of the poorest in the country.

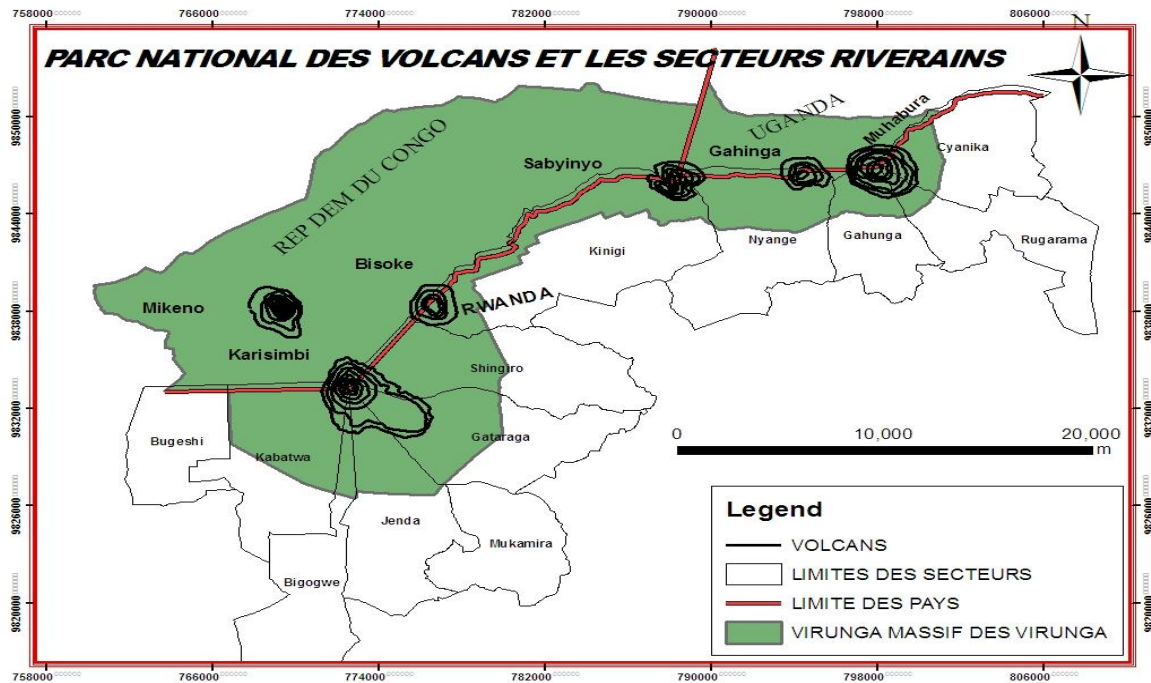
The Theoretical scope of this study was limited to rurality and Rural Poverty among the rural poor households in Rwanda. Despite the various urban and trading centres, this study was strictly rural based and the research participants (respondents and interviewees) were picked from these deep rural village areas. For this reason, the results specifically depicted the state and nature of rural poverty among the rural poor. The study, specifically sought to establish new realities and new choices for tomorrow in as far as "*Rurality and Rural Poverty*" is concerned. This called for an independent understanding and a down-to earth inquiry which was described as a naturalistic inquiry at the beginning of this chapter.

People in rural areas perceive poverty differently, depending on their social, political, religious, cultural and economic backgrounds. There have been several government programs for poverty reduction and several studies about poverty have been carried out in Rwanda, but not at least on how the rural poor understand poverty to be.

There was, therefore, a need to discover first, how different individuals and groups, men and women, who are so poor, so rural, and so primitive; take poverty to be. It was the basis of this study; which sought to fully attempt examining the above issues. These issues were based on the Rwandan Rural cultural context; how rural poverty is described and defined, what are its

causes, and how the rural poor are adapting to that type of life; what they ought to do as a survival strategy. It is hoped that the stakeholders can be boosted with more ideas, realities and options about the new choices for tomorrow to lift rural growth by basing on the findings and advanced models presented in this study.

Map 4: Showing the remotest rural areas which this study was mainly focused.



Source: *Demographic and Health Survey 2007-2008 (NISR, 2009)*

As seen from the above areas, it is important to note that the research were carried out along the villages which lie along the Virunga- Muhabura Mountains as shown above and these mountains are shared by Uganda, DR Congo and Rwanda. There is a similar culture in these rural areas and these areas are well known for tourist attraction as they are the monopoly hosts of the renowned, largest silverback mountain gorillas in the whole world.

Rwanda has five administrative provinces for purposes of proper service delivery and these include Northern Province, Southern Province, Western Province, Eastern Province and Kigali Urban Province. This research mainly concentrated in the rural areas of the Northern Province.

Map 5: Showing the names of villages and various cells in the five Districts of the Northern Province, Administrative map



- Surface Area: 3293.3 km², Districts: 5 ; Sectors: 89, Cells: 413, Villages: 2740; Households : 345,826 ; Estimated house hold per sq.km 550 people ; Population estimated to 1.6 Million
Source: *Northern Province Administrative map; NIS, (2010)*

1.10 Organization of the study

This study was carried out on rural poverty and adaptable rural growth options among rural poor people in Rwanda, based on two selected villages in Rwanda's Northern Province as a case study. The following layout explains how this research was organized.

CHAPTER ONE, Which serves as the introduction presents the background of the study, the problem statement, scope of the study, purpose of the study, objectives and research questions, hypothesis and the significance of the study.

CHAPTER TWO presents the review of the literature and fully discusses how poverty is understood, how rural poverty is taken to be with the view of the worldwide literature available and fully shows the causes and impact of rural poverty to the rural poor. In this chapter, the study explored the literature available on adaptable livelihood strategies which the rural poor have

always been initiating on their own to survive. The literature review in this chapter was in line with the theoretical framework drawn by the researcher in line with the study's objectives.

CHAPTER THREE discusses the research methodology and framework of the field work. In this chapter, the study analyses the field work methods that were used like preparation and implementation of field work, site selection, research design, selecting respondents, data collection data analysis, study population, sampling, experience from the field work participatory methods, triangulations challenges, validity and reliability, and ethical issues.

CHAPTER FOUR focused on discussing and describing what this study is all about- Rurality and rural poverty. The nature of rurality and rural poverty in Rwanda basing on the Rwandan literature available on poverty as a whole and rural poverty in particular was fully discussed. Emphasis was put on describing the extent and incidences of rural poverty in the Northern Province and how the rural poor are trying to lessen their difficulties by way of self initiation and survival as their own way of livelihood.

CHAPTER FIVE presents and analyses data on the respondents' characteristics. These respondents were mostly the poorest of the rural poor from Nyabigoma and Kamanyana villages. Nyabigoma village is in Musanze district while Kamanyana village is in Burera district to which all these districts are in the northern province of Rwanda. In this chapter, the researcher also looked at the social economic statuses of the respondents. It was important to make an overview on the characteristics of the respondents as a separate chapter so as to have a systematic flow of the realities as per the nature of this study. The study needed an in-depth inquiry into the nature of rurality and rural poverty.

CHAPTER SIX shows the data presentation and analysis of this study's first objective. The first objective is to determine how the rural poor describe rural poverty and demonstrates the locally available means they use to determine its reality, existence, persistence and occurrence in their homes.

CHAPTER SEVEN brings up data presentation and analysis of the second objective. The second objective is about finding out the causes and symptoms of rural poverty;

CHAPTER EIGHT is about the third objective which is about establishing the impacts, costs and consequences of rural poverty to the lives of the rural poor. The second objective above and the third objective go hand in hand because of the nature of rural poverty and rurality. The causes of rural poverty in most places directly affects the lifestyle of the victims and the literature available

supports the argument that rural poverty causes negative consequences to the standard of living of the rural people, yet the low standard of living of the rural poor also causes rural poverty to persist.

CHAPTER NINE finally presents and analyses data collected from the field pertaining to the way the rural poor, particularly in the two selected villages of the Northern Province, have managed to make self initiated livelihood strategies (coping strategies) to find a better way of survival. Bearing in mind the various government projects and policies available to fight rural poverty, the study was mostly interested in analysing the reasons as to why the rural poor adopted their own way of economic, social, cultural and political survival. Emphasis was put on facts and figures based on the content and purpose of the study topic; supported by the study's findings with concrete, qualitative and statistical analyses.

CHAPTER TEN is on contribution to new knowledge. In this chapter, different models have been advanced showing how the rural poor can continue to initiate on their own, with coping strategies to survive the scourge of rural poverty. This chapter focuses on the relevance and application of the models and the various theories as developed in the whole thesis. The different models advanced in this chapter, attempts to demonstrate new knowledge which could be beneficial to various stakeholders involved in rural community development work such that if these methodologies advanced are applied, rural growth could be uplifted. Given the nature of this study, the rural poor and various stakeholders in neighboring countries can benefit more on the implications about the self-initiated survival strategies with their advanced models as brought up by the study. The new knowledge unveiled here, will go a long way in helping social scientists and technocrats in the area of poverty eradication to think about rural poverty and find solutions for it

CHAPTER ELEVEN focuses on the summary and the conclusions of this study. A summary of arguments on findings and conclusions is presented in this final chapter. A brief explanation on how the study was affected by some limitations is also outlined here. Areas for further research and directions pertaining to studies related to this study are also proposed and suggested in this final chapter

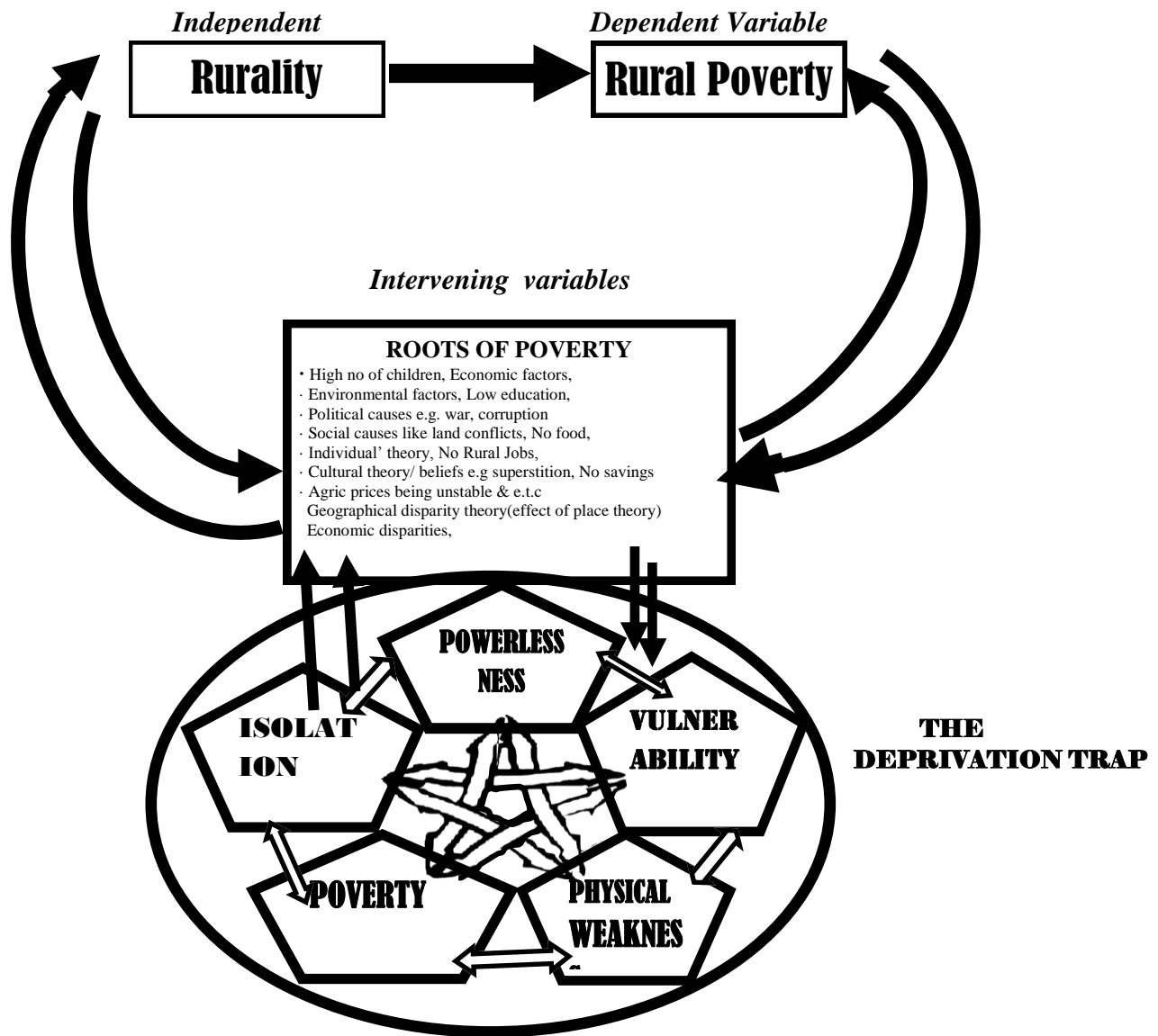
REFERENCES and APPENDICES are the final pages of this research study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter shall examine all literature basing on the following conceptual framework as seen from the figure below.

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual framework showing rurality and rural poverty



Source: *Researcher's own understanding about rurality and rural poverty.*

As illustrated above, it is the researcher's impression that; rurality is a major independent variable, to which much of the rural poverty depends and conspicuously persists to perpetuate itself into the intervening and moderating variables as shown above. This framework examines rural poor households and their immediate environments of disadvantages that are interlocked. These are variously described as the vicious circle of poverty. The syndromes (roots) of poverty and the

deprivation trap of being completely vulnerable to any worldly challenges. The lower affixed moderating variables of the deprivation trap of powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness, poverty and isolation were first propounded by Robert Chambers (1983) in his extensive works in Kenya concerning rural development aimed at putting the last first.

In rural areas, rural poverty is a strong determinant of the other variables, the whole lifestyle and rural livelihood. According to the researcher, this framework attempts to show that, the poorest of the poor are so poor, because they are poor which is also because of the effect of the place where they live. It is as if they are permanently “imprisoned” in the very deep villages.

2.1.1 Overview of the literature survey

This chapter shall investigate the meaning of rural poverty, its standard measurements, causes and costs of rural poverty, and the adaptable survival livelihood strategies of the rural poor by reviewing all the necessary literature available.

In order to move in harmony with the study's objectives, this chapter is divided into four sections as per the number of objectives (Mande 2012). The first section covers the first objective which is about rural households' definition and opinions about what rural poverty is. The second section of this chapter looked at literature review on the real causes of rural poverty so as to have an established set of syndromes of rural poverty in particular as compared to urban poverty. The third section of this literature review automatically looked at the third objective which is about the costs, impacts and consequences of persistent rural poverty to the livelihoods of the rural people.

Then, finally, there will be a literature review in harmony with the fourth objective which is related to the livelihood survival strategies initiated by the rural households to cope with the difficulties they face deep, in the rural areas where they permanently live.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS OF RURAL POVERTY AND URBAN POVERTY

Literature available shows that a research study was carried out about the poor and their poverty by World Bank in the 1990's. It was carried out by Deepa Narayan (2000) and it was referred to as: “*Voices of the Poor*”. This was the first study to deal with poverty in the rural communities. In this study, the researcher adds on this body of knowledge by going beyond what the poor say about the faces, cases and costs of living with rural poverty. Deepa Narayan's (2000) work may have based his collection of views on generalization about poor people in urban areas and trading centres of developing countries.

This research study specifically dealt with rural poverty in rural areas and not even semi-urban areas or trading centers. Emphasis was put on the deep villages of the Northern province of Rwanda in deep villages of Northern Province of Rwanda.

This research was able to determine how these rural people understand poverty, what are their real needs and priorities, also what do they think as major causes of rural poverty and what from their own minds, could be more helpful to raising their rural life and, at least, have an average change of wellbeing in those deep rural areas.

This research study, therefore, was aimed at making a little contribution to academics and rural policy makers of Rwanda about understanding the nature of rural poverty. The study establishes that what should be done with urban poverty is not the same as what should be applied to rural poverty.

2.2.1 The meaning of poverty in general

Generally, poverty is the lack of the means to satisfy the basic necessities of life. Several development economists agree that poverty is just being in the situation of lacking the daily necessities of adequate food, water, shelter and clothing. Amartya Sen (1999) goes further to add a widely accepted view that poverty could also be viewed as the absence of the capabilities, choices and opportunities to change the bad conditions in which a poor person is. Poverty could also be a situation where the resources of individuals or families are inadequate to provide a socially acceptable standard of living (Batchelder, 1971).

Depending on place and who is defining poverty, and who is the culprit of poverty or victim of poverty, we can have as many definitions of poverty as we wish. This is due to lots of research on poverty being focused on different criteria over time due to divergent research interests. Scholars like Orshansky (1969), Oylen (2005) have asserted that poverty, like beauty, lies in the eyes of the beholder. However despite a wide range of definitions poverty attracts, it generally describes a wide range of circumstances associated with need, hardship and lack of resources to satisfy basic human needs (Nolan and Whelan, 1996; Abbott and Pollard, 2004). Chambers (2002) notes that, the mood of definitions and rhetoric on what poverty is depends on who asks the question, how it is understood and who responds.

Poverty like an elephant is more easily recognized than defined. The word poverty originates from the Latin word "panpertus" implying restricted means, which include limited food and other livelihood resources (Nuwagaba 2011). Misery, an extreme form of poverty originates from a

Latin word *miseria*, which means intensive unhappiness, discomfort or suffering. Various approaches have been used in defining poverty. These include: conventional definitions based on income and consumption, absolute and relative definitions of poverty and participatory definitions of poverty.

Many other scholars have defined poverty to be a situation where one lacks the daily necessities of life such as food, shelter, clothing and medicine. Chambers also adds that poor people are so powerless that they cannot make their own decisions collectively. Poverty also needs to include the social, economic and political deprivations for individuals, families and groups within a given population.

Tsakloglon and Papadopoulos (2002) contend that poverty and social exclusion are inseparable as both terms refer to when people are prevented from participating fully in economic, social and civil life. Poor people, therefore, are deprived of many opportunities and in general are incapable of participating in the collective governance of their societies and there is totally no collective decision making among the communities.

Some poor people may take poverty to be a situation of low incomes, whereas scholars such as Ravallion (1998) take poverty to be a situation where incomes of families are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of physical efficiency.

Because poverty exists in different places, urban and rural areas and given the level of inequality in the world, there have been several understandings of poverty and this has posed a serious problem to alleviating it. The way poverty is defined, may determine the way it should be measured. Any solution to poverty must begin with the definition of poverty. Adeyeye (2001) and this provides a focus by which one can determine the limits of understanding poverty.

Alcock (1993) points out that, we must know what poverty is before we can identify where and how it is occurring or attempt to measure it and before we can begin to do anything to alleviate it. The World Bank and UNDP, also have their own way of interpretation and defining poverty. In 1997, the World Bank first defined poverty as a deprivation in well being, to be poor is to be hungry, to lack shelter, clothing and also to be illiterate.

2.2.2 Urban poverty

In a layman's language, urban poverty refers to that type of poverty affecting poor people in urban areas like trading centres, towns, and cities. Wratten (1995) points out that there is no consensus on a definition of urban poverty, but two broad complementary approaches are worth mentioning

(i) Economic Interpretations

(ii) Anthropological interpretations

The economic interpretation use the income and consumption as real measures or definitions of urban poverty, and complemented by a range of social indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrolment rates, access to health clinics and drinking water. This majorly classifies people against an index of material welfare.

On the other hand, rural anthropologists and socio planners working with rural communities in the third world alone have expanded the definition to encompass perception of non-material deprivation and socio differentiation (Sattertwair, 1995). Great value is attached to qualitative dimensions such as independence, security, self respect, identity, close and non exploitative social relationships, and decision making, and freedom, legal and political rights.

2.2.3 Rural Poverty

Rural poverty refers to that particular poverty found in rural areas. The rural areas could include the homes and scattered homesteads of people very deep in the villages. This study will put more emphasis on this form of poverty which is rampant, persistent and perpetual in rural areas of Rwanda's Northern Province. It is this form of poverty which makes rural people become more vulnerable and hopeless throughout their generation to generation.

When we talk of rural poverty, we need to limit our focus specifically to a rural life style in rural communities. We need to limit our focus on the factors of lifestyle of rural societies, the rural economy and their rural political systems. It should also be noted that in the last millennium, pioneer scholars and researchers have done a lot of study especially beginning about poverty, especially beginning with the 1960's when they first "discovered" this scourge of poverty. However, they have always taken poverty as either that type of poverty in urban areas and studying it that way and giving the same conclusions it were the same poverty in the rural areas.

Today, in this millennium, rural poverty is a completely new phenomenon which needs to be studied on its own as different policies all over the globe have been initiated to alleviate poverty but there seems to be no big difference.

A widely shared assumption today by recent development economists and researchers is that rural poverty in the modern era operates on somewhat different dynamics from those of class based urban poverty.

To underscore the international concern for this problem, the United Nations declared 1996 an international year for the eradication of poverty "and the October 17th each year, was set aside as an international day for the eradication of poverty worldwide in the millennium development goals. It clearly and ambitiously stated that the developing countries worldwide should have eradicated poverty by 2015. Yet before that, the World Bank had declared a whole decade of 1997-2006 to fight poverty, to which today (2012) no clear indicators are seen to be fully eradicating rural poverty. Poverty may reduce in some urban areas due to all the above World Bank efforts but rural poverty remains a mystery and a great force and scourge to reckon with and that is why this study would like to put a new emphasis and approach of understanding what exactly is rural poverty and how it could be measured and reduced so as to lift the rural life.

According to the rural policy research institute (RUPRI 2004), rural places have different characteristics from those of urban areas – different access to resources, different economic structures, different institutions, different social norms and different demographics which in turn distinguish the causes and consequences of rural poverty from urban poverty.

As with the rural communities themselves, rural poverty is often cast in the shadow of urban and suburban issues (Amis 1995). Rural children, rural women and rural old men and women are more likely to be poor, and poverty is more likely to be more enduring and persistent in rural areas than in urban areas. Burkey (1993), asserts that urban approaches for reducing poverty and its negative effects are unlikely to be equally effective in rural areas.

An area's natural environment, it is climate, natural resources and isolation, is often a distinguishing feature, and those endowments often determine its economic vitality; and in turn, its depth and persistence of poverty (Blank 2004). Blank points out that, urban areas are located where they are, historically at least, because the locale was accessible to the resources people wanted. Rural areas, in turn, are rural because they lack some geographical advantage. Geographic isolation, for example, creates distance from product and labour markets.

Demographics, Blank argues, are more helpful in discerning patterns; for example, how many elderly people live in a region, how many families earn more than the poverty level, or how many people have a college education. However, demographic trends cannot answer why the community is less educated or why the elderly are over represented. It is a demographic fact, for example that rural areas have lower educated population. But do people get less education as they live in rural areas, or, do they choose rural living because they have less education? It is therefore

difficult to untangle causes and effects when the characteristics of places are such a critical part of the equation.

In studying about rural poverty today as a new subject or phenomenon, it is no longer viable to simply describe the extent of an area's misery in terms of low incomes, low consumption or purchasing power and a life of living below one US dollar per day.

Rural poverty is more than lack of income. The complexity of rural poverty requires a research strategy that is multi- disciplinary, multi - method and long term. Amy Glasmeier (2005) notes that to move beyond describing the extent of rural poverty in an area requires a new multidimensional and multi-disciplinary approach.

That is why this proposal is in place to endeavor to add knowledge about what is rural poverty and forecast how the rural areas life style can be enhanced or improved.

It is also clear that rural people are the most affected of all sorts of problems that befall urban areas. Just like the proverbial African saying that when two elephants are fighting, it is the grass which suffers and then when the two elephants are making love, the grass suffers the more.

Over the years, several poverty reduction initiatives have been implemented and there are as many policy initiatives as there are scholars. When these policies are implemented, the urban poor benefit but the rural poor benefit little or even nothing at all. With today's increase in the levels of corruption, nepotism and, discrimination, any good program sponsored by international institutions like World Bank, IFAD and IMF do always benefit the urban poor and the rural poor come out with nothing. So this implies that the rural poor are more vulnerable than the urban poor. Vulnerability of rural people makes poverty worse and a real scourge, evil and more so it is imprisoning.

A rural person is completely choice less, with no option, no alternative, no hope, no future and he or she lives a totally hopelessness life style. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty but refers to defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shock and stress (Chambers, 1995). Vulnerability is reduced by assets, such as; human investment in health and education, productive assets including houses and domestic equipment; access to community infrastructure and access to financial institutions.

It is in the researcher's view that whereas, poverty has always been defined as realistically, a low standard of living where one is unable to spend more than one US dollar a day (UN. Charter

1995), rural poverty on the other hand in particular should be differentiated from general poverty as a whole.

Rural poverty should be a low standard of living in rural areas that lasts long enough from generation to generation, in a vicious circle, and with time, ends up undermining the health, moral and self-respect of an individual or groups of individuals in rural areas.

Miller and Pamela (1996) point out at least three possible ways of defining and understanding rural poverty; each starting from a specified set of assumptions and leading to its own conclusions about the extent of poverty and the degree to which it is being ameliorated.

People living in rural poverty, especially in rural areas, have no sources of income other than the environment where they cut firewood and charcoal for sale, plant some agricultural products for sale to which they are even cheated and they end up selling at relatively low prices. This implies that, market sales deny them sufficient income for their basic needs. When such degrees of denials increase, then they end up in circumstances of being denied their own needs of basic living. The rural poor find themselves, eventually excluded from taking part in activities which are expected as part of their life in the society. This is the vulnerability discussed in the study.

More generally, there has been widening of the debates on rural poverty to go an extra mile and include more subjective definitions such as vulnerability, entitlements and social exclusion.

Entitlements refers to the complex ways in which individuals or households command resources which vary between people over time in response to shocks and long term trends (Chambers 1995). Rural people are denied their entitlements which are social, political, cultural religious and economic entitlements and, hence, being more and more vulnerable than the urban poor.

On the other hand, social exclusion is seen as a state of ill-being and disablement or disempowerment, inability which individuals and groups experience. It is manifested in patterns of social resources which are associated with citizenship (ILO 1996).

The many faces of poverty as a whole reinforce one another. It is worse with rural poverty. Poor people in rural areas are discriminated against, but also powerlessness seems to be at the core of the bad life. Duncan Green (2008) points out that the reverse of such multidimensional poverty is not simply wealth (although income is important), but a wide notion of wellbeing, springing from health, physical safety, meaningful work, connection to community and other non-monetary factors. Good development practices should build on the skills, strengths and ideas of people living in poverty rather than treating them as empty receptacles of charity.

2.3 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF MEASURING AND UNDERSTANDING THE EXTENT OF RURAL POVERTY

All over the world, the following theoretical views and assumptions have been agreed as major determinants of measuring and understanding poverty. In this study, the researcher takes a theory as an explanation that links several concepts and for this matter, we shall look at several conceptual meanings and internationally agreed conceptual methods of measuring poverty so as it to be understood very well.

2.3.1 Lay man's social measure and understanding of poverty

Generally, to a layman, poverty could be measured in terms of lacking basic necessities such as food, shelter, medical care and some cash for day to-day transactions. However, what one measures to be his major components of basic necessities, may not necessarily be a correct measure of basic necessities to another person in another place. Needs may be relative to what is possible and one based on social definitions and past experience (Sen, 1999).

This social measure shows that, one can measure poverty as a difference between what an individual has as compared to what his neighbor has. It sort of emanates from the concept of inequality either in income or just inequality gap in basic daily domestic necessities like basic food, clothing, beddings and other home utensils.

2.3.2 Historical, political measure and understanding of poverty

(i) The poverty line or federal poverty index

The federal government of U.S.A established an annual income needed for a family to survive in 1963. This measure was used to determine which individuals were poor and was developed by the social security Administration in 1963 but based on a 1955 Agricultural department survey estimated that, the cost of an economy food plan for a four member family, wife ,and two school-age children was at 2.78 US dollars per person per day (Levitan 1990). With this measure, governments in different countries all over the world tend to manipulate and adjust the figures depending on the level of inflation at that particular moment.

(ii) Living below the poverty line

Today, the measure of poverty using the poverty line has gone a step forward. It is widely known that for one to be taken as poor, he must be living a life below the poverty line, which literally

implies that all those people who cannot spend more than 1 US dollar a day, are living below the poverty line and hence very poor.

This study has been carried out in Rwanda where the 2012 prices of a Rwanda Franc as its currency are revaluing around 600 Rwanda francs, amounting to one US Dollar. It is this minimum level of poverty line (Alcock, 1977) which measures poverty. A person is considered poor if his income or his consumption falls below a certain threshold. The 1997 UNDP report and the 2001 World Bank report also agree with this measure and understanding of the level of poverty in the developing countries

This approach is much more emphasised on the relationship between income, consumption and expenditure. Data on income, consumption, and expenditure is collected from sample surveys and some calculations made to determine whether an individual spent or consumed less than 1US dollar a day. However, due to the different economic environments in different countries, this seems to be political manipulation of the figures. That is why this method of measuring and understanding poverty in this study is categorized as a historical political measure of understanding poverty.

According to Michael Darby (1994), this means of understanding poverty was political, aimed at benchmarking the progress of poverty programs for the war on poverty. The focus on poverty many times, has been analyzed and measured with lots of political considerations and political scapegoats.

As O'Connor (2001) points out, even the policies addressing poverty are all shaped by political biases and values. O'Connor (2001) admits that the disparity of status and interest makes poverty research an inescapably political act. It is an exercise of power to which the educated elite can categorize, stigmatize but above all neutralize the poor and disadvantaged through analysis that obscures the political nature of social and economic inequality. Bradshaw (2005) concludes that powerful interests manage how poverty should be measured, discussed and defined. It is, therefore, seen above that at times, political agendas are the overriding factors in poverty measurement and understanding

It is also worth noting that, this method also has evolved some important terms that will be used concurrently in this study while analysing the scale and nature of poverty in chapter 4. These terms include poverty depth, severity of poverty and poverty incidence.

Poverty incidence is the proportion of the nations of population that is below the poverty line for example, there is a very high incidence of poverty in rural areas than in urban areas.

Severity of poverty is the description of the distribution of all those people below the poverty line. Severity of poverty is at times described as the square poverty gap index (Dessallien 1998, Hemmer and Wilhelm 2000). It is this kind of description that helps informed policy makers determine the types of intervention or solutions required to move people out of poverty.

2.3.3 The degree of elasticity of poverty as a measure of analyzing the extent of poverty

In this measure of poverty, different scholars point out that poverty in society could either be relative, absolute, chronic or acute. Whereas some people are living in absolute poverty, some are living in relative poverty. And to reemphasize it more with rural poverty in rural areas, some people are living in chronic poverty while others are living in acute poverty.

Elasticity of poverty refers to the degree of responsiveness of the quantity of the basic needs purchased or consumed in comparison to their income and standard of living, *certerus paribus*. When determining this level of poverty elasticity, consumption of a commodity is the greater point of focus than income. Poverty in society stretches from being bad, a little bit bad, worse and worst. The most common manifestations as follows:

(i) Absolute poverty

Alcock (1997) argues that absolute poverty is the degree level needed for someone to live below the life of subsistence. A subsistence life is one where one just needs to live with the capacity of being able to consume the minimum needs in his life. For all those who are living below the subsistence life (minimum standards needs) are declared as people living in absolute poverty. However, this idea of absolute poverty does not necessary define the minimum needs. Economists such as Ravallion (1995) have argued this definition is wanting. What the rural people could take as their minimum needs cannot be the same as the minimum needs of urban poor.

A great respect to this notion is borrowed from Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1970) and World Bank report (1991) which gives a great backing to measuring and understanding people who live in poverty with reference to the basic minimum needs, such as food, water, clothing and shelter.

Absolute poverty can also be defined as a situation where the income of a person or household is insufficient to secure the minimum basic human needs required for physiological survival. So in order to survive, one must have the above minimum needs and get some satisfaction. If there is

lack of accessibility to these minimum needs, according to Maslow, one may end up being physically weak and may eventually die. It is also worth noting that, absolute poverty is more preferred than relative poverty by politicians, policy makers and implementers. Townsend (1970) called this type of poverty as total poverty

(ii) Relative poverty

Among the recent development economics scholars, it is Alcock (1997) in his book, *Understanding poverty*, who argued a lot that relative poverty should be contrasted with absolute poverty. Alcock points out that whereas absolute poverty is objective, on the other hand relative poverty should be subjective. With relative poverty, the researcher must compare the standard of living of the poor with the standard of living of other members of society who are not so poor but somehow better than the former group. Townsend (1970) clarifies this type of poverty as partial poverty

(iii) Chronic poverty

This is a type of poverty which persists for a long time in the life of an individual. It is life-long established and multigenerational depriving. In this case, a chronically poor person has personal knowledge of how to live above poverty level (Kosa 1973 and Zola 1975)

(iv) Acute poverty

This can also happen among the ageing population and it is the highest pain one goes through in his life time in terms of missing the basic necessities

(v) Primary poverty

This is a type of poverty where people are so needy and trying to break off from the very lower class of rural life (Rowtree 1941)

(vi) Secondary poverty

According to Rowntree (1941), secondary poverty refers to people who have jobs but are living a very needy life and all the time, depending on other people. This happens normally when they are being paid money which is too little to support them and they live from hand to mouth. This is common with young graduates who have just finished their studies and are trying to hook up any job that comes their way. These still keep on running back to their parents for material support in form of rent and food.

2.3.4 Freedom of choice, freedom of opportunities as a human capability measure of poverty

In 1989, the renowned economist, Amarty Sen and his friend Mahbub UL-Haq established a new knowledge in defining, measuring and understanding the nature poverty. Sen (1999) concludes that poverty should be widely seen as a deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as a situation of low incomes as stated by previous scholars.

Capability concept, according to Sen, should involve the capability to achieve or enjoy human rights, capability to enjoy different opportunities, a wide range of choices and a high degree of freedom, freedom in social life, freedom in political rights, freedom in civil rights and freedom in economic arrangements.

This means, therefore, that, for one to be seen as being poor, or having a life of poverty, he or she lacks human capability to function at a minimally acceptable level in the society concerned. It is Sens work which has given great credibility to the 1997 UNDP, definition and measurement of poverty as a capability deprivation (UNDP 1997)

Other scholars have gone ahead to widen Sen's work by clarifying that the freedom of choice which one must not lack, if he is not to be poor, should include, a long and healthy life (Parr and Kumar 2003), a descent level of education and a descent standard of living. According to Sen, people who cannot be able to realize their potential, as said to be living in poverty.

Poverty is the failure of some basic capabilities to function (Sen 1995). People living in poverty cannot fully realize their potential and have totally failed to achieve both the physical functioning and the social functions. The physical functioning that people fail to achieve include the diet (food), clothes and shelter. On the other hand, the social achievements poor people fail to realize range from failure to take part in the life of the community to appearing in public with shame and lack of confidence. These occur differently depending on different personal circumstances and social surroundings.

The capabilities approach as propounded by Sen may be worth in some countries especially in urban areas but may not be appropriate in rural poverty determination. Some scholars like Dessalhen (1998) gave a view that with analyzing human capability, one should look at life expectancy at birth, level of participation, literacy and malnutrition.

2.3.5 Measuring poverty using the element of standard of living VS the human development index (HDI)

According to UNDP (1990) poverty is understood as a form of human deprivation. The human development index (HDI) as used by UN, is a summary composite index that measure a country's average achievements in three basic aspects of human development and these aspects include:

(i) Longevity

This is a measure by life expectancy at birth

(ii) Knowledge

This is measured by a combination of the adult literacy rate and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio.

(iii) Standard of living (a descent one).

This is measured by GDP per capita (PPP Us dollars)

2.3.6 The (HDI) Human development index and the (HPI) human poverty index

After the development of the HDI as stated above, the HPI was evolved and was specifically initiated to measure poverty in developing countries (Christensen, Veillerette and Andricopulos, 2008). The HPI measures human deprivations in the same three aspects of human development as the HDI. People who are living in poverty are looked at from the three angles, thus:-

(i) Longevity.

As long as one may not live beyond 40 years, he or she is deprived of longevity, hence dies and is therefore dying early because of poverty.

(ii) Deprivation in knowledge

In a country, the percentage of adults who are illiterate are compiled and the lower the literacy rate, the lower the standard of living and hence poverty

(iii) Deprivation in the standard of living

In this angle, we look at two components: first, the percentage of people without sustainable access to an improved water source and secondly, the percentage of children under 5 years who are under weight. If the children are more who are underweight, then it means that they are so much underweight due to poverty and the reverse is true.

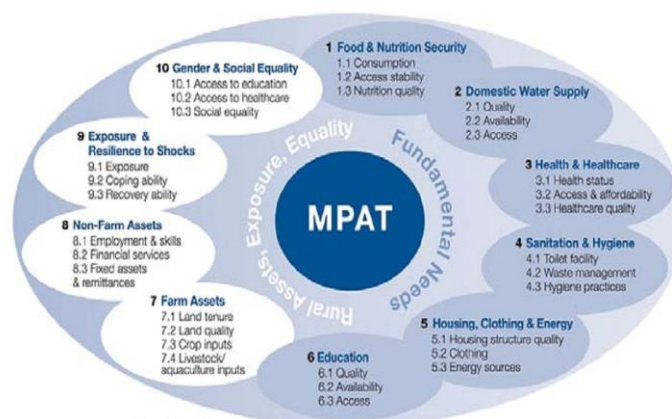
2.3.7 The measure of poverty using the calorie per day of food intake

This is a new measure of rural poverty and it is advocated by scholars such as Ravallion (1994), and both Khan (1999) and Yao (2004). It is based on knowing the percentage of energy giving foods intake in terms of calories per day, per person. It is estimated that on average, at least someone who is not living in extreme poverty should be able to take at least 2100 calories per day (UNDP 2011). And those people taking food with less than 2100 calories per day are said to be poor. This approach is at times known as the food poverty line. This approach goes on to point out that, the standard food bundle should be with a calorie intake ranging from 2050 to 2150 (Xiuying Wang 2006). The food bundle is composed of maize (corn), beans, vegetables, lipids, meat, milk and its products, eggs, sugar and some beverages.

2.3.8 The multidimensional poverty assessment (MPAT) tool of measuring and understanding poverty

The MPAT was initiated by IFAD in 2007 and 2008 to develop, test and pilot a new method for rural poverty assessment. Cohen (2009) led a team of experts and together with IFAD, designed a method of a new approach to understanding and measuring poverty which is said to be universal enough and relevant to most rural contexts around the world. The MPAT is valuable to two sides. It can be a good indicator tool to assess the level of rural poverty, and it can also be used as a tool for rural poverty reduction, we shall refine more about it in the later section of the chapter in this proposal. But as a good tool to measure poverty, project managers, and political leaders are provided with a sort of over view of ten dimensions central to rural livelihoods. This explains how poverty should be looked at and how it should be fought.

Figure 2. 2: Organisational diagram of MPAT.



Source: Alasdair Cohen (2009) IFAD, *Multidimensional Poverty Assessment Tool*

As seen from the above figure, the MPAT attempts to categorize and simplify the idea of someone who is poor and one who is not poor from a universal point of view.

Someone who is not living in poverty must at least have:

- a) Rural assets, which includes
 - (i) Farm Assets
 - (ii) Nonfarm assets
- b) Exposure and resilience to shocks
- c) Gender and social equality

On top of having the above as a minimum requirement for an average well rural person, he or she must have fundamental needs, as a back up to wellbeing.

These fundamental needs include

- i) Food and nutrition security
- ii) Domestic water supply
- iii) Health and Healthcare
- iv) Sanitation and Hygiene
- v) Housing, clothing and energy
- vi) Education

It is these domains that may help us to distinguish a poor person from a well off person in rural areas.

As indicated earlier in this research study, it is a century now, when various scholars and institutions are coming up with various definitions and counter arguments to try to show the world what rural poverty entails. It is also indicated earlier in this chapter, that there as many meanings and measurements of poverty as there are scholars. Every person or institution that comes up with a definition influences the way poverty should be measured and dictates the way poverty should be looked at. In the foregoing approach of the MPAT by IFAD (2009), a wide range of key domains was considered clearly to show the real faces of rural poverty. This is why this approach is known as a multidimensional approach

According to Alasdair Cohen (2009), the MPAT could be an important model in this century (21st century). Given the fact that in the last century, there have been several disagreements in measuring and understanding poverty as a whole, to which, albeit, some scholars favored urban

poverty and others favoured rural poverty. Others like Townsend (1989) could mix the two together.

Cohen further points out that, in most rural contexts today in this century, dimensions beyond fundamental human (physiological) needs often constrain rural people's ability to help themselves. Agriculture, for example, although no longer central to rural livelihoods as it once was, remains paramount for most poor rural people. Farming systems are increasingly complemented with other livelihood opportunities and inputs, which should, likewise, be addressed, in addition to a range of potential shocks. People must cope with and recover from not just natural shocks, but from socio economic shocks as well.

Cohen goes on to argue that all those dimensions can further be examined through a lens of equality, gender and social equality, since many rural poor people are always excluded from the benefits that an enabling environment offer others. It is the MPAT that can fully provide a mechanism for examining all those dimensions of rural poverty.

To sum up this section, it is worth noting that existing literature reveals some existing knowledge gaps for understanding rural poverty. The main purpose for this research, therefore, was to unveil the scale and nature of rural poverty among the rural poor in Rwanda. Most of the researchers are based on World Bank or official pan-country poverty lines which may, be too far to explain what rural poverty is in the rural areas of the country.

Having researched exhaustively on all major scholars of the 20th century on the meaning and measurements of poverty, I have established that two scholars, (Gordon and Spicker 1999), went a step ahead, and published a user friendly internal glossary on poverty in 1999 which they hoped would be of paramount importance in the 21st century to help researchers understand more about rural poverty.

Gordon and Spicker (1999), in their dictionary developed ten clusters of definitions and these were meant to explain what rural poverty means, they include.

- i) low living standards (Townsend 1965, World Bank 1990, ILO 1995)
- ii) Low basic security (Streen 1990, UNDP 1990)
- iii) Multiple deprivations (Spicker 1990)
- iv) Income inequality (Atkinson 1970)
- v) Always dependent (Gillin 1920)
- vi) Lack of entitlements (Sen 1989)

- vii) Lack of material needs (Streeten 1980, ILO 1980)
- viii) Class (Miller and Roby 1967)
- ix) Exclusion (Jordan 1996)
- x) Limited resources (Miller 1996 UN 1995)

The next section in this chapter looked at the salient causes of rural poverty from a theoretical perspective and thereafter, this chapter ended with a section about, both conceptual and theoretical strategies that could be of paramount importance in lifting rural growth.

2.4 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ABOUT THE CAUSES OF RURAL POVERTY

In this section, we intend, first of all to give the general causes of rural poverty as a whole and then, we shall proceed to present the different perspectives of different authors about the causes of rural poverty. As mentioned earlier, the very people who define poverty, at times have never seen it but just sit in western capitals and start giving, documenting their views about what poverty is and its likely causes. This kind of approach has put the poor in Africa, Asia to be great victims of injustice and structural inequalities.

As of now, rural poverty is increasing in East Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa, despite of all the studies and policy recommendations targeted to stop it. The leading scholars on this subject of rural poverty are from western capitals and as discussed earlier, he who defines poverty influences how poverty should be measured and how it is caused and how it is alleviated.

This section shall presents the traditional causes of poverty in its simplicity, then presents reviewed literature of some leading scholars of rural poverty and also looks at research findings of some scholars on how rural the poor people in some countries see the major causes of poverty.

2.4.1 General traditional causes of poverty in Africa

Political causes of poverty

The political causes of poverty are many and the following are some of them.

War and armed conflict. Africa is the most torn area by wars worldwide. Most African countries like Somalia, Congo, Sudan, Uganda and Burundi have been fighting constant wars. This has caused most developing countries to divert funds that would be used in developmental projects into wars, hence leaving these countries in shambles. This explains why countries like South Africa and Egypt that have not experienced political upheavals have made a tremendous step in development. Wars and conflict therefore, are the greatest causes of poverty in Africa and to

curb down poverty, a lot needs to be done on this.

Corruption and power hungry leaders. It is true that African leaders are corrupt, power hungry and too dictatorial in nature. They have swindled funds responsible for development projects leaving Africans scrambling in poverty. In Nigeria, over 450 million USD was swindled by the former president and was put into his personal ventures. In Congo, billions and billions of money was swindled by corrupt officials under Mobutu's regime and in Uganda, the corruption case of Gava fund and Temangalo saga have been seen. All this is aimed at satisfying individual's personal interests at the expense of the majority. This, therefore, has caused more Africans to grow poorer, yet the rich ones become richer. This remains a big problem in African countries.

Social causes of rural poverty.

Land rights and ownership problems. Land is one of the major factors of production. Although African countries depend on agriculture, land is unequally distributed among the parties that would fight poverty (men and women). Most Africans do not allow women to own land, giving chances to men only who sometimes misuse it. Besides, men are the only ones who are in position to secure loans from Micro Finance Institutions to become self-employed, hence leaving behind women in the fight against poverty. Since collateral securities needed to secure these loans are land titles. This therefore leaves most African women marginalized hence living in poverty. This factor explains why the largest percentage of women in Africa lives in poverty. Though developing countries have tried to amend land rights, to encourage equal distribution of land to both parties, little success has been registered.

Lack of education. Research proves that more than 110 million of African children do not access primary education. The lucky ones who access primary education do not go to high levels and the most affected are girls. This therefore limits their chances of accessing well remunerated jobs, and for this reason, they lack knowledge on how to put up businesses and become self-employed. Lack of education, therefore, has caused a large number of Africans to remain struggling with poverty, a factor that justifies underdevelopment in Africa (UNDP 2000).

Diseases are another cause of rural poverty. Contiguous diseases like cholera, dysentery and others like malaria have claimed the lives of the able bodied persons. This is because, Africa lacks good health facilities hence lack of vaccination, poor sanitation and lack of good water also pose a threat, AIDS has also posed a lot of challenges to human life. The largest percentage of Africans die of malaria which has been proved to be a dream in developed countries like USA, Sweden, Germany and Japan.

Lack of participation. Failure to draw the poor into the design of developmental programs is another cause of poverty. African governments have come out to fight poverty through different means. Policies and programs to fight poverty have been put forward but one wonders whether the affected parties are involved in policy and programs design. Indeed the majority poor are not consulted and lack of their participation poses a challenge to the implementation of these programs. Government officials design these policies under the central government and when it comes to implementation, challenges are faced, a factor that has rendered some means of fighting poverty achieve little or no success at all. This, therefore, causes more poverty other than providing solutions to this catastrophe.

High population/Birth rates. Most African countries are highly populated yet they have got meager resources to care for this population. The meager resources which would be used for development are then channeled into other sectors so as to keep caring for this population. Besides that, parents have a lot of responsibilities. They spend a lot on a high number of children, a factor that keeps them under poverty. High population also affect savings and investments of individuals, hence, little or no education at all hence continued poverty.

Natural disasters. These are another cause of rural poverty in Africa. Some African countries are affected by natural calamities like droughts and floods. These are so catastrophic that they damage agricultural products hence affecting the income of Africans. A case in point is the floods that affected most parts of eastern Uganda in 2009, destroying both food and cash crops. This affected most people and, up to now, the impact is still felt because these people still need help to recover from the shocks of these floods. Their income levels were therefore affected, hence rural poverty. Somalia, Sudan and some parts of North Eastern Kenya are also affected by drought, hence few chances to practise agricultures. This also contributes to continued poverty in these areas.

2.4.2 Other causes of rural poverty as put forward by some scholars in different sources of literature.

Vagaries of weather, markets and health. Because poor rural people depend on Agricultural practice for their survival, mostly, they are always let down by fluctuations in prices of their agricultural products. Due to changes in weather. All groups of the rural poor in the developing countries are vulnerable to serious risks (Marker 2002).

According to Marker, fluctuation of prices of agricultural products of these rural people deepens their poverty and their standard of health declines. Ogungbile (1991) also stresses that economic crises and natural disasters can bring about sharp increases in rural poverty.

Rurality, place effect and rural poverty. The IFAD (2011) rural poverty report stipulates that rural people are poor because of the nature of place and environment they live in. They have no exposure and they are very deep in villages, mountains and forests. The highest rates of rural poverty are often found in remote, low potential, marginal or weakly integrated areas. Even the land lockedness of countries typically exhibits a combination of unfavorable natural resource base, poor infrastructure, weak state, market institutions and political isolation, all of which result in a higher risk environment for the rural people. The IFAD report goes on to give examples of the rural poor in China as being poor due to living in remote mountain areas. In India, tribal peoples, most of whom live in degraded forest areas. On the other hand in sub-Saharan Africa like Rwanda, rural people are poor because they live in more densely populated areas. Rural poverty has received less attention than urban poverty from both policy makers and researchers.

However, a few analysts have made some studies and discovered that in rural areas, there is a high incidence of poverty in rural areas. Cushing and Zheng (2000) and Joliffe (2003) for example, found out that the depth of poverty and the severity of poverty is consistently higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Fisher and Weber (2005), while in their study, discovered that people in urban areas have different assets and advantage over people in rural areas. People who are poor in urban areas are likely to be poor in terms of network, whereas poor people in rural areas are more likely to be poor in terms of liquid assets. Rural people tend to have non liquid assets, such as homes that they may not be able to convert into cash in times of economic hardship. Urban people on the other hand, do not appear to be as able to accumulate non liquid assets, but may be better able to with stand short term economic disruptions.

2.4.3 The effect of living in rural areas as a cause of rural poverty

For purposes of analysing the real state of poverty in rural areas, this study intends to focus mainly on individual states and the individual nature of their deprivations. When we look at the works of Brooks-Gun, et al, (19997), the analysis of rural poverty into community and individual studies helps to bring out better methods of analysing poverty and we get a better focus on assessing the consequences of rural poverty.

According to Brooks-Gunn, et al, (1997), community studies or rural poverty, explain the differences in rates of poverty across communities as a function of community demographic and economic structure variables, including whether the community is rural or urban.

On the other hand, contextual studies explain differences in individual poverty outcomes as a function of individual demographic characteristics and community social and economic characteristics. Whether the community is rural or urban, contextual studies are most relevant for understanding place effects on individuals as they directly examine the impact of community level factors on individual outcomes.

Community studies are relevant for understanding how community characteristics and community level policy and practice affect local poverty rates. Many definitions about poverty are based on income and the idea that everybody should be able to have a source of income either occupationally employed or selling something which is only in urban areas.

It is in this angle that contextual studies become relevant in studying about rural poverty because many rural people are not employed, and have no monthly source of income. Income to the rural poor in most cases comes after a season sale of their agricultural products or after manual work served or supplied. So, to look at all the definitions and implications of poverty in terms of income element which is an urban phenomenon, is to neglect the real disease of rural poverty.

For purposes of reaffirming this observation, Haynie and Gorman (1999) include variables that capture unemployment and underemployment of men and women to explain household poverty status. Citro and Michael (1995) use job growth, while Duncan (2000) point to the differences in industrial structure between rural and urban areas as key to the higher poverty rates in rural places. And yet, living in rural places also limits people from getting information where the jobs are, much as the uneducated strong men living in the rural areas would be willing to work for casual employment or manual work. Rural people have a problem of lack of information and mobility. This is one of the greatest causes of lack of having a source of income by rural dwellers, much as opportunities may be available. Inadequate funds for transportation and information (Duncan, whitener and Weber 1998) may impose barriers to labour force participation and employment for adults that are constrained in rural areas than urban areas.

Contentment with village life also can cause rural poverty. There is a relationship between poor people and poor places. Certain kinds of people may be attracted to rural places while others are very reluctant to leave the rural places in search of alternative opportunities, because they host their ancestors' graves and other traditional ritualistic properties.

And it has been seen that those who leave in the rural areas going to urban areas in search of better sources of income, do automatically leave behind a population which is less productive which include the women, the children and the ageing population. So as the young middle aged population migrates to urban areas, it leaves behind a population more vulnerable to poverty.

In his studies about migration and rural urban migration of the rural poor people, Fitcher (1995) was astonished when he discovered that the real rural poor people do not mostly migrate to urban areas for better jobs. They migrate from an averagely rural place to a worse rural place in search of virginity and fertility of land.

Fitcher's work suggestions that, the poor may move more in response to a cheaper cost of living than to better job prospects. Poor people in rural areas seem to be attracted to poor places, places where other poor people live. This conclusion was also made true by Nord, Luloff and Jensen (1995) who found out that low income people tend to move among low income people and low cost places. The low cost places which normally attract the poor to stay in; are again the very rural places. They seem to be jumping from a frying pan to fire, whenever they are to migrate or shift their livelihood activities.

Two people with identical race, age, gender and educational characteristics in households with the same number of adults, and children and workers have different odds of being poor if one lives in a rural area and the other lives in an urban area. The one living in rural areas is more likely to be poor.

Davis and Weber (2002) and Cotter (2002) established that even people with similar personal and household characteristics are more likely to be poor if they live in a rural labour market compared to their urban counterparts even if the labour markets have the same industrial and occupational structure and unemployment rate.

Basing from the old Bunyoro kingdom saying that "*Owente abaza n owente*", which literally implies that he who owns a cow, normally associates, plans and discusses with only he who owns a cow. In the villages of sub-Saharan Africa, this is the trend. It is very common to find a rural poor person associating, planning and discussing with a fellow rural poor person. This also dictates their way of settlement, economic activity and any form of diversification among themselves in their rural economy.

Sampson et al. (2002) points out that the rural poor people even select neighbors basing on social characteristics such as neighborhood, racial segregation, economic status and friendship ties. There is no way in which a poor person can start associating themselves with an averagely well off person who has a base in an urban area.

To sum it up therefore, there is great need to venture into place effects as having a great impact on rural poverty. We also intend to have a deeper focus on cultural, normative and collective action perspectives that attach meaning to how residents form their commitment to places. It is very, very rare to find the rural people easily associating with a rich rural person in African communities. At times, if there is a rich person residing in the rural areas, he or she is hated by the fellow poor villagers simply because he or she is better-off than them.

2.4.4 The role of culture as a cause to rural poverty

In many developing countries, including Rwanda, culture plays an important role in the socio-economic development. Some rural communities are perceived to be poor because of their type of culture which they are not willing to abandon.

Tanase (1959) explains that the word culture is originally from the word *cultura*, which means cultivation. In the middle ages scholars cultivated ones heart and used the word culture as “development of the heart”. In the 17th century, this concept developed into psychological culture and during the 18th and 19th centuries, the meaning turned into “a sophisticated mode of life”. While in the 20th century the meaning turned into “mode of life in the respective social groups.

The influence and importance of culture has been recognized at least for a decade. During the colonial days, “culture” was recognized both as an obstacle as a facilitator for development. Recognition of culture as a tool for development has continued as debate in relation to rural poverty. Other schools of thought have interpreted the same phenomena differently. Conflicts between culture and development are recognized as “resistances” to development (Scott, 1895)

Some other scholars like Serageldin (1994) defined culture as the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or a social group. Culture includes modes of life, the fundamental rights of human beings, value systems, traditions and beliefs.

A Culture of one social group may affect the social economic development of their economic status. In the context of this study, culture may refer to a people’s traditional beliefs and practices

that have persisted as part and parcel of people's lives for long. In his critique, Waxman (1977) referred rural poverty to a kind of culture and concluded that to him, poverty is a culture that is reproduced from one generation to another. Waxman is commonly popular of his connotation that culture must involve at least two generations. In this case, rural poverty is persistent among the poor people in rural communities at least for two generations and if it is less than two generations, then most likely it is just situational.

Many rural people are having low standards of living because of a traditional element in them. They practice old ways of farming and do not want changes and new ways of modernisation. And once a generation is not educated, it will tend to pass their cultural attitudes, practices and opinions to the next generation.

2.4.5 The role of Fate, Trait and Self-motivation as a major cause to rural poverty.

Anthropologists, sociologists and ethnologists contend that rural poverty in most cases is brought about by the personal motivational level of a human being, traits and characters. Brain development and exposure increase motivational capacity of human beings, which later on controls the behaviours of the people towards certain tasks like hard work and ambition which will be the final fate of someone. Rural people are not exposed and, thus, their behavioral characteristics and ambition to hard work is questionable by this school of thought. Contenders in this school of thought give a view that, rural people are poor because they are lazy and are never hardworking and, therefore, they are responsible for their situation.

Alcock (1973) is one of the believers of the school of thought, that individual traits do play a very important role in inflicting rural poverty to people in rural communities. The Works of Lewis (1965), Matza (1966) have tended to differentiate conceptual ideas like describing such a dilemma as the culture of poverty and stigmatisation of poverty respectively.

Rural people who are very poor are often marginalised, laughed at stigmatised and blamed. They are blamed for being poor because of their own making. Many Social workers do not want to help the rural poor due to their alcoholism, recklessness and laziness. Forgetting that, some rural people resort to alcoholism due to persistent frustrations and disappointments.

Early surveys and studies on causes of rural poverty in the United States during the 1970's, showed that poor rural people are poor due to their own attitudes towards this stigma- poverty. A 1969 American Gallup poll as reported by Wohlenberg (1976) and Tropman, (1977) showed that

up to 84 percent of the poor people thought that their poverty was due to lack of effort, or a combination of lack of effort and unfortunate circumstances.

Prior to that, studies in America indicate that poor people, especially in rural areas are so poor due to lack of motivation. For instance, Feagin (1972 A, 1972B) found out that, out of a thousand American adults, in spite of their age, race, education, religious and economic status, believed that rural poverty was primary due to individualistic situations: the personal thinking capacity, lack of thriftiness on the part of an individual and personal behavior.

The works of Feagin were to rate three categories of explanations or causes of rural poverty in order of importance. Individualistic explanations took the first position: structural explanation placing responsibility on external forces while societal and economic forces took the second position; and fatalistic explanation, placing responsibility on the role of luck and fate, took the third position. Literature on external factors and economic forces as being the root causes of poverty include; lack of assets, low levels of education, political instability, overpopulation, lack of capital, lack of human capital, security factors, entrepreneurship ability and lack of disposable income for savings as fully explained by Hemmer and Wilhelm (2000).

As far as the fatalistic causes are concerned however, in developing countries, it is true, luck and fate plays a bigger role in explaining why some people are very poor and why others are well off. Although this study generalises rural poverty in rural areas, it is not that all of them are poor because they all lacked luck and fate has never been fair on their side. Whereas chance usually knocks to those who are already prepared like those in urban areas who have urban poverty, once chance knocks, they may escape from the stigma or evil of poverty as we earlier described it in chapter one. This is because they can access markets and, above all, opportunities are many even to those who are uneducated. They can at least find a well-paying manual work which can offer them some sort of livelihood, which is not the case in the deep rural areas.

On the other hand, a rural household may not easily escape from rural poverty even when an opportunity knocks. On the door if he or she is not prepared as is always the case in rural areas. Unlike the urban poor, the rural poor always stay unprepared and living a life in which they have already given up with success.

A well known verse in the book of Ecclesiastes (KJV, Bible) gives a natural critique that whether one is hardworking or lazy and living in a rural area, he or she may one day be well off due to chance, luck, time and fate. The verse by King Solomon states that: *"I returned and saw under the sun that the race is not swift nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet*

riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance happen to them all”.

The highly celebrated writer, George Orwell (1946) moderated the above version into modern English with a neutral critique; that, *“Objective considerations of contemporary phenomena compel the conclusion that success or failure in competitive activities exhibits no tendency to be commensurate with innate capacity, but that a considerable element of the unpredictable be taken into account.”*

In this aspect then, it is very imperative to employ and typify rural poverty in the words of Stitt (1994) who preferred to call it a consensual poverty approach. Consensual poverty approach as mentioned earlier in this study tries to give a proposition that the so called experts, scholars and policy makers on poverty are not much better than the victims of poverty themselves: the rural poor households in knowing what causes rural poverty, what are its effects and how best can it be alleviated. The principle argument is that the best experts on rural poverty should be the poor themselves. It is only Robert chambers (1983) who gave a revolutionary cry that the poorest of the poor should be made first, as in his book, putting the last first.

To conclude on this section about the theories which cause rural poverty, it is be important to we summarise them as theories that cause poverty or symptoms of rural poverty. Rural households in different places face cultural poverty, environmental poverty, economic poverty, religious poverty, political poverty, social poverty and geographical poverty.

Ted Bradshaw (2005) clarifies this by saying that any problem being addressed related to rural poverty can be helped by first of all knowing the cause or symptom. Bradshaw points out five key origins of rural poverty, these are; individual difference, cultural belief systems that support subcultures in poverty, political and economic distortions, geographical disparities and commutative and circumstantial origins.

Therefore, depending on place or rural location of a community, any of those theoretical causes can bring up serious symptoms of rural poverty and it is advised for policy makers to know which view they have embraced because any side they take, will ultimately have a direct bearing on the public policies they pursue (Schiller, 1989)

Table 2. 1: Five Theories of Poverty and Community anti-poverty programs

Theory	What causes Poverty?	How does it work?	Potential Community Development responses	Community examples to reduce poverty
1. Individual	Individual laziness, bad choice, incompetence, inherent disabilities	Competition rewards winners and punishes those who do not work hard and make bad choices.	Avoid and counter efforts to individualise poverty, provide assistance and safety net.	Drug rehabilitation, second chance programs, making safety net easier to access, use training and counseling to help poor individuals overcome problems.
2. Cultural	Subculture adopts values that are non-productive and are contrary to norms of success.	Peer groups set wrong values and reinforce wrong behaviors.	Use community to the advantage of the poor; value diverse cultures, acculturation, and community building; alternative socialization through forming new peer groups.	Head start, after school, leadership development within sub-cultures, asset based community development.
3. Political-economic Structure	Systematic barriers prevent the poor from access and accomplishment in key social institutions including jobs, education housing, health care, safety, political	Selection criteria directly or indirectly exclude some groups of persons based on inappropriate criteria.	Community organizing and advocacy to gain political and economic power to achieve change; create alternative organisations.	Policies to force inclusion and Enforcement.
4. Geographic	Social advantages and disadvantages concentrate in separate areas.	Agglomeration, distance, economies of scale, and resource distributions reinforce differences.	National redistributions, concentration of development on local assets.	Redevelopment areas, downtowns, rural networking, urban revitalization.
5. Cumulative and cyclical	Spirals of poverty, problems for individuals (earnings, housing, health, education, self confidence) are interdependent and strongly linked to community deficiencies (loss of business and jobs, inadequate schools. inability to provide social services) etc.	Factors interact in complex ways. Community level crises lead to Individual crises and vice versa, and each cumulate to cause spirals of poverty.	Breaking the spiral of poverty with a spiral of success through a comprehensive program that addresses both individual and community issues.	Comprehensive CDC programs that build self- sufficiency in a community reinforced environment, programs that link individuals and community organizations.

Source: Schiller B.R (1989) *The Economics of Poverty and Discrimination*. Englewood cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

2.5 THE COST OF RURAL POVERTY IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF RURAL POVERTY

First and foremost, rural poverty is really an evil, a plague with an externally complex condition which has economic, cultural, social and institutional roots. It is these roots of rural poverty which also lead to various economic, social, cultural and institutional costs.

The costs or rather effects of rural poverty act interchangeably leading to negative consequences. In this section, we intend to first of all review the literature collection about the costs of rural poverty and then, later, look at the general impact or consequences of poverty.

2.5.1 Low tax revenue and Rural Poverty

The researcher refers to costs of poverty as the alternatives of opportunities foregone when choice is made by government or social workers somewhere. There is an opportunity cost we pay for our failure to address the root causes of rural poverty like, as a nation ,we forego the increased productivity and tax revenues from the rural households by not capitalizing on the rural poverty reduction which would give a potential to produce and pay high taxes by the rural poor.

Nathan Laurie (2008) recognises that, in Canada, those who look at rural poverty through the eyes of those it afflicts know the poor bear hinge costs from having to live with deprivation and the stresses it imposes. Together with the strains they create within families, these direct costs, Laurie argues are the direct costs of poverty such as, hunger and inadequate nutrition, inferior housing, alienation from mainstream society and scant of opportunity for a better life. These take a heavy toll on the health of the poor, their self-esteem and ability of their children to learn and thrive in school. Laurie concludes that, the above costs and forces can create a vicious intergenerational cycle in which rural poverty feeds on itself.

2.5.2 Poor health and Rural Poverty

Another greatest cost of Rural Poverty is the incidence of poor health and the incidence of dying sooner than later among rural communities. Whereas the urban poor and urban rich die in the evening, the rural poor tend to die a little bit earlier in the morning than their urban counterparts. Partly, this is an African saying which tries to claim that, the incidence of poor health and death is far more pronounced within lower income groups.

In recent times, researchers like Curtis (2007) and Jolly (1991) have examined the relationship between income and health status, by analysing the life expectancy , infant mortality, mental

health, time spent in hospital due to chronic conditions and death rate among lower income groups in rural areas and higher income groups of people. Curtis, for instance, established, that, the health of rural poor people with lower incomes is invariably worse than that of people in urban areas with higher incomes. Jolly (1991) also found out that the prevalence of being bedridden in hospital, illness and death is higher among the poor rural people of Canada than it is among non-poor Canadians.

So this calls for serious thinking about life in developing countries. If this could be the situation in Canada, then it is worse in sub-Saharan Africa. It is just clear that rural poverty leads to poor health, chronic illness and death. Concisely, it is also true that poor health, illness and death, cause rural poverty to worsen. In African homes, when the head of the family who is the main bread earner dies, the siblings are more likely to suffer from all sorts of deprivation, stress, illness and decline in the standard of living than the one to which they were accustomed to. So the causes and effects of rural poverty are known to be interwoven.

There is a little doubt that poverty leads to ill-health, Shelly Phipps (2004). Phipps argues that the reasons are simple for this kind of cost of poverty or consequence of rural poverty. That, the reasons for stress resulting from the never-ending clash between basic needs and insufficient income, financial barriers to prescribed medicines, a sheer lack of knowledge about the practices that contribute to good health and the resources to put them into effect .

2.5.3 Linking Crime and Rural Poverty

The other worse consequence of rural poverty is crime. Criminal behaviours like theft, burglary, robbery, and murder in society has appeared to be an activity majorly carried out by disgruntled poor people who are with deep rural roots. Such people have no jobs and hence no incomes, are unemployed and therefore resort to robbery and burglary as a source of income whenever chance comes.

In countries like Rwanda as we shall examine the description of this study later in Chapter four, it is well known that the 1994 genocide was perpetrated mostly by the rural poor who had seen this as an opportunity to express their disgruntlement and compensation for the type of poor life they were passing through. The rural poor were used by political entrepreneurs to murder and rape women. All this crime was accelerated due to rural poverty which ended into genocide of the minority Tutsi in Rwanda .

Of all the deadweight costs that society is forced to bear, crime is the most insidious (Laurie 2008). According to Laurie rural poverty is correlated with crime. Crime is not only menacing, it is also subtle in that, its roots and causes are from poverty and unemployment.

Kaplen (1996) and George A (1996) carried out studies and confirmed that the greater the inequality of income in a community, the higher is the incidence of crime. Illiteracy is also a reasonable predictor of the likelihood of involvement in crime.

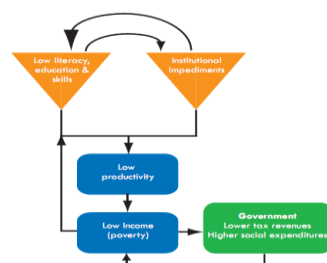
The US National Council on Welfare (2000) also carried out a survey in the year 2000 and suggested that literacy levels of incarcerated offenders are significantly lower than those of the general population. Literacy is high among the urban poor while it is so low among the rural poor people. Statistics Canada Criminal Justice (2005) also confirms this view that poor literacy skills for men and poor numeracy skills for women increase the likelihood of offending and that offenders who improved their literacy and numeracy skills have lower readmission to prison.

2.5.4 Loss of future potential among children and rural poverty

There is also a loss of future managers, planners and leaders among children who grow up in absolute rural poverty. There is quite a significant private and social cost of rural poverty related to lost productivity and lost potential for children who grow up in poverty.

In fact, one notable study based on a Baltimore Maryland did an experiment in which low income families were prone to having their children get less help with their problems than similar children with better educated parents who are more affluent richer urban hood. There is little chance that children who grow up in rural poverty can be more productive to the economy as a whole than children who grow up with an exposed life. There is a big concern today (Laurie 2008) that poor children would not escape poverty later in life. To some extent, according to Laurie, rural poverty among adults contributes a lifetime of rural poverty among their children.

Figure 2. 3: Some of the linkages of rural poverty



Source: Goodhand, J and Hulme, D (1999) *From wars to complex political emergencies*.

2.5.5 Linking conflicts/violence and Rural Poverty

In today's modern society, there is evidence that conflict is related to different roots of poverty. As development practitioners and researchers we envisage that conflict cannot be separated from ongoing political and social processes. A mainstream analysis often brings up rural poverty as a root cause of conflicts and violence. This means, therefore, that various conflicts in society today in political, social, religious, cultural, and environmental conflicts, are all partly emanating from poverty as a whole and rural poverty in particular. It has been estimated that over one third of the world's population is exposed to armed violence (Stewart and FitzGerald, 2000). Poor countries in sub Saharan Africa are at a greater risk of falling into no-exit cycles of violence and over 75 percent of the global arms are directed at poor countries for nothing else other than war (Ul Haq, 1999). The researcher would like to acknowledge the works of Goodhand and Hulme (1999), who defined conflict as *"a struggle, between individuals or collectivities over value or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their value or claims over those of others"*

In his working paper as part of studies prepared for the Chronic Poverty Research Centre, Jonathan Goodhand (2001), provides an overview link between violent conflicts, poverty and chronic poverty. According to Goodhand, the nature of the links between conflict and poverty can be explored by critically examining three propositions.

- (i) Conflict causes chronic poverty
- (ii) Poverty causes conflict
- (iii) Resource wealth causes conflicts

Though practically on the third proposition, we have come to see that in areas where there is war the opposite also comes up later. Thus, conflict causes resource wealth as it is true in parts of Gulu, in Northern Uganda. In Northern Uganda where rebel Leader, Joseph Kony has been operating for over 20 years, there is both rural poverty as well as good development in the urban areas. In the Eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo, there is, on average an increased level of development compared to other parts in that vast country which is always peaceful. The towns of Goma and Kivu are averagely growing, despite the constant war conflicts in the eastern part of the Democratic republic of Congo. This confirms a new fourth proposition that, *conflicts causes resource wealth*, though Jonathan Goodhand did not foresee this.

Beginning with the first proposition as stated above, Goodhand argues that chronic insecurity increases chronic poverty although though the impacts varies according to a range of factors like

age, ethnicity, gender and region. Conflict has a more severe impact than external shocks because of the deliberate destruction of rural livelihoods. Conflict may reverse pre-existing power relations causing new groups to become politically vulnerable. Violent conflicts have direct and indirect costs. The direct impact includes battle field deaths, disablement and displacement. These have a long term cost for societies and chronic poverty will increase which later leads to higher dependency ratios of increased proportion of the old, women and disabled in the population.

As conflicts become protracted, organised violence increasingly shapes the economy and free markets become forced markets (Chingono, 2000). Continuous conflicts lead to a decline in resource endowments and also lead to a serious and progressive depletion of the rural asset base (Cliffe and Rock 1997, IFAD 2001).

According to Kapusckinski (2001), a conflict distorts state apparatus and people with opportunistic or predatory behavior come up in society. This is because the poor in rural areas see the idea of taking up the gun as a rational way of livelihoods as the old Liberian saying during the conflict times that “whoever had a weapon would be the one to eat first”

Boxe 1: Impacts of conflict on types of capital and associated assets

Political capital; Decline of the state and democratic political processes. Increased influence of military actors. Decline in rule of law. Increased vulnerability and targeting of politically excluded groups.

Human capital; Deaths, disablement, displacement, decline in capacity of the state to provide services such as health, education etc. Violence against women. Reemergence of slavery; Declining literacy, life expectancy, increased infant mortality rates, higher levels of stunting. Higher dependency ratios. Long term effects of a poorly educated and skilled workforce and a future generation which has known nothing but violence (Luckham et al 42: 2001).

Financial capital; Financial institutions, investments, markets, impact on rates of growth, investment levels, decline in markets, lack of credit, outflow of capital.

Social Capital; Disruption of social relations, social dislocation, decline in trust and reciprocity. Social capital deliberately targeted or used to generate perverse outcomes.

Natural capital; Break down of customary rights and rules of useage, predatory behaviour leading to resource depletion and environmental degradation, lack of management and investment in natural resources. Increased use of marginal lands

Physical capital; Destruction of, and lack of investment in infrastructure and services and others such as land mines

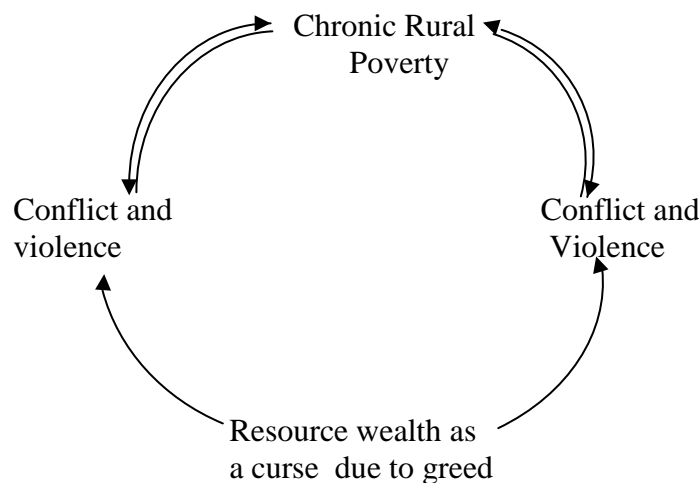
Source: Adapted from Moser (1999)

In the second proposition, Goodhand stresses that most conflicts are caused by poverty, thus it is poverty which causes conflict. This is because many people are disgruntled and they feel that they are being marginalised. Should they get a political entrepreneur as Goodhand calls it, they will rise up with all sorts of violence. Collier (2000b) also observes that even development processes within a region lead to inequality, exclusion and poverty. This later contributing to high risks of growing grievances, particularly when poverty coincides with ethnic, religions, language or regional boundaries. It is these underlying grievances that may explode into open conflict when triggered by external shocks such as political entrepreneurs.

Laurie (2005) also asserts that historically marginalised sections of the population have been likely to turn to organised banditry. Goodman's final proposition is that resources like money, minerals and other resources, cause conflict, which eventually leads to chronic poverty. He argues that, it is greed rather than grievance which causes conflict. This is based on the argument of "the curse of resource wealth". For instance, countries like Angola, Nigeria, Congo DRC, which have abundant mineral resources are ever in conflict. In these countries, rural poverty is at its highest. Rebellion and conflicts is motivated by greed. Coller and Moore (200) established that countries with more than 25 percent dependence on primary commodity exports are more than 5 times more likely to engage in conflict than those which depend on other resources.

Illustration of how the above explained nature of rural poverty, conflict and resource curse is interrelated in accelerating the costs of poverty.

Figure 2. 4: Relationship between nature of rural poverty, conflict and resource curse



Source; *Researchers own impression; (Mbabazize 2012)*

Goodman in his highly rated paper about violence, conflict, and chronic poverty, made the table below summarizing the impact of rural poverty.

Table 2. 2: The links between conflict, identity and chronic poverty

Group	Links between conflict and identity	Links to chronic poverty
Sub-national/ Regional	<p>In conflicts which are spatially defined, as for instance in Sri Lanka and Nepal the distribution of suffering tends to be geographically concentrated.</p> <p>Government services including policing and welfare services are at skeletal levels. The political vacuum in such borderland areas is filled by rebel groups who establish their own systems of taxation and predation.</p>	<p>Chronic poverty tends to follow the contours of the conflict and is most severe in 'heart land' areas, as for instance in the North East and mid West of Sri Lanka and Nepal respectively. Violent insurgency has increased the isolation of regions that already had low levels of 'geographic capital' ie areas where physical, social and human capital is low (Bird, Shepherd and Hulme, 2001).</p> <p>Outmigration and/or repeated displacement lead to a residual and highly dependent population.</p>
Minority groups	<p>Certain groups may be politically vulnerable due to their ethnicity, religion or language. Research suggests that rather than identity causing conflict, hardened identities are primarily a consequence of war.</p>	<p>In peace time, a lack of protection of minority rights may translate into political and social exclusion, resulting into chronic poverty. Brouckerhoff and Hewett for instance found significant differentials between ethnic groups in the odds of dying during infancy or before the age of 5 years.</p>
	<p>Krings, T (1993) found that economic and ethnic factors play an important role in the degree of people's vulnerability to famine.</p>	<p>Conflict may reinforce these relationships, or in certain cases, they may be challenged or reversed. This either deepens existing poverty or creates a 'new poor'.</p>
Intergenerational differences:	<p>Intergenerational tensions are both a cause and consequence of militarised violence. Chingona highlights the role of young men as both the perpetrators and victims of violence in Mozambique.</p>	<p>The elderly are one of the groups most likely to be chronically poor as a result of the effects of violent conflict. They are likely to be less mobile and may be left behind by family members forced to flee. They are most dependent on kinship and extended</p>
Gender	<p>Men and women experience war differently. Conflict has mixed impacts on gender roles and relationships. Women may be vulnerable to acts of violence, including rape, which has been used as a weapon of war. An increased proportion of households may become female-headed. Women may also take on new roles.</p>	<p>Female-headed households are likely to be chronically poor, although not automatically so.</p> <p>Sexual violence has severe health consequences and rape has poverty implications for women who may be ostracized by their society (Luckham et al 44: 2001).</p> <p>In some respects conflicts may be empowering as women</p>
	<p>In Sri Lanka, for instance, people have become active combatants, (including suicide bombers) and in the North East. Because of economic pressures they have increasingly entered the public realm.</p>	<p>However, these gains are often lost in a post conflict setting.</p> <p>Boys suffer more than girls from reduced schooling during conflict, but females suffer more from raised mortality rates (Stewart and FitzGerald (2000)).</p>
Class	<p>Pre-war relationships may be reversed with backward groups achieving prominence and the middle classes becoming targets as for instance in Cambodia and Afghanistan.</p>	<p>Certain groups within the middle classes may become more vulnerable, such as government bureaucrats from urban areas who depend on a state salary and lack land or other resources.</p>
Refugees/ Displaced	<p>Chronic conflicts are likely to lead to multiple displacements, which deplete assets and undermine coping strategies.</p>	<p>IDPs are particularly vulnerable because of a lack of legal protection and they often fall between aid agency mandates.</p>

Disabled:	Conflict causes disability. There are, for example, over 150,000 amputees in Afghanistan. Conflict also exacerbates the disadvantages experienced by the disabled in more stable settings due to declining state services. The lack of health services contributes to further disability.	Like the elderly, the disabled are equally vulnerable to external shocks. They are the least able to move in the event of violent conflict or to find gainful employment. They are also likely to have a greater dependence on basic social services than other sections of the population. Finally they are least likely to be consulted by care providers whether governmental or NGO.
Pastoralists	The political marginalisation of pastoralists makes them vulnerable to state violence and famine, as for example in Northern Mali (Krings, 1993). This is exacerbated by a shrinking resource base. The availability of light weapons has transformed raiding into a predatory activity.	Protracted violent conflict have led to the decline of pastoralism in the Horn of Africa (Markaskis (1993). Areas have been depopulated, mobility is constrained and the risks of being violently dispossessed of livestock have increased. Many pastoralist groups have had to cross borders and have become refugees.

Source: Goodhand, J and Hulme, D (199) *From wars to complex political emergencies*.

2.5.6 Cost of Rural Poverty on family Quality of life.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, this study intended to unveil the state and nature of poverty among the rural poor households or family set up in the deep rural areas of Rwanda and also see how the rural communities are adapting to the lifestyle they are in.

Turnbull et al, (2000) defined a family as those people who consider themselves that they are blood related, or are married and also those who live under the same roof, by supporting and caring for each other on regular basis even though they are not related. While quality of life within a family is experienced at the family level if:

- (i) Family members are having their needs met
- (ii) Family members are enjoying their life together

(iii) Family members are opportunities to pursue and achieve goals that are meaningful to them.

As Turnbull et al, put it above, it is worth noting that here in developing countries there is quality of family life. A husband stays far away from his wife and children due to economic conditions related to employment. At times if the children are staying together with both parents, they go to bed even before their parents are back. Parents wake up early for work to beat traffic jams in various cities and the children eventually are brought up by housemaids. This may be quite different in the rural areas but the rural areas still lack good quality life.

Turnbull and her colleagues developed a family quality of life framework in the year 2000, to analyse the impact of poverty in their work. They suggested five domains as being major pillars on which human beings thrive in any normal family set up.

These domains were health, productivity, physical environment, and emotional wellbeing and family interaction. Turnbull and her colleagues summarised the idea that each domain as mentioned above, eventually is impacted upon with negative consequences due to rural poverty.

For instance, the impact of rural poverty on health relates to: hunger (The food research action centre, 2000) under nutrition during pregnancy (Crooks 1995, McLoyd 1998) and limited access to health care (Sherman, 1994)

On the second domain, rural poverty affects productivity or imposes a serious negative effect on productivity as lessening or blocking skills, blocking competence level, limiting success and limiting opportunity and participation. These negative effects are mostly directed to children and yet this is the future generation. The efficient learning of the children is limited and rural poverty directly dulls children's intelligence (Mcloyd 1998, Sonnander and Claesson, 1999).

Rural poverty tends to increase the nature of disability and incapacitation among new born babies and the already existing children. Various works by Schonaut and Satz (1993), show that when the children have a disability and they also live in rural poverty, the impact of poverty may be more significant. To re-emphasize further on this family life aspect, rural poverty is well known for being a hindrance to various opportunities for family members to play, exercise and socialise in sound recreational activities (Sherman 1994). When rural poverty limits families' choices for recreation and leisure, high risk and unhealthy habits such as smoking and heavy drinking may take their place in the surplus of unstructured time (Sherman 1994).

The impact on physical environment by rural poverty is that rural people end up lacking access to safe water (Crooks, 1995). Rural poverty limits people from having good houses.

Rural poverty also impacts negatively on emotional wellbeing. This includes areas like stress and adaptability. The more one stays in stress, annoyed and worried, the earlier he or she dies. Rural poverty has washed away people's hope for the future. They live as if there is no future. Data from the 1986 children of the National longitudinal survey of youth (NLSY 1986), found out that, as the length of time spent in rural areas, rural poverty increases, so too do children's levels of stress and feelings of unhappiness, anxiety and dependence. In rural areas, heads of families, whether women or men, are likely to suffer from stress, worrying about money, worrying about the rate of sunshine and level of rainfall as an impact on their crops.

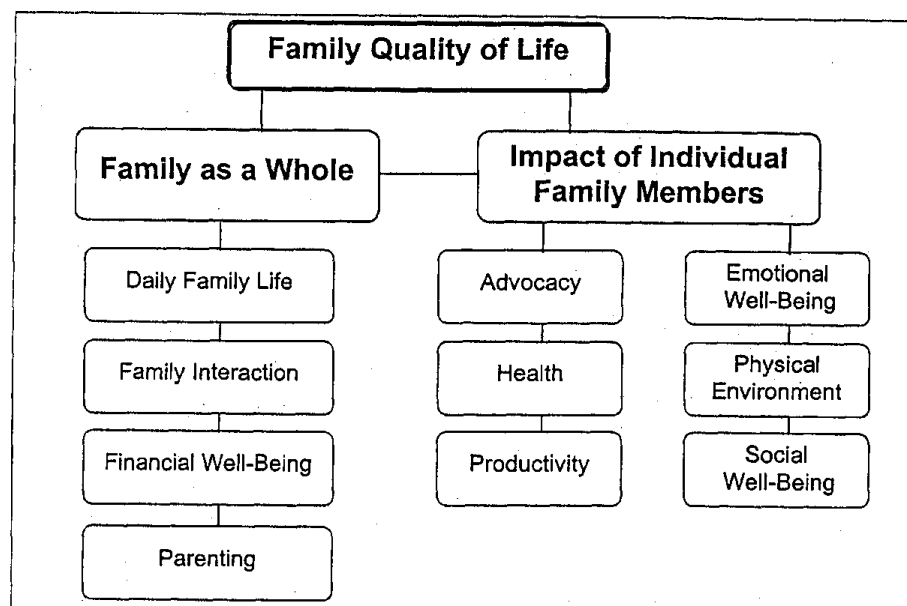
The last domain according to Turnbull and her colleagues is that of ascertaining how rural poverty impacts on family interaction. For a family to be able to be having a good life, it must be able to

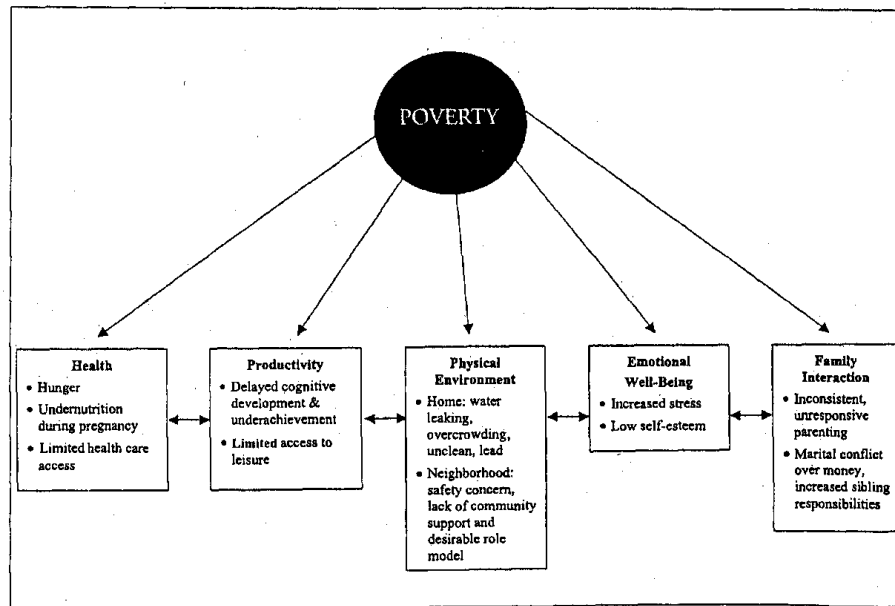
interact very well. The saying also goes “*success in a man is judged by how well he has raised his family, but not how far or how he has grown rich in terms of physical assets*”. This interaction should be between the parent-child interaction and other family interactions. It’s quite surprising that warm, responsive interactions between parents and children, provide children with a sense of security, trust and success. The reverse is true. Rural poverty is so complex to the extent that it can be blamed on as many children from such poverty stricken homes for not being successful. Parents come from their gardens very tired and stressed thinking of the next meal for their high number of children. This kind of stress and emotional disorder in the minds of the parents limits parents’ capacity for positive interaction. It is very rare, and at times unheard of, for children in rural areas to receive a hug or a kiss from their tired parents who spend the whole day in gardens.

Studies by McLeod and Shanahan (1993), found out that, negative emotional conditions in poor parents are highly predicative of parental inconsistency and unresponsiveness to children dependency needs and the poverty exhibit or supportive statements toward their children.

In many homes today, money to sustain the family is insufficient and this is leading to economic stress and separation of couples. If the worse happens divorce is the eventual impact. All this is due to rural poverty. When a man becomes poor and poorer, love between the couple is lost. Economic stress can add family conflicts and agony to the family (Conger et, al. 1994).

Figure 2. 5: Simple illustration of the inter link framework of Family Quality of Life





Source: *Turnbull et al, (2000) Family quality of life, A United States perspective*

2.6 GENERAL COSTS OF POVERTY AND IMPACT OF POVERTY AS EVIDENCED FROM A FIELD RESEARCH IN ASIA

As presented above, it is clear that the costs, consequences, effects and impact of poverty all seem to be disadvantageous. They impact on the life of human beings negatively. This is because of their root causes which are diverse and complex from one place to another. The effects of poverty are also complex as well and different from one place to another.

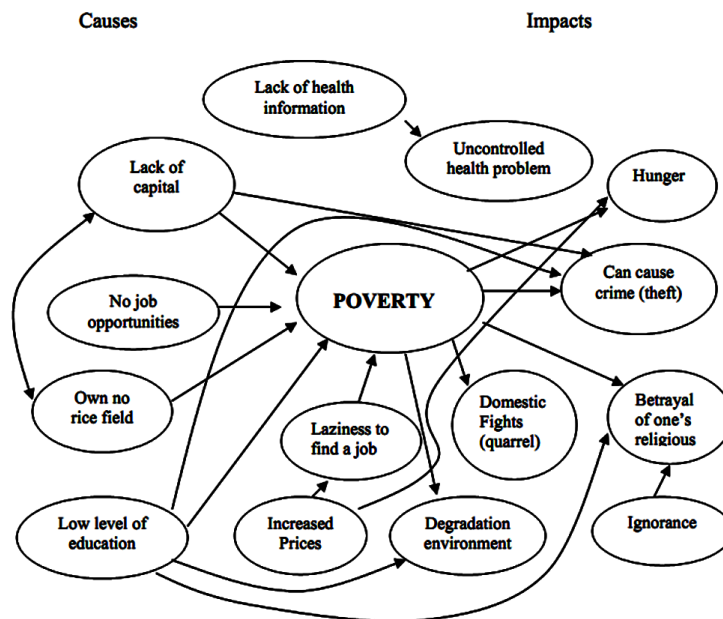
In the far East Asian countries like Bangladesh, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia, where rural poverty also manifests itself like more or less in the Sub-Saharan African countries, we find that the rural poor are victims of economic growth. In such countries of Asia, the main economic activity for the uneducated rural people is the growing of rice for sale and when there is a flop in the conditions of weather, seasons and prices, then the rural poor suffer a great deal of consequences.

These countries have been fortunate by having renowned researchers like Mukherjee (1999), Deepa Narayan (2000), and Petesch (2002) who went deep into rural areas making thorough investigative studies about rural poverty. This hasn't been the case in some rural Sub-Saharan African countries, especially in deep rural villages the Northern Province of Rwanda. This study, therefore, covers this gap.

Back to far East Asia, results of empirical studies conducted by Mukherjee (1999) on the impact of rural poverty in one of the villages in West Java, (Indonesia) show that each cause of poverty

leads to a negative consequence. According to Mukherjee's findings after having a personal discussion with a group of young men in these villages of Indonesia, it was found out that rural poverty is circlic in nature from causes to effects.

Figure 2. 6: Causes and impacts of poverty, discussion group of younger men in Galih Pakuwon, Indonesia

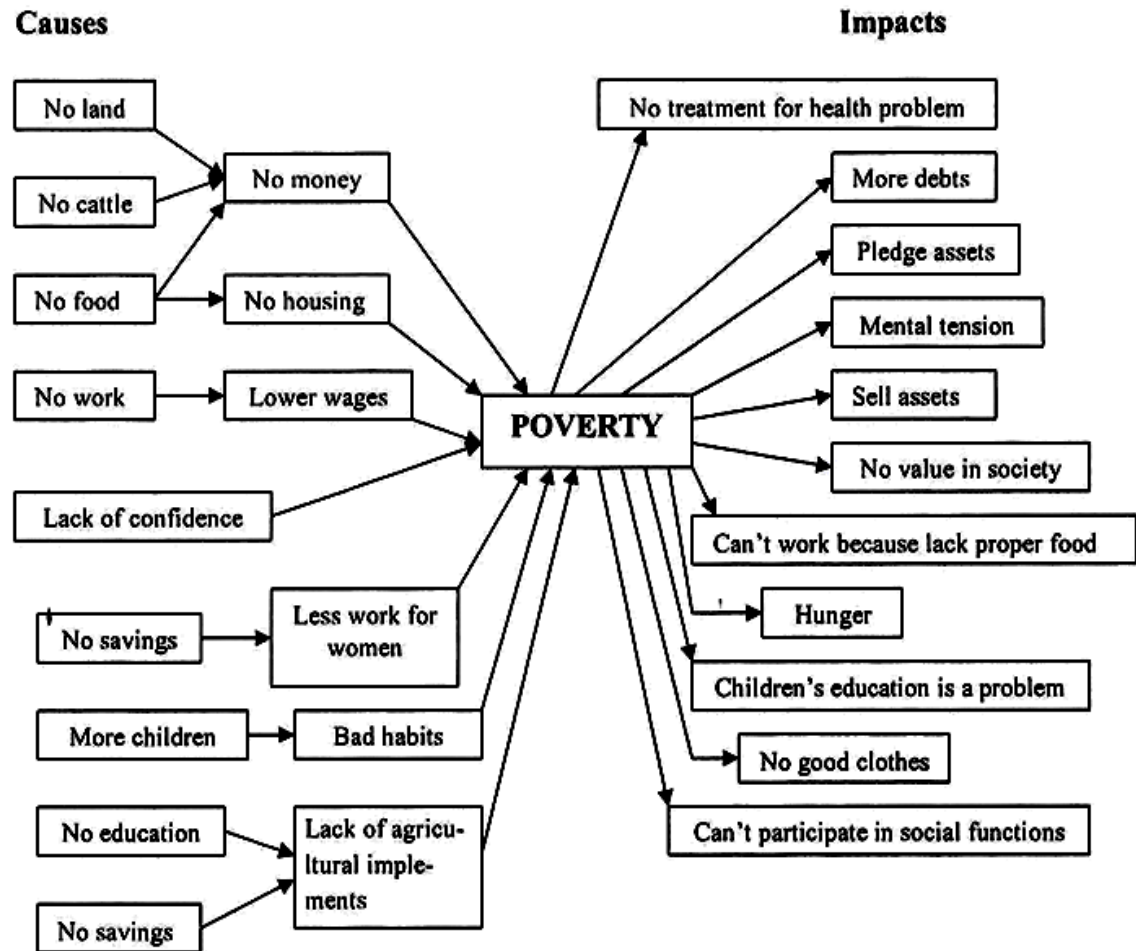


Source: Mukherjee (1999) *Draft consultations with poor people in Indonesia*

While Mukherjee conducted his rural research about poverty among a group of young men in Java, Deepa Narayan and Petesch (2002) did their thorough research in the villages of Jaggaram, but this time, among groups of women.

Narayan and Petesch also reflected on the causes and impact of rural poverty in the discussion groups. It was mainly found out that poverty leads to deprivation in Agriculture. This is because many of these women are agricultural peasant farmers and have low incomes, no land but they have very many children. They do not save and eventually this leads to poverty. Then the resultant effects are mental tension, more debts, as well as hunger and many other accruing problems.

Figure 2. 7: Causes and effects of poverty, discussion group of women in Jaggaram, Andhra Pradesh

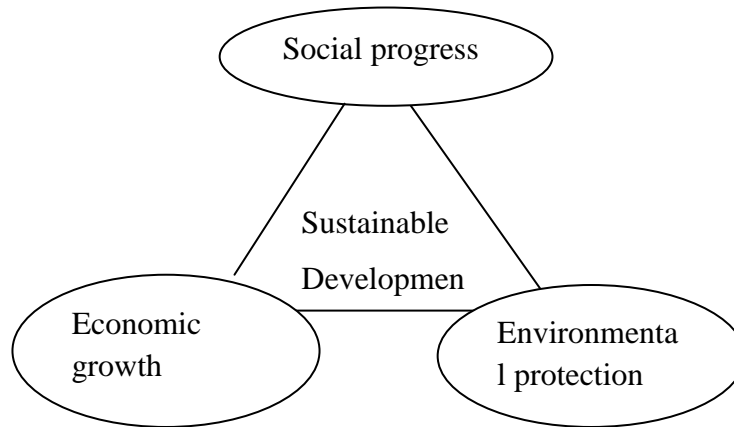


Source: Narayan and Petesch (2002: 155)

2.7 SUSTAINABLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In a lay man's language, sustainable rural development refers to maintaining development over time. In development Economics, sustainable rural development is defined as rural development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This definition is, however, vague but it clearly captured two fundamental issues, the problem of the environmental degradation that so commonly consists of economic growth and the need for such growth to alleviate poverty (Kanyoni, 2009)

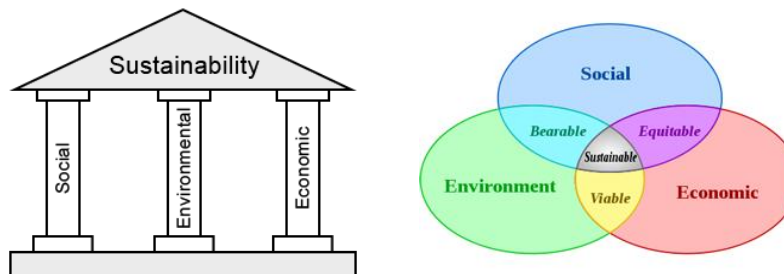
2.7.1 The three pillars of sustainable development



Source:Wikeapedia

The Three Pillars of Sustainability

The three pillars of sustainability are a powerful tool for defining the *complete* sustainability problem. This consists of at least the economic, social, and environmental pillars. If anyone pillar is weak, then the system as a whole is unsustainable. Two popular ways to visualize the three pillars are shown below.



Source:Wikeapedia

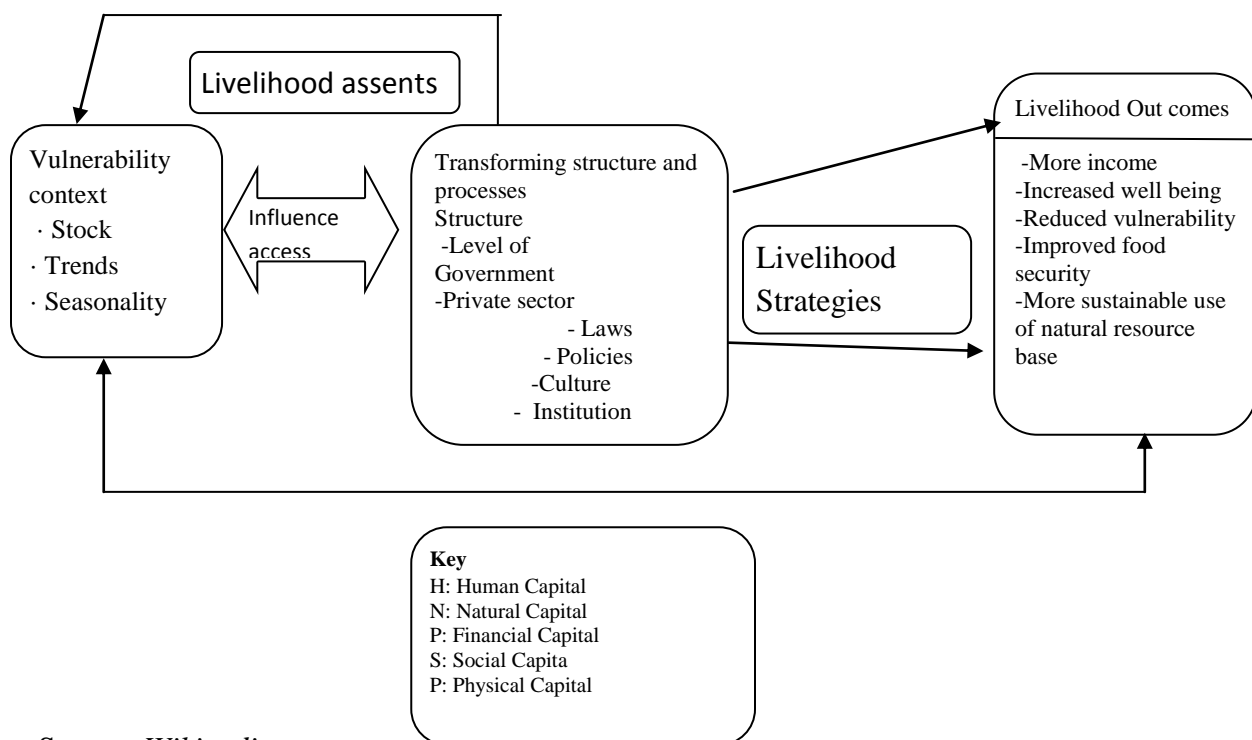
2.7.2 Sustainable livelihood and the definition of a livelihood

Livelihood is defined as an individual means of supporting oneself. It is composed of activities and resources. People engage in activities such as agriculture and livestock production as well as, marketing and wage labour in order to secure their basic needs and to earn income. These activities depend greatly on access to resources such as land, water forest products and technology (Chambers, 1995).

2.7.3. Sustainable livelihoods framework

Livelihoods framework is a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods, particularly the livelihoods of the poor. The sustainable livelihoods framework presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods, and typical relationships between these. It can be used both planning new development activities. In particular, the framework provides a checklist of important issues and it sketches out the way this framework draws attention to core influences and processes, and emphasises the multiple interactions between the various factors which affect livelihoods. The framework is centred on people. It does not work in a linear manner and does not try to present a model of reality. Its aim is to help stakeholders with different perspectives to engage in structured and coherent debate about the many factors that affect livelihoods, their relative importance and the way in which they interact. This, in turn, should help in the identification of appropriate entry for support of livelihoods (Chambers, 1995).

Figure 2. 8: Sustainable livelihood frameworks



Source: *Wikipedia*

In the figure above, the arrows within the framework are used to denote a variety of different types of relationships, all of which are highly dynamic. None of the arrows implies direct causality, although all imply a certain level of influence.

2.7.4 Understanding the framework

The form of the framework is not intended to suggest that the starting point for all livelihoods (or livelihood analyses) is the vulnerability context which, through a series of permutations, yields livelihoods outcomes. Livelihoods are shaped by a multitude of forces and factors that are themselves constantly shifting. People centred analysis is most likely to begin with a simultaneous investigation of people assets, their objectives (the livelihood outcomes which they are seeking) and the livelihood strategies which they adopt to achieve the objectives. Important feedback is likely to be between transforming structures and processes and the vulnerability context and livelihood outcomes and livelihood asset. These include relationship, patron-client relations and reciprocal arrangements, membership of formal groups and membership of organizations that provide loans, grants and other forms of insurance (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

2.7.5 Livelihood strategies

These are the range and combinations of activities and choices that people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. Livelihood strategies encompass proactive activities investment strategies and reproductive choices among other things (Chambers and Conway, 1991).

2.5.6 Livelihood Strategies according to Care International

A holistic appraisal attempts to identify the various strategies people use to make a living and how they cope with stress. These are also referred to as adaptive strategies and coping strategies in the food security literature. It is important to determine the variability that may exist across ethnic groups, households and individuals in the pursuit of different strategies to tailor interventions appropriately.

Livelihood Outcomes- Outcomes are measured to determine how successful households are in their livelihood strategies. These outcomes can be based on normative standards (for instance, nutritional status) or be based on criteria identified by the communities (for instance, wealth ranking). Such outcome measures often need to be differentiated and disaggregate across groups (e.g., livelihood category, socio-economic status households (for instance, by wealth statutes, gender of the head of household) and individuals (for instance, including gender and age).

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of livelihood strategies. Individuals and households will usually try to achieve multiple outcomes, which may include:

- More income
- Increased well-being
- Reduced vulnerability
- Improved food security
- More sustainable use of natural resources

2.7.8 Sustainable livelihood

The term sustainable livelihood was first used to express development concept in the early 1990s. A livelihood comprises people capabilities and their means of living, including food, income and assets (Chambers and Conway, 1991).

A livelihood is environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets in which livelihood depends and has met beneficial effect of other livelihoods. A livelihood is socially sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shock and provides for future generations. Sustainable livelihood approaches or strategies that are centred on people and their livelihoods. The strategies prioritise people's assets (tangible and intangible), their ability to withstand shocks, the vulnerability context and policies and institutions that reflected poor people's priorities rather than those of the elite.

They embody the principles of sustainable development at local level. This means they balance and integrate the social economic and environment components of their community as well as meeting the needs of existing and future generations.

The strategies also respect the needs of other communities in the wider region and internationally to make their communities sustainable. Deriving genuinely sustainable community requires a different approach from local governments. In broad terms, it requires local authorities to recognise the connection and impact between different local and national priorities to make sure that they do not undermine each other (UNESCO, 2008).

2.7.9. Types of Livelihood assets

Nature capital: natural resources such as land, forest cover , water and pastureland (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

Physical capital: Privately owned assets that can be used to increase labour and land productivity such as farm animals, tools and machinery and publicly owned economic infrastructure such as roads, electricity supply and social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, (Agrawal and Gibson 1999).

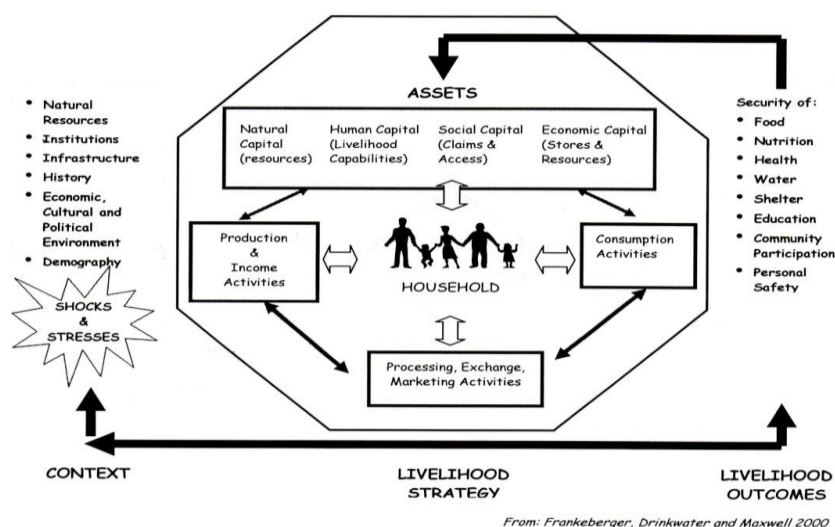
Financial capital: Cash income and savings and readily convertible liquid capital (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999),

Human capital: Health, nutritional level, educational standards and skills (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999):

Social capital: The set of social relationships on which people can expand livelihood options, appropriate interventions, and then subsequently evaluate the impact of interventions on the livelihoods of the people. This is captured in CARE's three basic design principles for livelihood programs:

- Programs must be founded on a holistic analysis of the contextual environment.
- Programs must be strategically focused
- Programs require coherent information systems

Figure 2. 9: CARE's Household Livelihood Security Model



Source: *Care livelihood' approach (1999); From Frankeberger, Drink water and maxwell (2000)*

A livelihoods approach builds heavily on participatory poverty assessments. In many of CARE 's livelihood promotion projects, they have taken this as a stage further and made participatory approaches the basis of not only the analysis part of it, but also the design, implementation, monitoring and ongoing sustainability of their projects.

Rights-Based Design

Since 1999, CARE has been developing rights-based approaches. CARE's definition of a rights-based approach (RBA) is provided in Definition Box 4. RBA is compatible with; complementary to and in many ways builds on, the HLS framework. Both approaches emphasise holistic analysis, participation and rooting out poverty and injustice by addressing underlying causes of human suffering.

Boxe 2: Definition of a Rights-Based Approach

A RIGHT-based approach deliberately and explicitly focuses on people achieving the minimum conditions for living with dignity (i.e. achieving their human rights). It does so by exposing the roots of vulnerability and marginalization and expanding the range of responses. It empowers people to claim and exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities. A rights-based approach recognizes the poor, the displaced, and the war-affected people as having inherent rights essential to livelihood security-right that are validated by international law. June 2001

As we saw with the HLS framework, there are important design principles that accompany a rights based programming (RBA) approach.

RBA affirms people's rights participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives. The rights to participate in such processes includes the right to have access to relevant information. Genuine participation and control over our own destinies is not a luxury, it is a right. Relevant decision making processes take place at all levels of governance, from the community to the national and even international levels, as well as in other spheres (e.g., the decisions of private actors including CARE-intervening at the local level).

RBA requires identifying and seeking to address the underlying causes of poverty and suffering-The achievement of rights and indeed, poverty eradication are impossible without embracing a holistic perspective and identifying and addressing the underlying, basic causes of people's inability to realise their rights for instance, to food health and other necessities. Interventions

that fail to target causes can only have limited, if any, sustainable impact on poverty and people ability to live in dignity and security.

RBA refuses to tolerate discrimination and inequities that impede peace and development- An emphasis on the equal dignity and worth of all underlies the promotion of tolerance, inclusion, non-discrimination, and social justice. The building of more just societies requires identifying and overcoming barriers that prevent exclude or oppress people from realizing their rights. It also calls for a specific focus on empowering such groups to stand up for their rights and effectively assume responsibility for their own futures.

RBA holds all of us accountable for respecting and helping to protect and fulfill human rights- We all are born not only with rights, but also with duties and or responsibilities. Affirming our moral and mutual solidarity, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is explicit on this fundamental point. Unlike needs, which can be viewed in isolation, rights generate responsibilities and those responsibilities are tied to defined and universally agreed upon standard. The relations nature of rights adds a new force to our commitment to be advocates for global responsibility.

2.7.10 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA)

The livelihoods approach originates in the development of richer understandings of the dimensions of poverty, such as the sustainable human development approach adopted by UNDP, and the concept of capitals and capabilities of Amartya Sen. In the definition used by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID, 1999)

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.”

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is a broader concept than the Framework. The Framework is a way of understanding what a livelihood is. The SLA is a broader concept of how we need to intervene in order to promote poverty eradication. It is, thus, very relevant in designing interventions. According to Diana Carney (1999) in a review of progress with the SLA for the SLSO. Two of the original SL principles: holistic and strengths-based, are also retained into the following revised version of SL principles:

Normative SL principles

- People-centred: sustainable development and poverty elimination requires respect for human freedom and choice as well as an understanding of the differences between groups of people and the development of focused interventions;
- Empowering: support should result in increased voice, opportunities and well-being for people, including the poor.
- Responsive and participatory: people must be key actors in identifying and addressing their livelihood priorities, including the poor. Outsiders and organisations need processes that enable them to listen and respond to people's views;
- Holistic: we need to understand people's livelihoods and how these can be enhanced in a holistic way, which recognises the interrelationships between the different aspects of their lives, although actions arising from that understanding may be focused. For better-off people, income can purchase some other assets, for poor people, the set of assets is critical;
- Sustainable: there are four key dimensions to sustainability – economic, institutional, social and environmental sustainability. All are important – a balance must be found between them.

Operational SL principles

- Strengths-based: it is important to recognise and understand people's strengths, including those of poor people, and not just their problems. This is respectful and provides a platform on which livelihood strategies can be developed. It is also important to build on the strengths of organisations;
- Multi-level (or micro-macro links): sustainable development and poverty elimination is an enormous challenge that will only be overcome by working at multiple levels. Micro-level activity should inform the development of policy and an effective governance environment. Macro- and meso-level structures and processes should recognise micro realities and support people to build upon their own strengths. Top-down strategic action as well as bottom-up participatory processes are required;
- Conducted in partnership: implementation of development requires using the strengths of different organisations, public and private, in the most effective way. Partnerships should include people and their organisations, including those for poor people. Partnerships should be transparent agreements based upon shared objectives.

- Disaggregated: it is vital to understand how the livelihoods of various disadvantaged groups differ – in terms of strengths, vulnerabilities and voice – and what effect this has. Stakeholder and gender analysis are key tools. This allows for targeted actions.
- Long-term and flexible: poverty reduction requires long-term commitments and a flexible approach to providing support, which can respond to emerging circumstances.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has dealt with the existing literature on poverty as it is understood by different people and different researchers.

The literature is based on the conceptual frame-work where the independent variable is rurality and the independent variable is rural poverty. These variables have been the guiding principles in choosing the relevant related literature.

A number of scholars have done a lot of study on poverty both in rural and urban places. In this study, my general discovery is that rural poverty has not been understood from the point of view of the rural poor, but rather from that of urban scholars and researchers. This study is mainly focused on the conditions of rural poverty experienced by the rural poor. Using the two villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma, this study covers the gap of missing knowledge about rural poverty from the point of view of the rural poor.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the methodological approach and justifications as to why the study used such methods. Essentially, this research study generally used primary data as the main focus in this study was to investigate the nature and extent of rural poverty among the rural households in Rwanda.

The ultimate objective of this study was to explore new realities about rural poverty, how the rural people's perceptions about their own poor life-style affects them in their rural settings or localities and get views from the poor rural people on how they have managed to adapt to living with poverty as a survival strategy initiated by themselves.

As there are many policy frameworks and solutions that have been initiated by various researchers, government and international financial institutions like the World Bank, and IMF, to help reduce this scourge of rural poverty. This study was not fully preoccupied with designing such possible policies to fight poverty. The principle occupation in this study was to go to the grassroots, inquire from them how they understand this scourge of rural poverty, and see if they can be able to distinguish their understanding of rural poverty from urban poor or urban rich using manageable and easily understandable measuring options of what rural poverty is. This is because all the solutions and measuring options that could make people understand the scourge of poverty have been based on urban poverty and slowly relating urban poverty to be synonymous with the type of poverty in rural areas. Yet poverty in rural areas is very different from poverty in urban areas. So the main task was to discover more about what rural poverty is, what mainly causes it, its impact and coping strategies for survival by the rural poor people.

This chapter describes the research methodology which the study used. This includes how the case study as a research strategy was selected, an overview of the case study, how the respondents were selected, how data was collected and analysed as well as how the study triangulated the findings.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study used inductive and deductive approaches which mostly entailed qualitative approaches supplemented by quantitative approaches in analysing the nature of rural poverty. In most instances, the study relied more on qualitative research designs and descriptive approaches than

quantitative research designs since it was expected to describe the nature and trend of rural poverty. In order to achieve the above stated objectives and targets effectively, this study used the following research strategies;

- (i) *Case study as form of research strategy. (Two villages in Rwanda's, Northern Province)*
- (ii) *Naturalistic inquiry (Patton, 1990). (A "down- to- earth" investigation depicting the real situation as it is on the ground in the remotest rural areas).*
- (iii) *The survey technique. (This included Questionnaires and interviews)*

The above target calls for the use of a naturalistic inquiry (Patton, 1990) from the rural poor people so as to fully describe rural poverty in Rwanda's Northern Province. Some scholars call this (naturalistic inquiry) a "down-to-earth" approach as it gives an in-depth description and analysis of the whole situation.

In planning for the research study, the researcher was mindful of the need to have a well-articulated research design. Such a research design was desirable for the objective of data collection that was useful in addressing the research questions. It was therefore, a veritable guide for data generation, especially primary data. Another research strategy that was adopted in this study was the survey technique. This strategy was chosen because of the nature of the research topic which demands the collection of a significant amount of data from a meaningful population size in an efficient manner. Because this method is well understood and perceived as authoritative by most people, it was most appropriate for its adoption.

Two survey methods, including questionnaires and interviews were used because the respondents had diverse backgrounds. Questionnaires were used to obtain information from the literate men and women within the area of study, and interviews were used to get information from the illiterate men and women amongst the sampled population. The study also used focus group discussions on small groups of men and women from the two villages.

In-depth interview with individuals, and in-depth discussions with the most rural poor women, most poor rural men, observations, small group discussions, listing, scanning, ranking and trend analyses were all used.

3.2.1 Justification for using a case study methodology and the qualitative approach

This study was able to demonstrate the exact face of rural poverty among poor rural households in Rwanda. This, therefore, necessitated a case study methodology. The case study methodology is drawn from process studies that place importance on establishing the cause of certain outcomes

(Mucunguzi, 2010). The case study design is thus employed when one is interested in answering the why and how questions in research (Yin 1994; Saunders et al. 1997).

According to Mutai (2001), a case study in essence is concerned with the study of everything of something rather than the something of everything. Mutai argues that a case study is an in-depth study which accommodates valuable and unique approaches of a natural setting.

However, as Bryman (1989) asserts, such questions are better answered if the study picks one or a few cases to represent the whole population. That is why two villages were selected as the basis of the case study.

The study was able to use a combination of quantitative and qualitative research designs for gathering information. This is because of keeping with the principle of triangulation in which different methods of data collection and data types are used in a single study. Triangulation refers to the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). Brewerton and Millward (2001) also support the notion of using a case study and combining of different data collection methods in the following argument;

“In case study research, the notion of combining qualitative and quantitative data offers the promise of getting closer to the “whole “of a case, in a way that a single method could not achieve. This idea is based on the principle of triangulation which advocates the use of many different sources of information on the topic with a view of obtaining convergence on an issue”

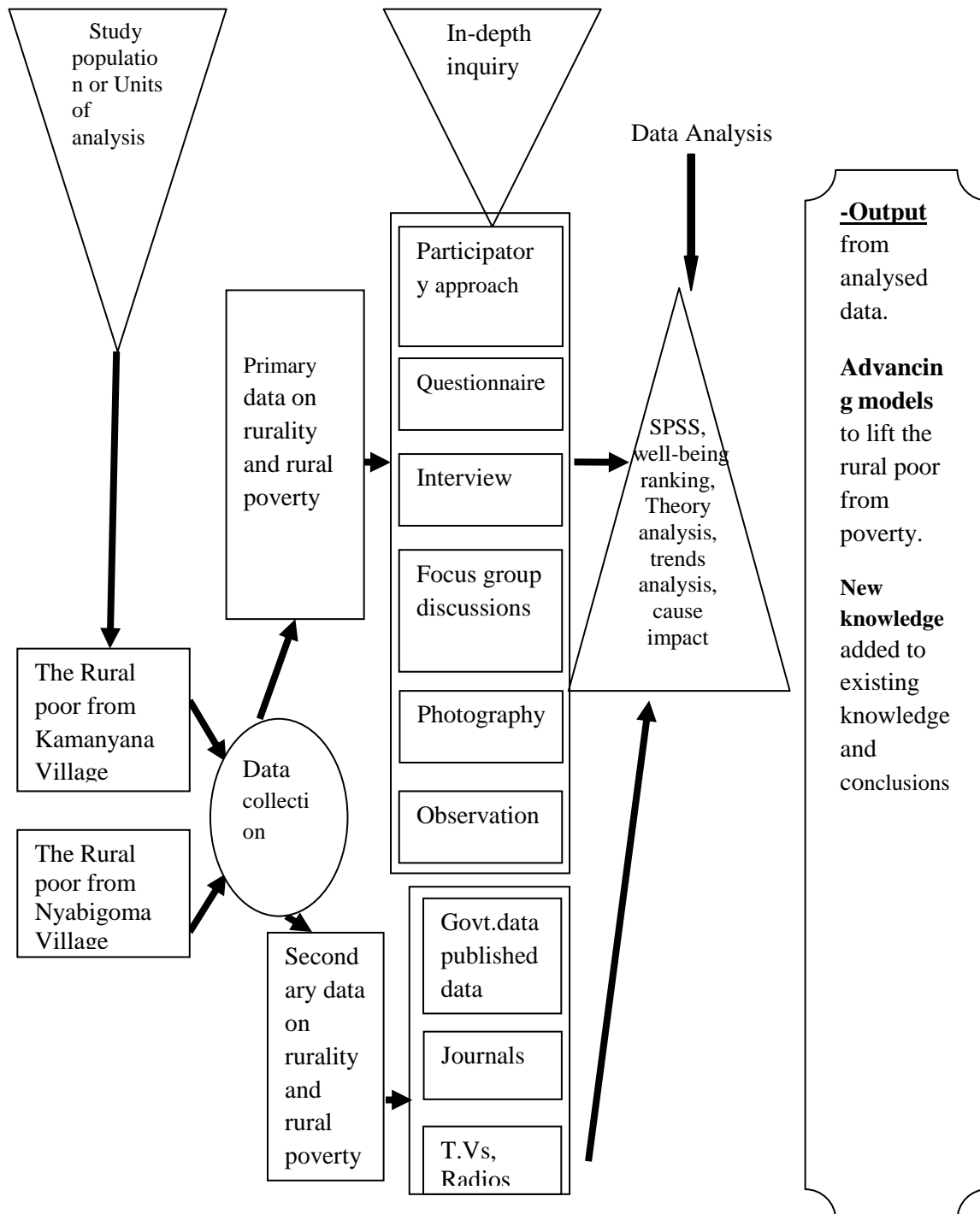
The case study method becomes important in such a study because it will allow an in- depth analysis of the selected case, and also due to the fact that it allows various methods of data collection and analysis to be combined (Mucunguzi, 2010).

Qualitative approach recognises that anybody is capable of constructing knowledge. This means that the disadvantaged groups, although poor and voiceless are capable of authoring knowledge if given chance. Using qualitative approach, the study can assume the role of providing a voice to the disadvantaged groups. Chambers (1995) observes that this special characteristic of qualitative approach empowers disadvantaged groups by giving them a chance to be heard.

It should also be noted that emerging issues to social political and economic developments in third world countries also have enhanced the use of qualitative approaches and descriptive approaches in search of sustainable solutions to the myriad of problems facing them (Sengendo, 2012). Many researchers and experts have argued for qualitative approach especially in Africa because communities in Africa have traditionally communicated information by word of mouth rather than written form. This has been through folklore, an issue relating to beliefs, taboos, sickness, social mythology and family life among others.

The research design of this study has been summarized in the figure as shown below. The figure shows a summary of the study's research design framework. It attempts to show the study population or the unit of analysis that was used, the sources of data collection, data analysis, and the output from the presented data.

Figure 3. 1: Research design framework



Source : Researcher's own impression (2013)

3.3 STUDY AREA

This study entitled “*rurality and rural poverty*”, was conducted amongst the poorest of the rural poor in Rwanda, taking two villages (Imidugudu) in Rwanda’s Northern Province as the case study. These villages are Kamanyana and Nyabigoma in Bulera and Musanze districts respectively. Rwanda being a land locked country, its largest population is predominantly rural and poor.

Population of this study area consists of poor men, women and children in rural areas. This population is predominantly poor and rural living along the Virunga-Muhabura Mountains in Northern Rwanda and these mountains are the bordering demarcations between Rwanda, Uganda and Democratic republic of Congo.

The Virunga -Muhabira Mountains are widely known as Key hosts of the rare mountain gorilla species. People along these places speak the same dialect, in Rwanda the language is called, Kinyarwanda, in Uganda, Kifumbira, while in Democratic republic of Congo, it is called the Kinyamulenge. These languages are similar and there is intermarriage of people here. Some are married in Congo, but working in Rwanda, some are married in Uganda but living in Rwanda. So the interrelationship of people here is so much deeper to the level of their family roots and separating them as either Congolese, Rwandans or rather Ugandans is quite difficult.

In terms of their rural livelihoods like cultivation and small businesses, it is even quite complex. Men and Women involved in commercial agriculture and simple cultivation for subsistence farming, have farms and gardens in Uganda although they stay in Rwanda. Along the Rwanda-Congo Border, small scale rural traders with rural merchandise traverse the borders freely and have businesses in Rwanda, while they sleep in Democratic republic of Congo.

3.4 STUDY POPULATION, SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION OF THE RESPONDENTS

As described above in the study area, this study was conducted in these types of people with diverse inter-country connections along the borders of the rich fertile volcanic soils of the dormant Virunga-Muhabura Volcanic Mountains.

This study was aimed at analyzing the nature of rural poverty among the rural poor households (poorest of the poor) living in deep rural areas which are often isolated and neglected. The study was limited, however, to those people of the two villages in Northern Province in Rwanda

although the study could also be important to the neighboring population as they share the same culture, but they are in different countries.

The two villages in the Northern Province were selected by multistage random sampling and purposive sampling techniques by seeing which village is very rural and very far away from the main trading centers. The researcher also used random selection of the rural poor households, men and women heads on probability proportional size. Information was collected revolving around the following conceptualised areas of interest on rurality and rural poverty as per the area of study:

- (i) *Socioeconomic characteristics of respondents - age, gender, marital status, household size, years of formal education, primary occupation in rural areas.*
- (ii) *Income, activities engaged in by residents of the study area, different livelihoods available in the rural areas.*
- (iii) *Social and infrastructural facilities accessible to the respondents, amount spent to access these amenities on the rural communities.*
- (iv) *Consumption and expenditure on food and non-food items in rural areas.*
- (v) *Different perceptions about rural poverty, different indicators of rural poverty and general well-being and assets or items valued most in the lives of respondents in the rural areas.*
- (vi) *Major causes of rural poverty, degree of commitment to hard work, socio-economic effects and costs of rural poverty to the lives of the rural poor households.*
- (vii) *Coping mechanisms the rural poor can use to survive and checks and balances the rural poor would wish to be put in place for them as major rural priorities if given opportunity.*

The study picked the population of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma based on the following distribution as shown below. The table below also shows how the total population of the study area is placed under the Raosoft(2004) sample size calculator to get an appropriate sample size of 324 people that should be considered.

Table 3. 1: Distribution of the Sample Population

Names of Villages	<u>Kamanyana</u>	<u>Nyabigoma</u>	TOTAL POPN SIZE
Total no of people	518	402	920 <i>RAOSOFT(2004) SAMPLE SIZE CALCULATOR IS 272</i>

Source: Own (2013). To note here is that the above total number of people per the villages were extracted from the recently carried out National population census by NISR (2012). In Rwanda, it is also estimated that the number of people per sq km is 550 (NISR, 2008). The WORLD BANK gives it at 430 people per sq.km(2012), in 2007, at 394 people per sq.km; Working for a world free of poverty; World Bank report (2011)

3.4.1 Sample size determination

In order for the researcher to reach the population of the Study with equal and balanced investigations, it was necessary to use a sample population derived from the main population by using equal sample cluster frequency distribution.

This is when sample clusters are given equal treatment and equal consideration. And this depends on the critical nature of the study which may necessitate purposive sampling. Purposive sampling methods are good in that they may somehow be random sampling or just intuitive judgments by the researcher.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) states that they are not real random sampling but rather a type of sampling which can be used to ensure that the characteristics of the subjects in the study, appear in the same proportion as they appear in the total population.

Since the rural poor exhibit the same characteristics from one village (Umudugudu) to another, the researcher used homogeneous sampling technique.

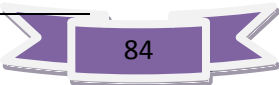
As Mugenda (2008) puts it, this technique is very useful as it gives in-depth study of a homogenous group. This technique, according to Mugenda, allows the researcher to collect comprehensive data with equal treatment and equal proportion of the sampled population.

Therefore, since this population is a homogeneous and a finite one, it is convenient for the researcher to use one of the Taro Yamane's (Onwe, 1983; 1998) formula for the determination of the number of respondents to be sampled in such homogeneous groups (with equal treatment and equal proportion) of population as given below:

$$n = \left(\frac{N/ncl}{2} \right)$$

Whereby; n = Number of respondents to be sampled in each cluster
 N = Total sample size
 ncl = Total number of cluster

The above formula gives how many people to sample in each cluster (say per village) which calls for preferential equal and proportional treatment and, that's why it is divided equally by 2, thus;

$$N = \frac{\left(\frac{272}{2} \right)}{2} = 68$$


Then for equal proportion in a homogenous population sample size (Onwe, 1983, 1998; Taro Yamane, 1951; Douglas A, L., William G, M., Samuel A, W 2005)

$$\frac{68}{2} = 34$$

Since the number of selected villages is 2, the total population size (272) which is divided by 2 and it gives 136 and later this is divided by 2 giving 68 as the total sample size.

The total sample size is then divided by 2 to give 34 which will be the total number of men and total number of women that was the total number of respondents in each of the two villages.

Table 3. 2: Distribution of the number of respondents in each cluster

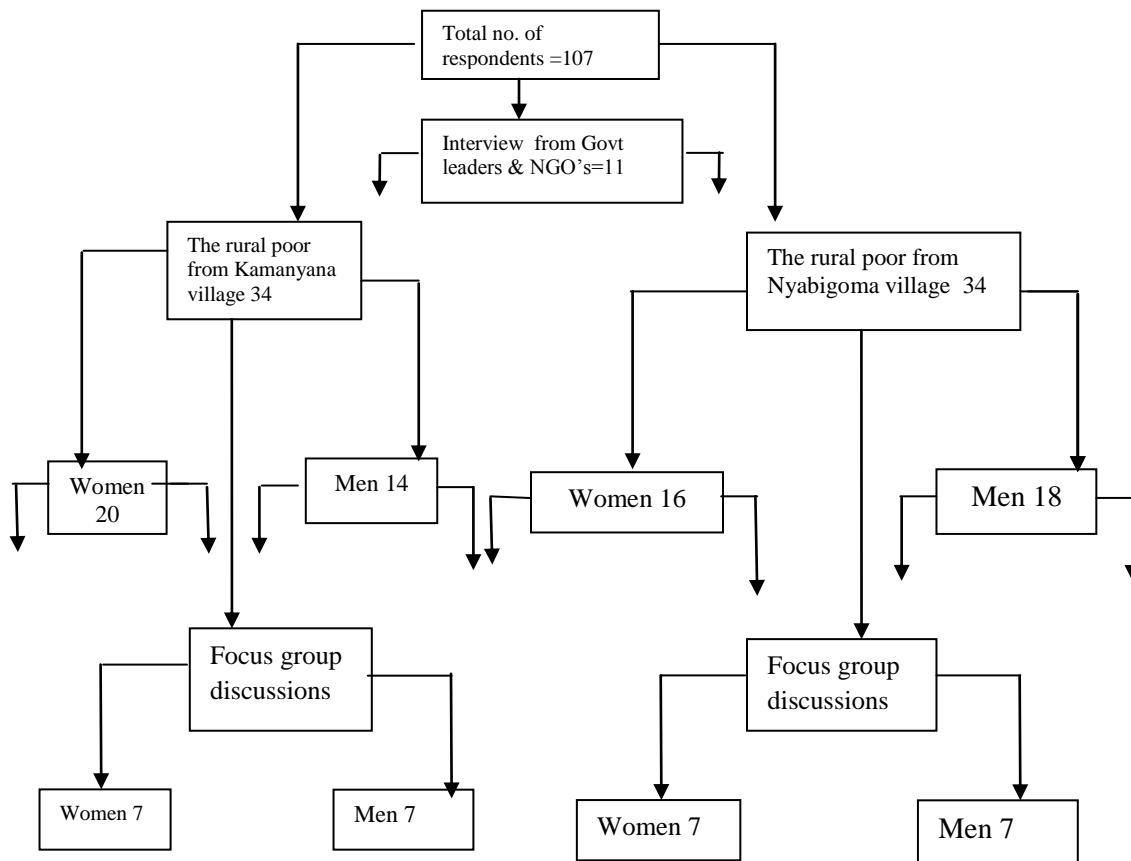
Names of villages	Respondents		Total
	men	women	
Kamanyana	14	20	34
Nyabigoma	18	16	34
TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE	32	36	68

Source: Own (2013)

As explained in this section, this study took a population of 36 women and 32 men as the respective number of respondents for all the two villages.

The two tables above shows the distribution of the sample population and the total sample size figures to which they were determined using the Raosoftware (2004), sample size calculator by considering in all the margins of error expected, the level of confidence expected, population size and the response level of distribution.

A cross-section summary of the distribution of the sample size and the categories of population that was studied is shown in the figure below.

Figure 3. 2: Cross section of the distribution of the study population

Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

3.4.2 Sample size by random sampling

Data was collected using the small group discussions (focus group discussions-FGD) of men and women and randomly picked 7 males and 7 females from each of the two villages.

Random sampling technique was also used to conduct interviews and to administer some questionnaires to 3 government workers and to 2 NGO officials from Kamanyana village. On the other hand, interviews and questionnaires were also given to 2 government officials and to 4 NGO officials who were also picked randomly. The table below summarises the number of respondents.

Table 3. 3: Number of respondents by the villages selected and the data collection methods that were used.

Villages selected	Focus group discussions		Questionnaire and interviews		Interviews and questionnaires		Total Respondents
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Gov't	NGOs	
Kamanyana	7	7	14	20	3	2	53
Nyabigoma	7	7	18	16	2	4	54
Total	14	14	32	36	5	6	107

Source: *own (2013)*

Interviews were also conducted among the poor, the village heads and the representations from the Government side. Selected government officials who stay and work for various extensive programs in those villages were also interviewed. We also considered church leaders and a few selected officials from the NGO'S. These interviews were carried out without a questionnaire, but were based on interview guides already prepared. Like the questionnaire, the interviews were characterised by open-ended questions and sometimes unstructured interviews. In the evening, after the interviews, some notes were made to remember the information obtained during the day. These notes contained many things such as: thoughts, impressions, words, opinions, site characteristics and others. Storey (1997:6) called this a blue book or methodology diary that helped him "to think through ideas, list avenues that had opened and closed, as well as things he needed to do". Thus, the blue book helped him to write up the research findings and facilitate the analysis of the findings.

For the poor, the interview was aimed at obtaining additional information from the responses to the questionnaire. While for others such as village heads, churches leaders, sub-districts officials and NGO officers, the interviews were intended to obtain the information relating to policies, programs and projects in the selected villages.

3.4.3 Selected respondents for FGD's and observation.

In addition, there is a group of people who were interviewed under the focus group discussions (FGD's), to which they were selected on equal representation in each village. Thus, 14 members formed two groups in each village and in each group; we had male and female representations. A Snowball sample random sampling technique was used to select respondents that were to participate under Focus group discussion. In snow ball women would refer the researcher to their colleagues in the same poverty stricken situation while men would also refer the researcher to their colleagues who are in the same poverty afflicted situation. On identification, they would be



interviewed by the researcher and registered in the group. Snow ball sampling also helped the researcher arrive at the other respondents from the government and nongovernmental organisations.

This means that, two groups (A & B) participated in Nyabigoma village alone and two other groups (B & C) participated in Kamanyana village alone making a total of 28 people who were under focus group discussion.

Then there was observation method and photography while in the field. In this method, the researcher just observed the situation as he was busy on data collection. Observation was used to critically see the real situation the rural poor were going through by observing their housing standards, food consumption, daily economic activities and their general way of livelihood.

3.4.4 Raosoftware calculator (2004) Sampling technique and justification

The choice of sampling techniques depends on the feasibility and sensibility of how data is expected to be collected in answering the given research questions and objectives. Research objectives which require one to estimate the characteristics of the population from a sample require probability samples. Those which require generalisations can make use of non-probability sampling techniques (Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill 1997). Given the nature of the research topic, therefore, both techniques may be needed. This also partly explains how the above sample size was arrived at using the sample size Raosoftware calculator (2004). This software uses artificial intelligence to determine the sample size, for research objectives which requires a very big population. The Raosoft sample size calculator is automatic software which determines the margin of error, level of confidence, population size and the level of response distribution with great perfection.

Table 3. 4: Automatic Raosoftware determination of the sample size technique

Margin of error accepted; 5% is a common choice	5%	The margin of error is the amount of error that you can tolerate. Lower margin of error requires a larger sample size.
Level of confidence needed Typical choices are 90%, 95%, or 99%	95%	The confidence level is the amount of uncertainty you can tolerate. Higher confidence level requires a larger sample size
What is the population size ?	920 20,000.	How many people are there to choose your random sample from? The sample size doesn't change much for populations larger than

What is the response distribution Leave this as 50% ?	50	If you don't know, use 50%, which gives the largest sample size.
Hence, recommended samplpe size	272 Apprx	This is the minimum recommended size of the survey. <i>This research used 272 as the total sample size from the two villages. This was later divided by 2 to get 136; later also divided by 2 to get 68; again divided by 2 to get 34.</i> <i>As justified by the explanations above.</i>

Source: *Raosoft.inc (2004); A sample size software calculator and determinant*

The most important aspect about this method on sampling techniques is that it represents the population effectively.

Prior to that, however, the researcher had some preliminary informal interviews with local people in each Umudugudu so as to gain initial information and understand the selected Imidugudus very well. As Hay (2003) puts it that exploratory work like, reading, viewing television documents, observation and preliminary interviews often gives the researcher a clear understanding of the key informants. The participants in this study ranged from the ages of 18 to 60 years and the religious affiliations of the participants were not considered.

In this part of Rwanda (Northern Province), farming on both small scale and medium scale is the principle occupation deep in the rural areas. Hunting is limited, although it used to exist. No there is a gazetted area for wild animals. There are also small scale businessmen and women since tourism booms in this area and tourists come from the western countries to go to the Virunga Mountains to see the mountain Gorillas. This, therefore, means the occupation of the participants shall be considered, but our aspect was about rural poverty concerns, whatever the occupation in the rural areas.

On selecting what kind of men and women to be interviewed and also given the questionnaire, the study used the snowball sampling technique. Mugenda (1997) calls it chain referral sampling. This is a technique which is vcery unique. It starts with displaying the qualities the researcher is interested in investigating. The researcher would then ask the respondent to suggest another person who is involved in the same activity and would be willing to provide information on the subject.

Finally, on this section of methodology as mentioned before, the research study used the qualitative research designs mostly because of the nature of the topic. The study really described the state and nature of rural poverty in the study area. Qualitative data if collected very well is good in that it focuses on a naturally occurring event because it is collected close to a specific situation. It is also powerful for assessing why and how things happen as they do as it assesses causality. Given the level of rural poverty, this method of data collection emphasises on people's live experiences and it ends up becoming important for locating the meanings people place on certain things. Kasomo (2006) elaborated that quantitative research information is numerical while qualitative, information is descriptive. The study was centred on individual levels of poverty in rural areas and that is why qualitative methods were found most useful. Quantitative methods are based on generalisation, while qualitative is based on individual and while the later is so good for a natural setting or natural study like this, the former is good in an artificial setting (Kasomo, 2006).

3.5 DATA COLLECTION SOURCES

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected using semi structured and in-depth interviews. Interviews were formalised and structured using standardised questions for the respondents as recommended by Abdullahi (2004). Semi-structured interviews were undertaken by taking note of responses to a list of questions on the subject matter. In order to ensure that enough, adequate, and reliable information were obtained, the following instruments were used in the collection of primary data:

- (i) *Observation checklist*
- (i) *Questionnaires*
- (iii) *Focus group discussions*
- (iv) *Photography*

3.5.1 Observation

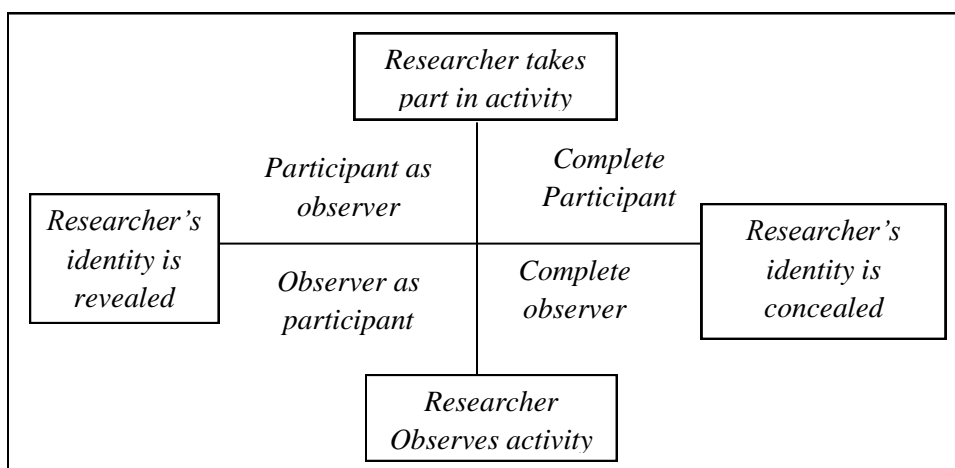
The researcher was able to observe events as they unfolded in those rural areas. Opportunity presented itself and the researcher started residing, eating, and sleeping with the poor rural people, this was used to observe critically their deprivations in their daily lives and activities.

This method according to Denzin (1989) helps the researcher share in the participants' subjective and symbolic world which creates opportunities to develop a thick and rich

description of the life of the rural poor. Whyte (1984) also commends the use of participant observation because it gives the intending researcher the opportunity to make significant discoveries about the life of the rural poor that was not even anticipated by the researcher.

This research study was also impressed with the works of Kasomo (2006) on describing the importance of observation. According to Kasomo, the observation method can be participant observation or naturalistic observation. So since this study was a down to earth study, or rather a naturalistic study as mentioned earlier, naturalistic observation was paramount. The researcher was busy observing situations as they could occur in which the participants were not aware that they were being observed.

Table 3. 5: The typology of participant observation



Source: *Researchers' own impression*

Kasomo (2006) pointed out that this method is advantageous because it is direct, and the researcher is able to study the people's behavior as it occurs. It is also good in that, the researcher obtains data or information about the rural poor people who are unable to give verbal or written reports. The following checklist shows some of the issues that were observed among others;

- *Coping strategies of rural poor*
- *Characteristics of rural poor*
- *Feeding habits and consumption patterns of rural poor*

- *Standard of living of rural poor (Household welfare)*
- *Cultural attitudes of rural poor people*
- *Level of community involvement and participation of rural poor*
- *Level of choices and opportunities available to the rural poor*
- *Settlement patterns of rural poor people*
- *Level of individual sharpness, activeness and willingness to work hard*
- *Major leading sources of income of rural poor*
- *And others as the situation manifested itself while in the field*

The researcher also had to utilise the observation method while in the field. The researcher simply observed the lifestyles of the rural dwellers. Some of the other key observation items included the houses, dressing style household items and utensils', meals consumed in a day, livelihood options like gardens and living environment. Observation as a method helped the researcher to critically see the real situation the rural poor were going through, especially, their housing standards, food consumption, daily economic activities and their general way of livelihood.

3.5.2 Questionnaire

Primary data was captured through the use of questionnaires structured as per the set of objectives that were to be investigated as shown below:

- (i) *Section A (How do the rural poor define and understand rural poverty?)*
- (ii) *Section B (What are the likely causes of persistent rural poverty?)*
- (iii) *Section C (Investigations about the effects, consequences and costs of rural poverty)*
- (iv) *Section D (Discovering how the rural poor in those villages are coping with rural life to lessen their difficulties in order to survive.)*

The questions in the questionnaires tested the overall respondents views on the above concepts of the study and in order to measure the respondents views effectively, the study used the Lickert scale of 1-5 (1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=neutral, 4=disagree and 5=strongly disagree).

3.5.3 Focus group discussions (FGDs)

A focus group discussion (FGD) according to Krueger (1988), refers to a good way to bring together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest. The group of participants is guided by a moderator (or group facilitator) who introduces topics for discussion and helps the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst themselves. Morgan (1988) asserts that the strength of FGD relies on allowing the participants to

agree or disagree with each other so that it provides an insight into how a group thinks about an issue, about the range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that exists in a particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices.

In this study, FGDs were used to explore the meanings of the findings that could not be explained statistically. FGDs also helped the research to analyse a range of opinions/views on rurality and rural poverty which was the main topic of interest of this study. FGDs also guided this study to collect a wide variety of local terms used in the various villages of Kabanyana and Nyabigoma. A lot of descriptions on the rural lifestyle were presented and listened to using this method.

The participants were divided into four groups namely; group A, B, C and D. Group A and C were from Kabanyana village while group B and D were from Nyabigoma village. The details of what they were to be asked were prepared carefully through identifying the main objective(s) of the different meetings, developing key questions and developing an agenda. The research assistants and the main researcher were taking notes during the various sessions. After identifying suitable discussion participants, it was agreed that we use between six and eight as the ideal number in each group. This is also in line with Stewart and Shamdasani (1990) who observed that the best group in an FGD should be seven. Eventually, group A had seven members (three men and four women), group B had Seven members (three women and four men). Whereas groups C and D had eight members each; each group had four men and four women.

Key questions were asked jovially among the discussion groups by the research assistants and the main researcher who maintained a neutral attitude and appearance by reflecting and summarising the different opinions evenly and fairly. A detailed report of these opinions has been presented in chapter eight, nine and ten. It should also be noted that during this time, observations were made and have also been reported subsequent to this one.

3.5.4 Photography

Photography has a significant history of use as a research tool. The fields of anthropology, sociology and history have all developed diverse methods of using photography (Collier and

Collier 1986; Edwards 1992; Prosser 1998). Ethnographic and documentary photography have long histories, especially in cross-cultural research.

This method is advantageous in that, it helped this study to demonstrate and record changes over time and render the details of a moment visible. Different photos were taken as seen in the Annex/Appendix of Photo plates in the last section of this study report. The photos were relied on also because they easily enhanced the ability to observe the real aspects or the key elements in this study of *“rurality and rural poverty.”*

The researcher took various photos of various economic activities in the rural areas of Nyabigoma and Kabanyana villages. Photos of how the rural poor have opted to cope with survival strategies ranging from things like traditional methods of transport (IGIPIRINGISO), to traditional methods of bee farming, mat making, rearing of domestic animals, vegetable growing to Local brewing of traditional alcohol called IKIGAGE, have all been presented in the annex/appendix of the photo plates at the end of this report.

The photos helped this study also to know exactly how it is from other rural people who did not participate in the study physically and were from other places. This is especially so when the researcher visited local village markets which could take place in the mornings of every Saturday. In these markets, rural people from various villages could meet and the researcher was also able to talk to a wide range of rural people from various places. This argument is also backed by Jo Spence and Joan Solomon (1995). Jo Spence and Solomon (1995) asserts that photography can overcome a wide range of barriers to participation such as age, illiteracy, language differences, cultural differences, and even geographical distance. Noble and Jones, in Sankaran et al (2001) observed that photography provides a technology that literally enables researchers and their audiences to see the world in new ways, to make the invisible visible - to say *“hey look at this !”*

3.5.5 Secondary data sources

This form of data was through published and unpublished materials on the nature of rural poverty worldwide, regionally and locally in Rwanda. Some of these sources were obtained

through national reports and national budgets. The sources of data were helpful in getting deep insights into the subject of the nature of rural poverty in Rwanda.

Renowned researchers such as Muo (2007) recognised the importance of secondary data, especially where comparisons are made in order to answer research questions and address the research objectives. It was therefore imperative to address the research questions using a combination of secondary and primary data. Secondary data that was consulted included both quantitative and qualitative data. The sources of secondary data were ascertained through literature review, informal discussions with experts, colleagues, seminars and conferences as well as published guides. Data on the Internet was also located using search engines such as;

- (i) *The World Wide Web*
- (ii) *Search engines such as;*
 - (a) *Yahoo* (<http://www.yahoo.com>),
 - (b) *Google* (<http://www.google.com>)
 - (c) *MSN* (<http://www.msn.com>)

3.6 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

Notes were written up everyday, often until sunset, at the end of each day the research assistants could join information collected from both villages, Kamanyana and Nyabigoma and analyse the findings and interpretations every day. In analysing the data obtained from this study, a number of analytical methods were employed and these included; descriptive statistics, established theories and SPSS.

Descriptive Statistics: - Descriptive statistics (such as means, tables, frequencies, percentages) were used to analyse, summarise and describe the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents, their perceptions of rural poverty and the causes and effects of rural poverty.

Established theories to analyse data were also used. In data analysis, the good use of theory assists in designing the case study more effectively, as well as being useful for generalising the end results (Kamanzi, 2007). Theory, thus, assists in selecting the cases for study, specifying what is to be explored, defining a complete and appropriate description, stipulating rival theories, and generalising the results to other cases (Yin 1993). This means that, at the end of the data collection, the study was able to relate findings with what rurality is and how it affects rural poverty and also how the reverse becomes true.

Generated theory was compared to *existing theory* on issues concerning rurality and rural poverty.

3.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

To obtain reliable data which is valid, better data analysis techniques were used. Because of the nature of this topic, this study combined a variety of techniques to obtain the data. As stated earlier in this chapter, this study used a combination of the qualitative and participatory research methods so as to be able to capture the diversity of opinions and perceptions of the respondents regarding the topic.

It is in only a few areas where the researcher used minimal quantitative research methods. This implies that as this study combined different methods during the collection of data and data analysis, there was need for a triangulation of data sources. According to Brannen (1992), Creswell (1994), triangulation is a technique of employing different methods to study the same issue with the same unit of analysis. Creswell goes ahead to say that triangulation is a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.

The Kenyan researcher, Mugenda (2008), argues that in data validation and management, employment of a combination of methodologies helps the researcher to achieve a higher degree of validity and reliability. A researcher is able to obtain a variety of information on the same issue and overcome the deficiencies of single method studies.

This research also used the consent comparative method of data analysis. This is a method which stipulates that data collection and data analysis should occur simultaneously. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), when the researcher has finished data collection for a particular phase, the researcher should immediately analyse the concepts, events, issues and themes that are emerging from that data collected.

This, later on, was found to be important as it helped this study to compare with the next phase of data coming from questionnaires or participatory approaches of observation and others. Since most of this research work was based on qualitative analysis, which involves description, in some interview sessions, the researcher had to use interview guides as a descriptive analytical framework for the initial analysis of the data. As the data was being collected from the field,

coding of the interview was initiated and editing of the data and also used some graphical illustrations to further simplify the outcome of the information needed.

In managing the data collected from the field, this study used various checking methods in order to make it credible. First and foremost, prolonged engagements and persistent observations were paramount. The researcher's long time interaction and understanding of the culture was required. Research assistants were hired to help in checking the procedures of data collection, interpretations and conclusions tested. Lincoln and Guba (1985) support this method of checking by saying that this is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility of findings in data management

3.7.1 Credibility and data management

The issue of credibility of research findings was seriously considered in the research design so as to reduce the possibility of doubting the credibility of research findings. Consequently, elaborate steps were taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of respondents to questionnaires. Also, care was taken to ensure that the data derived from the study was valid and relevant to the research objectives.

Finally as far as management, credibility, reliability and validity for this study is concerned, steps were taken to ensure that proper things are done as in relationship with the following:

- *Identification of the research population:* Efforts were made to ensure that the choice of the population was logical to guarantee generalisations that were to be made across the whole population.
- *Data collection:* Concerted efforts were also made to ensure that the processes adopted to collect data yielded valid data.
- *Data interpretation:* Appropriate theoretical frameworks were chosen in data interpretation. This implies that conclusions were drawn from both existing facts and valid reasons given by respondents to questions asked.
- *Development:* The questionnaires were pre-tested (test- retest) before embarking on full scale field work in order to finalise the design structure so as to ensure that the instruments expected to be used provided the desired data.

3.7.2 Reliability of the data on return rate of questionnaires

This study took the following steps to improve on the return rate for the questionnaires that were distributed;

- *Cover letters were dispatched with 5 hired research assistants, 3 ladies and two men because this population has a large number of women than men.*
- *There were repeated visits and phone calls to the respondents.*
- *The researcher was personally involved in interview sessions.*
- *Here people cultivate from morning up to evening because of the favorable climate. The area is very cold and it is along the Virunga and Muhabura volcanic mountains, so it was also important to find some people in their places of work especially in gardens of Irish potatoes since it is the main food crop and cash crop*
- *The study designed questions that were easy to read.*
- *Staying in the rural areas of the Northern Province as a local resident. The researcher hired two rooms; one room as a bedroom and one room as a small contact office for various infield responses.*

The response rate for questionnaires as put forward by De Vaus (1991) was taken into consideration. According to De Vaus, non-response normally happens due to three interrelated problems; refusal to respond, non-contact and ineligibility to respond. Those respondents who are ineligible create an error in the final results. So to counteract this error, the researcher used De Vaus's method of removing this error using the calculation;

$$\text{Response rate} = \frac{\text{Total number of responses}}{100}$$

$$\text{Total number in responses} = (\text{ineligible} + \text{unreachable})$$

Further literature available (Kervin, 1992, Saunders et al, 1997) in recent research shows that, at whatever the cost, response rate will always be difficult when using survey techniques (questionnaire, Interview and telephone contacts) in this way:

- *Responses using Postal surveys are always rated at 30%. But in this study, Postal surveys were not used because this study was dealing with poor rural people who even don't know a post office or post survey.*
- *Responses using interviews are rated at 50%*
- *Responses using questionnaires are rated to be between 50% to 92%.*
- *Responses using telephone interviews are rated to be between 75% to 99% depending on the tone of the interviewee*

Therefore this study is more reliable and valid as it relied more on the responses by questionnaires and interviews. Because of this reliability, the regional policy makers will have a step forward in understanding what rural poverty is all about.

3.8 PRE-TEST OR PILOT STUDY

The researcher has been in the proposed study area several times for sort of a Pilot study. This gave the researcher more motivation so as to carry out this research study for the sake of the future generation. Locke et al (1987) stated that a Pilot study enables the research to establish the following:

- (i) *The initial focus,*
- (ii) *Study site,*
- (iii) *Sources of information*
- (iv) *Preliminary data analysis*

This is because the above factors can help a serious PhD student develop a proposal, and write up a study report with a concrete experience, focus and background.

Through the pilot studies, the researcher made friends with few people and he had to learn the local (*Ikinyarwanda*). So when it came to time for interviews, questionnaires, the researcher was able to translate the questions to Kinyarwanda so that a local rural person should be able to give the right answer after understanding what is being asked. But, all in all, the researcher discovered that the rural poor were much more willing to participate in the project after having been approached by one of their own who was humbly asked to work with the researcher in this Rural Poverty Project. Attached in the appendices are copies of photos of some poor rural people trying to forge a way of survival visited during one of the pilot studies.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research topic herein was so sensitive and called for a modest approach. As the main researcher and one who had tried to learn the culture of the area, methods of protecting the research participants were put in place. This is because poor rural people are always suspicious. The study was permitted officially by the Governor's office (Northern Province), the heads of Districts and Imidugudu Chairmen and not forgetting the military and security departments. The

researcher trained research assistants on the need for self-introduction and presenting the rationale of this researched topic first. Formal consent forms were attached to be completed (see attached) by the participants before they can fill the questionnaire. These forms were to seek their formal consent and contained the following:

- (i) *The purpose of the study*
- (ii) *A statement that participation in the study was purely voluntary*
- (iii) *A statement that, every attempt would be made to maintain their confidentiality*
- (iv) *A guarantee, that they have the right to answer or not to answer any question*
- (v) *A guarantee that there shall be no risks and benefits that could be anticipated as a result of taking part in this exercise*

Fortunately, all segments of society here know the importance of research which they term in the Kinyarwanda Language as “Ubushakashatsi”. Nevertheless, permission from those who care for the special populations was sought and was based on the principle of informed consent (Mugenda, 2008). According to Mugenda, still protecting the rights and welfare of everybody who volunteers to participate in a study is a fundamental tenet of ethical research. Participation in research is voluntary and subjects are at liberty to withdraw from the study at any time without repercussions.

3.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The focus of this study was limited to rurality and Rural Poverty among rural poor households in Rwanda. The case study was two villages in the Northern Province of Rwanda.

Despite the various urban and trading centers, this study was strictly rural based and the research participants were picked from the deep rural village areas. For this reason, the results specifically showed the state and nature of rural poverty among the rural households only. The proposed topic in this study, specifically sought to find out new realities about Rurality and Rural Poverty. This called for an independent understanding and a down-to earth inquiry which was described as a naturalistic inquiry at the beginning of this chapter.

To capture an in depth understanding of the multiple realities of the rural poor, the study needed a naturalistic inquiry, which is good for the study of social problems such as rural poverty. However, this type of inquiry and study is limited, in that it is labor intensive and not suitable for

studying large numbers of people. The only advantage with this study is that it is more suitable to the use of qualitative research than quantitative research. One great researcher; Babbie (1986) argues that, qualitative studies have more validity but less reliability than quantitative studies. But still, Babbie went ahead to state that, the comprehensiveness of qualitative methods allows for exceptionally detailed and independent measures of the meaning that people give to their life situations.

So this in-depth and comprehensive understanding was expected to improve the internal validity of this study among the rural poor who are living deep in various villages, but by its very nature, it limited the external validity and generalisation of the findings to other similar groups.

Some people were not comfortable in sitting for long hours as they thought that, much of their time was being taken. In some groups, the researcher remembered the participants for their time by providing them with cold drinks (Ikigage and sodas) for the easy exchange of views. These forms of hospitality not only lead to enhanced awareness, but also to active participation by the respondents both individually and in groups.

However, in some situations, the daily activities of this study raised expectations and excitement as they hoped that perhaps after all this, they would get employments contracts or be remunerated in a more formal way which was not the case at the end of the field visits.

Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, the researcher has presented the methodology applied in gathering this data as well the instruments. The approach used was largely qualitative with few elements of quantitateness.

The main justification for this methodology was that it was bound to give us a chance to experience with a vivid observation in the situation of poverty in the rural country side of the two villages in the Northern Province of Rwanda.

In the survey, we had 107 respondents from the two villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana. The researcher was convinced that this sample size was representative enough to give a picture of what rurality and rural poverty concepts are all about. We made sure that our questionnaire and interview schedules were presented before we went

to the field. Most importantly, we created such rapport that our respondents were able to give their opinions fully.

CHAPTER FOUR : DESCRIPTION AND PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY SUBJECT

This chapter describes the philosophical issues related to the study's independent variable. The historical aspects of the same variables have been described thoroughly in this study so as to gauge a more broad understanding of the trends in Rurality and rural poverty in Rwanda as whole. This study was about "Rurality and rural poverty: What it means to be poor". The main significance of this study was to go out there in the deep rural areas of Rwanda, to understand more about rural poverty and also to discover the rural home grown solutions which have been adapted and can also be adapted in future for a rural poor households in Rwanda. This study was based on a case study of two selected villages in Rwanda's Northern Province; Kamanyana and Nyabigoma.

4.1. Geo-political set up of Rwanda

Rwanda is a geographically small country in Eastern Central Africa. The country is divided into five Administrative units called Provinces namely; The City of Kigali with Headquarters at Kigali, the Northern Province with headquarters at Musanze, the Eastern Province with headquarters at Rwamagana, the Western Province with headquarters at Karongi and the southern Province with headquarters at Nyanza. With a national population of 10,537,000 people (NISR, 2012), Rwanda would seem to be having a majority of its people above the Poverty Line because of the massive investment in the socioeconomic infrastructure set up by the Government. Unfortunately, however, a bigger number of rural dwellers are still under the Yoke of poverty estimated at 44.9 per cent (NISR, 2012).

By any intent and purpose, this is a big number of poor people in rural areas and this shows that the war against rural Poverty in rural areas of Rwanda is far from being over. Two villages in the Northern Province were chosen as a case study for the whole of Rwanda because the Northern Province is considered to be the food basket of the nation with a rural population greatly involved in agriculture yet, still having a lot of poor people.

4.2. Rurality and rural poverty

This study was aimed at establishing how the effect of living very deep in rural areas can partly explain why there is persistent poverty in such an area.

As defined in chapter 1 of this study, rurality is a situation of one living in rural areas and having traits of rural life style. People living in rural areas are so backward, primitive and un-exposed to the modern way of life. Mostly they practice agriculture which is both commercial and subsistence for their livelihood.

This study, therefore, emphasised the effect of place on socio-economic emancipation and socio-economic development. The more the person stays very deep in rural areas, the more the chances that he or she will remain poor due to lack of access to the socio-economic infrastructures. Although not all of the people can remain poor, at least the majority of the people will remain poor.

Davis and Weber (2002) and Cotter (2002) found out that even people with similar personal and household characteristics are more likely to be poor if they live in a rural labor market as opposed to an urban one even if the labour markets have the same industrial and occupational structures and employment rate . Sampson, et al (2002) points out that rural poor people are poor because of the locality and advancement of the particular area. A poor person in deep villages will always be with lots of inferiority complex. Rural poor people even select neighbours basing on social characteristics such as neighborhood, racial segregation, economic status and friendship ties.

This study ventured into place effects as having a great impact on rural poverty. A deeper focus on cultural, normative and collective action perspectives that attach meaning to how residents from rural places are affected by poverty was also looked upon in this study.

4.3. Conceptual description of rurality as a determinant of rural poverty.

Based on the researcher's own understanding about rurality, this study was limited on rurality as a major independent variable, to which much of the rural poverty depends and conspicuously persists to perpetuate itself into intervening and moderating roots of Poverty, leading to the effects and costs of Poverty. People in Rural areas are deprived of several opportunities due to effect of place where they are living coupled with the level of rural Poverty they are facing in their day to day lifestyle.

Chamber (1983) argues that as long as people are poor, living below the poverty line from generation to generation, they will be faced with a vicious circle of poverty. The vicious circle of poverty forces the poor people to have low incomes, low savings low investments low productivity, low diets, poor health, poor living standards from grandfather, to father, son to even their grand children.

This implies that unless one person in the clan/ family ventures into ways of breaking this trend of poverty, such effects will always perpetuate itself into more and more deprivations leading the poor people to be completely entangled into a deprivation trap, or the rural poor people will always be completely imprisoned very deep in villages with Rural Poverty.

Chambers (1983) was the first to hint on this argument that too much poverty leads to the deprivation trap of powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness, poverty and isolation.

This study maintained that in rural areas, rural poverty leads to serious consequences in the day-to-day livelihoods of the of rural poor people. The usual costs of poverty namely conflicts food insecurity, lack of education, debts, powerlessness, isolation, physical weakness, and general vulnerability to every incoming problem. There is always a lot of uncertainty in the life of poor people who are locked up deep in rural areas.

4.4. Description of poverty in rural areas of Rwanda

Rural poverty in the Northern Province of Rwanda like any other parts of Rwanda has several dimensions. There are cases of abject poverty where many rural households do not spend a dollar a day per person and cases of people having one meal a day. There are also cases of relative poverty as some people are poorer than others.

Literature reviewed mentions that poverty in Rwanda is a complex phenomenon that can be described by the double impact of inherent structural problems that date back over the last 30 years (Mupenzi, 2009). Lots of literature available argues that the characteristics of poverty trends among people in rural areas are struggling with is mostly originating from the historical distortions of the economic , historical, political and social management structures of the 1959 uprisings, the 1960 Mass killings, 1993 revolution and the 1990 to 1994 war and Genocide. According to Mupenzi (2009), it is the outcome of these malaises which caused institutional decay and entrenchment of absolute poverty among the bulk of the population.

4.4.1 Rural Poverty in Rwanda villages

In order to describe the trend of rural poverty in Rwandan villages, it is paramount to first of all acknowledge the importance of individual household setups coupled with their demography traits. Because very many poor people live in rural areas and they are predominantly engaged in agricultural activities, they tend to prefer a large family size for easy manual labour.

The government of Rwanda has done a commendable job in extending infrastructure (roads, market, water and electricity) and services (health, education, banking, tourism) but the problem of rural poverty still persists in rural areas. According to Hangtoo and Khanker (2009) lots of efforts from the Rwandan Government have brought up a decrease in the level of rural Poverty, but still there is a deprivation in wellbeing of individuals. People in rural areas do not have enough income, enough food, and enough health. Most of them feel powerless, isolated and lack political freedoms. This is in line with the Sen (1999), capability approach of the individual to function in society.

This study emphasizes the need to know exactly the meaning of being poor. In as far as living in rural areas is concerned; the farther the area is from the urban centres, the more the people eat

badly in terms of nutrient and calorie intake. So malnutrition is common in rural areas where people eat once a day, and moreover, they take boiled Irish potatoes only. Coupled with this is the level of illiteracy. The World Bank's Poverty Description and Reduction Hand book (1992: 21; 1998:20, 2012: 18) highlights the importance of measuring poverty before adequate solutions are put in place. It is very important for development workers to know the nature and trend of rural poverty so as; to monitor and evaluate projects and policy interventions geared to helping the poor people. There is need to keep the poor people on the agenda by identifying them very well; to evaluate the effectiveness of institutions whose goal is to help poor people; and to help countries think systematical about how the position of poor people may be improved.

4.4.2 Categories of the poor and the poorest in the Rwanda Villages

In the Rwanda villages, rural poverty has evolved over time due to the enormous government effort to fight poverty and increase economic growth and economic development. However, despite the enormous government policies, some have become even poorer, with low literacy levels and this has left the policy makers asking themselves what to do next.

It is, therefore, one of the rationales of this study to look into the reasons as to why poor people in the rural areas continue to remain poorer than the poor people living in urban areas. Faced with this paradox, the government of Rwanda, took up a poverty mapping survey (Ubudehe survey 2007) so as to describes the level of poverty in rural areas and come up with a concrete rural poverty profile which has always been used to describe the rural poor people up to today throughout Rwanda in general. The Ubudehe survey (2007) came up with six categories which fully describes the nature and characteristic of Rural Poverty in the villages. These categories include: Umukire (The money rich) Umutindi (the very poor) , Umukene (the poor), Umukene wifashije (the resourceful poor) , Umukungu (the food rich) and the Umutingi nyakujya (those in abject poverty).

As explained in Chapter one of this study, it should be remembered that the first objective of this study was to determine how rural households define, in their own opinion what rural poverty is. It is therefore interesting to compare objective poverty measures at the national level with subjective measures based on perceptions of poverty.

From the Ubudehe survey, the rural communities in their own words identified the six socioeconomic categories in which they positioned themselves in, as shown in the table below.

Table 4. 1: Description and distribution of the poor

Category of poor	Description	Share of respondents
Destitute	Umuhanya	18.0
Poorest	Umutindi nyakujaya	52.5
Poorer	Umutindi	9.8
Poor	Umukene	7.1
Vulnerable	Utishoboye	4.8
Serving	Umukene wifashije	1.1
Others	Abandi	6.8

Source : *MINECOFIN (2007a)*

Table 4. 2: Characteristics of households in Rwanda

Category group	Translation in Kinyarwanda	Characteristics of the group
Cores (those in object poverty)	Umutindi nyakujya	Those who need to beg to survive. They have no land or livestock, lack of shelter, no adequate clothing. They fall sick often and have no access to medical care. Their children are malnourished and they cannot afford to send them to school.
The poorer (the very poor)	Umutindi	The main difference between the Umutindi and Umutindi nyakujya is that this group is physically capable of working on land owned by others although they themselves have either no land or very small land holdings, and no livestock.
The poor	Umukene	These household have some land and housing. They live on their own labor and produce and though they have no savings they can eat, even if the food is not very nutritious. However their children do not always go to school and they often have no access to health care.

The resourceful poor	Umukene wifashije	This group shares many of the characteristics of the Umukene but in addition, they have small ruminants and their children go to primary school.
The food rich	Umukungu	This group has larger land holdings with fertile soil and enough to eat. They have livestock, often have paid jobs and can access health care.
The money rich	Umukire	This group has land, livestock and often has salaried jobs. They have good housing, often own a vehicle and have enough money to buy land, can get credit from bank. Many migrate to urban centers

Source : *MINECOFIN (2007a)*

4.5 The major causes of poverty in the rural villages of Rwanda

This study's second objective was aimed at establishing the real causes of rural poverty so as to have an established set of syndromes of rural poverty in particular as compared to rural poverty.

This area has been fully exhausted in Chapter 6 of this study's findings. However, literature available from the Ubudehe Survey (2007) identifies factors such as lack of land, poor soils, unpredictable weather and lack of livestock as the major causes of poverty in Rwanda.

Table 4. 3: Major causes of poverty as per the Ubudehe survey

Causes	Share of Respondents (%)
Lack of land	49.5
Poor soils	10.9
Drought /Weather	8.7
Lack of livestock	6.5
Ignorance	4.3
Inadequate infrastructure	3.0
Inadequate technology	1.7
Sickness	1.7
Polygamy	1.2
Lack of access to water	1.1
Population pressure	0.7
Others	10.6

Source: *MINECOFIN (2007 a)*

In confirmation with this forgoing chapter, the ADPRS 2008-2012 Report further re-affirms the rationale of this study. Overall, over half of the households sampled felt that their income of

livelihood had not improved in the last three years despite all the efforts from the Government, NGOs, Individual efforts and churches to reduce poverty in rural areas. EDPRS (2008-2012: 13). Exit strategies out of poverty were identified as paid employment, livestock rearing, small businesses, and water and roads provision.

4.6 Rwandan approach of blending traditional institution in fighting Rural Poverty

Literature available shows that Rwanda is among the fastest growing economies in the great lakes region the East and Central African region. This can be proved by a simple visit to the country and just from the onset; one would be astonished to see well laid sets of infrastructural development, ranging from rural electrification, roads, and water ad well-built schools: both primary and secondary schools as well as health clinics and hospitals. One outstanding feature in this region though is that there are lots of artificial trees grown on all the thousand hills of Rwanda for environmental protection and control of climate change.

The other salient feature is the fact that there is totally no grass thatched house in any part of Rwanda, be it in rural or urban area. Yet, this is one of the ways in strikingly describing the nature of rural poverty in the neighboring countries in the east African Region. Poor living conditions coupled with grass thatched houses in the D.R Congo, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania is a very normal way of living in the rural areas of these countries. But in Rwanda, grass-thatched houses are now history (Nyakatsi Program 2010), overall, Rwanda's economy has drastically improved and it is greatly impressive with a "hat trick" of;

- (i) Rapid growth
- (ii) Sharp poverty reduction
- (iii) Reduced inequality

This can also be confirmed by the third Rwandan household living conditions survey (EICV3, 2012) which shows a reduction in poverty from 58.9% in the EICV1 (2001 EICV1), to 56.73% (EICV2. 2005/b) and them now to 44.9% (2010/11. EICV3)

Table 4. 4: House holds living condition survey (EICV)

Variables measured	EICV2/ 2005/...	EICV3 /2010/11
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Poverty rate	56.7%	44.9%
GDP per capita	USD 333	USD 540
Net primary enrolment	86.6%	91.7%
%age with safe drinking water	70.3%	74.2%
%age with access to electricity	4.3%	10.8%
%age ownership of mobile phones	6.2%	45.2%
Material mortality	750	487
Infant mortality	86	50

Source: *NISR, EICV Report of 2005/6, 2010/11*

As shown from the above table, there is considerable improvement in all the indicators since the 2005/6/ EICV2 was carried out to the current EICV3 of 2010/1. However, it is worth noting that, despite the various improvements, the level of rural poverty, specifically in rural areas, is still questionable.

People living very deep in rural areas are still under the scourge of rural poverty with its consequences like the deprivation trap of powerlessness isolation, vulnerability and the vicious circle of poverty.

4.7 Key factors that led to an improvement in Rwanda's economy

There are some indicators which show improvements in economic growth, poverty reduction and reduction in income inequality in Rwanda. It is important for this study to describe or show the most key factors that led to this nature of economic development.

The following are a combination of the several factors responsible for this growth.

a) Improved agro-related factors

- i) Increased agro-business activity
- ii) Increased farm wage employment
- iii) Increased in non-farm wages
- iv) Increased in income transfers
- v) Slowing population growth
- vi) Improved physical infrastructures
- vii) Crop intensification program
- viii) Land consolidation program

ix) Establishment of cooperatives

b) Politically motivated factors

i) Good governance.

ii) Zero tolerance to corruption and enshrining accountability.

iii) Discipline and goal congruence of Rwanda's leadership.

iv) Total commitment to a broad-based consultative and inclusive approach to Rwanda's economic development.

v) Incorporation of traditional institutions and programs into modern development theory and practice as home grown solution.

As described above, Rwanda's economy has improved a lot although there is still rural poverty in rural areas.

4.8 Rwanda's home grown solutions

In this section, I intend to fully describe the last component of incorporating traditional institutions into home grown solutions. Such programs have been mentioned in various literature reviews as the following:

4.8.1 Rwanda's vision 2020 Program

It is a Government Development program in Rwanda. It is commonly referred to as vision 2020 Umurenge Programm (VUP). It is basically an integrated local development Program to accelerate poverty eradication, rural growth and social protection. It was an initiative by the government of Rwanda through the existing decentralization system which was aimed at eradicating poverty in every sub-county (Umurenge) by the year 2020.

The Rwandan Government set up about making this vision a reality by setting up six pillars, good Governance and capable state; human resource development and acknowledge based economy; private sector led economy infrastructure Development: Regional and international economic integration and a productive and market oriented agriculture (Ladipo, 2012)

According to Ladipo (2012), in the year 2000, Rwanda was a subsistence level, agrarian economy accounting for the livelihoods of more than 90 per cent of the labour force with around 60% of the population living below the poverty line. But today due to the vigorous implementation of the above pillar, one can say these significant improvements in the livelihoods

of people in urban areas and the suburban areas though deep parts of some villages are still lagging behind.

4.8.2. Girinka Program

This is commonly known as “One Cow per poor Family” this is a program that was inspired by the Rwandan Culture and initiated by the President in 2006 (MINAGRIC, 2012). This program aims at enabling every poor household to own and manage an improved dairy cow which would help the family to better their livelihood through increased milk, meat production, increased manure to improve soil fertility, increase earnings.

Ladipo (2012), explains that the word Girinka is derived from a traditional Kinyarwanda greeting that translates to “May you own a cow”. This is because, a cow is seen as symbol of wealth both both in times present and past.

The Girinka program is implemented in two ways;

(i) Girinka ingabirano (donation):This is when a poor family receives a cow free of charge and when the cow calves, the calf is given to the neighbor who keeps it and the process continues on and on.

(ii) Loan (Girinka inguzanyo): This is when an average family gets a loan to buy a cow.

This program has been a success and to date. 170.000 cows (Ladipo, 2012) have been distributed and truly, it is self sustaining.

4.8.3. Imihigo

This is yet another blended cultural traditional home grown solution to improving economic development in Rwanda. Imihigo means outstanding performance or something worth of praise (RGB. Rw/Imihigo). Imihigo is as old as pre-colonial Rwanda. This is when an employee sets himself /herself a target to be achieved within a specified period of time. One has to do so, by following some principles and a great determination to overcome any possible challenge.

It is, therefore, a performance-based approach which was also integrated in all development programs in 2006 (RGB. Rw/Imihigo) to which, to date, its adoption has eased planning, performance, and it has led to a great contribution to poverty reduction.

This tradition is widely popular in Rwanda as it is an invaluable tool in the planning, accountability, monitoring and evaluation processes. Through this program, local governments articulate their objectives, strategies as well as targets, (Ladigo, 2012) and results against which performance will be judged.

Available literature on the impacts of Imihigo shows some positive contributions to poverty reduction though in urban areas only. The rural areas were still lagging, which called for the need of this study. In urban areas, the imihigo is entered into with the President and the Mayors or District executives and the Prime minister. Contracts are signed publically and performance is judged annually again in public. Ladigo (2012) established that, thereafter, accountability for delivery is strictly upheld with non-performers being promptly replaced.

4.8.4 Umuganda (Community service)

This is another tradition which is practiced in the mornings of the last Saturday of every month. It is basically a community service which must be done by all able-bodied residents and activities involved include:

- (i) Cleaning neighborhoods, streets /roads
- (ii) Repairing public facilities like bridges
- (iii) Repairing or rehabilitating houses for the needy (vulnerable persons)
- (iv) Pruning shrubs in public Parks
- (v) Offering free medical examination by trained personnel
- (vi) Others as the area necessitates

This community service program is designed to contribute to economic development and building the country by citizens themselves (RGB.rw/imihigo). The benefits of Uganda are not merely economic. The day is intended to build community involvement and strengthen cohesion between persons of different background and levels like research shows that people can access authorities to articulate their needs and voice options on various issues.

4.8.5 Annual National Dialogue (Umushikirano)

Mandated by article 168 of the Rwandan constitution, Umushikirano or National Dialogue is a home grown platform on issue of rational importance. A rational dialogue is a sort of a general meeting which is held at the end of each year and it is held by live broadcast on radio and television and all citizens are free to call and contribute or share their opinions.

In December 2013, there will be an 11th National Dialogue. The 10th National dialogue was held on 12th December 2012 and its main theme was “*Aiming for self-reliance*” (Umushikirano.gov.rw 2012). The 10th National Dialogue mainly focussed on the values for self-reliance, innovation, financing mechanisms and strategic skills for youth employment and development. Ladipo (2012) argues that perhaps, this is the most empowering innovations among all the home grown and adopted solutions.

This program is advantageous because it guarantees citizens to retain their right to participate in all decisions that guide their life, by expressing proposals that improve policies as well as judging on the work of their leaders.

4.8.6 Ubudehe

This is a Rwandese culture of mutual assistance and conviviality, where by people come together by addressing problems facing them so as to work out solutions for them. It originates from the historical pre-colonial times when people or neighbors could come together to cultivate, plant, harvest crops of one neighbor in a group and afterwards, go to another neighbor and so on and on. It used to be common in agriculture and house building activities (rgb.rw/ubudehe). According to MINALOC (2012 report –Ubudehe) (rdds.gov.rw/ubudehe concept note: 2009) Ubudehe mu Kuirwanya Ubukene), Ubudehe is described as the cutting edge of participatory development being so much rooted in the Rwandan culture. The aim of the Ubudehe process, as it has been designed, is to build on the positive aspects of this history and complement it with modern participatory techniques

5.8.7 Agaciro Development fund

The Agaciro Development Fund is a solidarity fund that has been initiated by Rwandans to improve the level of financial autonomy of Rwanda as a nation. The uniqueness of the fund is that, it is Rwandans themselves that will finance it. The Agaciro Development Fund sets the tone that Rwandans will work together to drive their own development; giving the entire Rwandan population a higher level of direct ownership in the nation's projects.

The Agaciro Development Fund is the Rwanda's first solidarity fund, based on voluntary donations. Agaciro is a Kinyarwanda word which can be loosely translated as "dignity". This Fund has been initiated by Rwandans to fast-track and own their development. This also improves the level of financial autonomy of Rwanda as a Nation. The Fund is financed by voluntary contributions from Rwandan citizens in Rwanda, Rwandan citizens abroad, private companies and Friends of Rwanda. The Agaciro Development Fund sets the tone that Rwandans must work together to drive their own development. (www.agaciro.org)

4.9 Preconceptions of Rurality and Rural Poverty

The central theme of this study was to fully describe what rural Poverty is: how rurality leads to extremes of rural poverty and what it actually means to be poor especially when it comes to the eyes of the beholder; the poorest of the poor in the rural areas.

The researcher was so much interested in this study because, previously, poverty had often been described by people who are not poor, and to make matters worse, poverty had often been generalised as the same type of poverty in both urban areas and rural areas. Yet as a matter of fact, poverty found in rural areas is so much different from the type of poverty found in urban areas.

Rural poverty is often unseen, misunderstood, or misperceived by outsiders, those who are not themselves rural and poor (Chambers, 1983). Just as it was confirmed by Chambers (1983) in his various studies on Rural Development, especially in his widely known work on "Putting the Last First" this study further attempts to rediscover more about the interrelationship between rurality and rural poverty; how one of them leads to the other and how one of them determines the other or depends on the other.

As pointed out in chapter two of this study in the conceptual frame work, the researcher shows that Rural Poverty depends on rurality. It is further explained that, the farther away one stays from urban areas, the higher the chances that he or she is vulnerable to being poor. This is the place-effect theory in determining rural poverty.

The researcher contends that social scientists, administrators, field workers, academics, non-government development practitioners do always misperceive and neglect the ideas of poor people who are living in the country-side. Their views, opinions on poverty and their general knowledge on poverty are rarely listened to. If we were to listen to their voice, we would surely have a rich knowledge on the hidden nature of rural poverty.

This was, therefore, a fundamental step in attempting to argue out the idea that rural poverty should not be misperceived to be having the same face as urban poverty. This study further argues for a new professionalism, with fundamental reversals in outsiders learning, values, and behaviours and proposes a more realistic understanding about rural poverty backed with a more realistic action for tackling rural poverty.

4.9.1 A culture of rural bias inherited: a concern of this study

Rural poverty has not been properly conceptualised from generation to generation of researchers, educationists, and social scientists. A culture of rural bias has been inherited to the extent that today, there is a debate about the meaning of the word rurality itself. Some schools contend that the concept of rurality does not exist in the English language, while others contend that it exists; this shows the level of biasness and the level of misunderstanding the whole concept of rurality and rural poverty.

In rural areas of developing countries in general and Rwanda in particular, where 90% of the population is rural, and the current development thrust is to accelerate rural development, analysis of any aspects of the rural production, social environments and rural poverty is extremely important.

This is the rationale and basis for this study “*Rural and Rurality*” under conditions where planners are searching for development strategies to increase rural incomes which have lagged

behind those of urban areas, increase employment opportunities in rural areas and also raise family levels of living, social welfare and amenities. The analysis of the patterns of rural change, control of rural resources such as land, labour and thrust of rural poverty is an obvious benefit. Just like in the words of Chambers (1983), this study was specifically designed for those, *“at the lower end of the scale, trapped in poverty, and trapped in places far off from the urban centres or trading centres”*

This is because extremes of material and social deprivation can narrow awareness, cause bitterness or even death. It was therefore important to fully concentrate this study on the “Cast” as Chambers describes them: the hundreds of thousands of largely unseen people in rural areas who are poor, weak, isolated, vulnerable and powerless.

It defeats one’s understanding that even today, in this 21st century: in a world full of educationists, great researchers and academics, several of them still take rural poverty to be synonymous with urban poverty. They see that there is nothing new about knowing or rather discovering more about the ills of rurality and rural poverty. They just think that they know it all.

But it is surprising in this study that the poor themselves have described the situation. They are living a life which is very different from what several of these scholars have been assuming to know. Its common sense that what is perceived depends on the perceived. Several people who think they know much about poverty do not actually know much about rural poverty.

They have been fronting their own interests, preferences and preconceptions. They have their own rationalisations and their own defenses for excluding or explaining the discordant and the distressing. Chamber (1983) states that such people are often ignorant about rural poverty and yet do not want to know what they do not know. The less they have direct and discordant contact and learning, the less they know, so the easier it is for the myth to mask reality and hence inheriting as a culture of rural bias from a generation of scholars in the last century, to another generation of scholars in this century. This is why there is a great need for this study, therefore, and this also was justified in the title of the study as stated that “rurality and rural poverty: what it means to be poor”

There have not been a considerable amount of time and a considerable amount of resources allocated to rediscovering more about rural poverty, by social research scientists. Overwhelming research and development (R and D) expenditure in the world has always been concentrated in other natural sciences like biology, physics, chemistry and Mathematics.

In the East African region and Uganda in particular, the words related to “promoting sciences” is always in the mouth of leaders and they forget “ promoting research in the core basis of our backwardness (which is rural poverty).

It might have been thought that Rural Poverty deserved a higher priority than defence, yet according to the world development forum (DFI 1979), it is on record that worldwide, over 50 percentage of the research scientists were engaged in defence work.

In 1980, although there was a stockpile of nuclear weapons with one million times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb, the USA and USSR were spending well over 100\$ million per day on upgrading their nuclear arsenals compared with a recent figure of a derisory 86million per year devoted to tropical diseases research (Sivard 1980, P.S :Walsh and Warren 1979, p20). At Makerere University, one Billion shillings is always extended to the Faculty of Technology per year with a view to improving research on a less important “electric vehicle” and a less important “mobile phone nicknamed Pearl of Africa Phone. The same trend is in several Universities and research institutes who do not invest in the paradox of rural life style, and this paradox of rural poverty which is very different from urban poverty.

Today, there is a notion many African countries that in order for them to develop into modern states, educating more scientists than artists is the panacea. And, yet history has enough evidence to make this argument null and void. Renowned people such as Socrates, Aristotle, Jesus, Mahatma Gandhi or Mother Theresa were not scientists but changed the world by their arty hypothetical and theoretical thinking and action. We have up to today, commemorated, made reference and most times acted, administered and imparted authority based on their works for generations. Even the recent icon and epitaph status of Nelson Mandela, rich in artistic philosophy will always haunt us if we do not recognize this. Africa has seen in the last 50 years or so good leadership by persons with arts background. This, therefore, shows that the training of many scientists at the expense of artists is the panacea to the fundamental base of African

nation's economic development is a pseudo-fallacy. In any case, we have as many scientists who are unemployed just as artists.

In conclusion, therefore, there remains deep ignorance about many researchable physical and social aspects of rural life, rural poverty, rural places in the countryside, the relative importance of different contingences which make rural poor people poorer, and an attempt at rediscovering how the rural poor people who have always been neglected have coped with the rural life style so as to devise more means and coping strategies to cope with rural poverty so as to survive.

In this chapter, which is about "description of the study" the researcher puts it clear that the whole study on rural poverty and what it means to be poor was carried out so as to break the usual dichotomy of lies by educated people. They think they know much about rurality and rural poverty to which they are the ones who have been misleading the whole world by their views and ideas developed on urban poverty but not rural poverty.

Chambers (1983) describes clearly in his exhaustive attempt to call for humbleness from educated people to come back on the drawing board in understanding what rural poverty is as indicated below:

"Most professionals face away from rural areas. Most live in towns and even among the minority who face the other way, or who live in rural areas, their condition has often disabled them. They direct their attention to those with whom they have most in common; the less poor rural people. They see and link in whatever they can find which is familiar and prestigious with whatever is modern, marketed, and urban in origin and sophisticated. They prescribe for only that specialised part of the diverse rural reality for which their training has prepared them. At its highest, such professional training indicates arrogance in which superior knowledge and superior status are assumed. Professionals then see the rural poor as ignorant, backward and primitive, as people who have only themselves to blame for the poverty; the poverty of whose members reflects their lack of virtue. The very phrase, rural mass-fosters stereotypes, convenient glosses hiding ignorance of the reality. Not only do urban conditions biases professionals and officials often not know the rural reality; worse, they do not know that they do not know"

In conclusion, this study directed its attention to the poorer people locked up in the countryside but not the less poor people in the trading centers. The motive behind this was to get a real voice from the poorest of the poor living in deep rural areas.

As has been discussed in this chapter, it is, therefore, imperative for professionals to have an understanding that there is need to humble themselves and acknowledge that they know little on “Rurality and Rural Poverty”

4.10 Conceptual analysis of Rurality and rural poverty.

This study was carried out in order to understand more about the nature of Rural Poverty as it depends on Rurality. The researcher here argues that it is mostly the effect of place which accelerates rural Poverty and other costs associated with rural poverty like deprivation, isolation and vulnerability. The longer the distance from the given trading centres or urban centres, the higher the chances of accelerated rural poverty.

This is because the poorer people are the most remote and most difficult to reach. Chambers (1983) identified five interlocking dimensions which could help to analyse rural poverty and its effects and these include:

- (i) *Poverty proper or poverty which is original (lack of assets and lack of flows of food and cash)*
- (ii) *Physical weakness (reflected in lower body weights and greater sensual variation in body weights;*
- (iii) *Vulnerability to contingencies (irreversible ratchets of impoverishment like mortgage of their assets, sale of their assets, incurring of debts because of sickness, famine, disaster, dowry, bride wealth) ;*
- (iv) *Powerlessness (lack of participation in social functions and they are rarely formally invited or recognised and respected in any gathering).*

Of all the above five interlocking dimensions, Chambers categorically states points out that it is isolation which should deserve a special attention. According to Chambers (1983), the isolation of poor families and households is common because of the effect of place (Rurality) being so remote and inaccessible. Poor rural households live in areas which are remote from urban centres or live in areas which are on the edges of villages always from the main roads.

Isolation of poor rural households is also rampant because of social reasons. Poor rural households have got few social connections and relationships on which they can rely. Chambers maintains that poor rural households are illiterate, have no radios, they have women as family heads and they know little about events beyond their neighborhood. Their members rarely go to

public meetings, receive no advice from extension workers in agriculture, health, family planning or nutrition and travel little except in search of work. The poorer of the poor, make less use of services (health, transport, education) than their less poor neighbors.

Chambers concludes that such groups of people (poorer of the poor) which were the main study population in this research are highly disadvantaged. For example these people are fond of migrating for work, or trapped in one place by debts and obligations. Many poor rural people; adopt a strategy of a low profile; by accepting powerlessness as a condition for protection, showing that it will not pose any threat to their patrons. Mbithi and Barnes (1975) also established that in the far remote places, some rural people, whose position is weak, such as settling in an area as a refugee, or squatters, trying to hide to be invisible to the officials' eye thinking that out of sight can make them be out of the mind of officials.

4.11 The multidimensionality of rurality and rural Poverty in the world

Globally, rural poverty is rooted not just in assets and in different spatial distribution of opportunities for growth, but also in historical factors and social and political relations among classes and castes, ethnic groups, men and women, and different market actors (IFAD, 2011).

It is the above factors which cause poverty to be appearing differently in different classes of people. It is places where people live. In rural areas, the appearance of poverty is so much different from the poverty in urban areas. Poverty in rural areas causes people to have limited opportunities to improve on their livelihoods; it increases the risk, and also greatly undermines their assets and capabilities to succeed.

Such consequences end up making the rural people to be isolated, excluded, discriminated, disempowered, uneducated and with lack of control over their assets. It is these disadvantages that end up making poverty a multidimensional phenomenon (IFAD, 2011).

In some countries, poverty appears in different forms and it becomes unrealistic to measure poverty by majorly looking at income considerations. In Latin America and parts of Asia, poverty is not measured in terms of income considerations. According to the United Nations report of 1999, the population of the developing world remains more rural than urban in which

around 55 percent of the total population, or 3.1 billion people are rural, and the number continues to grow.

As presented earlier in the background of this study (Chapter one), the global reality is that between 2020 and 2050, two major demographic changes will take place: the rural population will peak, after which, the total number of the rural population will start to decline and as such the developing world urban population will overtake the rural population (IDA, 2011), (United Nations 2009).

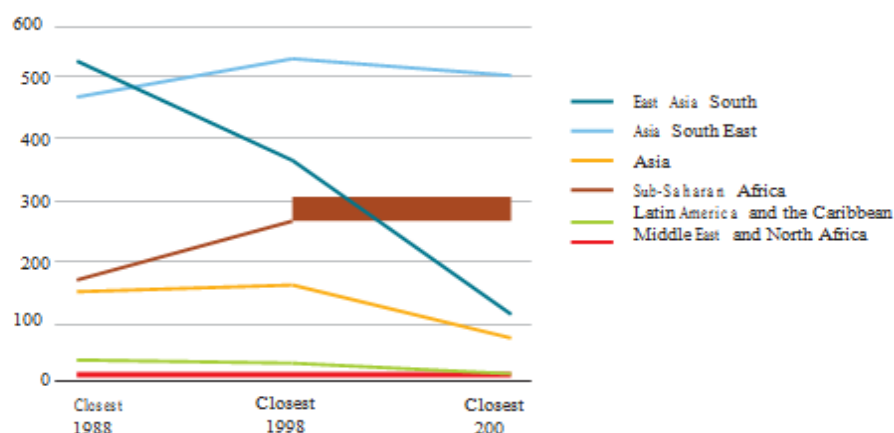
Revallion, Chen and Sangramba (2007) established that despite this historic shift towards urbanisation, poverty remains largely a rural problem and the majority of the world's poor will live in rural areas for many decades to come.

The World Bank (2005) outlines an index for the measure of extreme poverty and defines poor people as all those people living a day without spending above 1.25 dollars. The World Bank (2005) estimated that of 1.4 billion people living in extreme poverty, at least approximately 1 billion (70 percent) live in rural areas.

Rural people living in extreme poverty are globally averagely reducing. In East Asia, the millions of people living in rural poverty are declining and so does in South East Asia as well as in the Caribbean and Latin America as shown in the figure below:

Figure 4. 1: Rural people living in extreme poverty

(Millions of rural people living on less than US\$1.25/day)



Source: *International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)*,

As shown in the above figure, rural poverty is on the increase. However, in the Sub-Saharan Africa continues to thrive. It is also estimated that among the 1.4 billion people living in extreme poverty, there is a significant group of people sometimes known as the “Ultra-poor” who are well below the poverty line living at less than US \$ 0.75 a day (IFPRI, 2004)

According to the international food policy research institute (IFPRI), there were half a billion people living on less than US\$0.75 a day in 2004. And yet about 80 percent of these people lived in Sub-Saharan Africa and South South Asia. According to the report, only 35 percent were less poorer and lived in less remote places, although they were rural places.

On the other hand, those who lived in Sub-Saharan Africa were overwhelmingly the poorest of the poor, living in isolated and very remote places. Losch, Freguin- Gresh and White (2010), in their extensive research in Kenya and West Africa about the average incomes of rural households per annum, discovered that, in the poorest populations of rural households in the poorest areas of Kenya, Mali and Senegal, people get less than 30 US Dollars Per annum. Those who can try to work harder get about 50US dollars per annum.

This, therefore, defines and describes the class of people who are ultra-poor and do always get entangled in between poverty and remoteness of an area. It is this group of people whose plight was a major concern of this study. As described in this chapter, this is the real plight of such poorest people among the poor, who have always been neglected worldwide in general.

Much as the level of rural poverty is on the decline worldwide, in Africa in general and Rwanda in particular, progress for people who are in remote places, caught or trapped between ultra-poverty and remoteness of an area (rurality). Evolution into urban poverty is still slow and has been slower than for other groups among the poor, both in terms of income poverty and hunger poverty (Ahmed et al 2007).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have conceptualised what we mean by rurality and rural poverty. Using the literature available from many other parts of Africa such as Kenya, West Africa and South East Asia, we have drawn ideas which have helped us to scope out what we mean by rurality and rural poverty. Using this literature and the various reports compiled by different international bodies,

we have been able to determine the standards of rural poverty, knowledge which helps us to establish more about our case study, Rwanda.

Rwanda in particular has tried various interventions to reduce rural poverty which include the Grinka Program, The Imihigo, Umuganda as well the Umushikirano. These activities as well as the nature of rural poverty are fully described in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: OVERVIEW ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher describes in detail the respondents for the study. This chapter presents and analyses data on the respondents' characteristics. These respondents were mostly the poorest of the rural poor from Nyabigoma and Kamanyana villages. Nyabigoma village is in Musanze district while Kamanyana village is in Burera district. Both these districts are in the northern province of Rwanda. In this chapter, the researcher also looked at the social economic statuses of the respondents. It was important to make an overview on the characteristics of the respondents as a separate chapter so as to have a systematic flow of the realities as per the nature of this study which needed an in-depth inquiry into the nature of rurality and rural poverty.

5.2 Background information of respondents

The percentage of the rural poor people who had gone through school was low. From the FGD groups, the percentages were a bit visible. In the questionnaire group, the percentages for each high school are still very low.

Table 5.1: Educational status of respondents- Kamanyana village

Education of respondents	Focus Group Discussion		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Never attended school	-	-	2	6%
5 Years primary school	5	36%	7	21%
7 Years primary school	6	43%	12	35%
At least attended secondary school	2	14%	9	26%
University/diploma	1	7%	4	12%
Total	14	100	34	100

Source: FGD with 14 respondents in each village

Questionnaires with 34 respondents

The FGD groups contained only one person who had graduated with a diploma in primary education. The vast majority of the respondents that participated in the focus group discussions had attained 7 years primary school represented by 43%. This was followed by primary five school represented by 36% and the 14% of those who participated in the focus group discussion had attained some secondary education. On the other hand, the largest proportion of the respondents

that participated in the interviews or questionnaires had attained a 7 year primary school education represented by 35%, followed by those who had attained at least some secondary education represented by 26%, the lowest number of respondents represented by only 6% had never attended any school.

Table 5. 2: Educational status of respondents – Nyabigoma village

Education of respondents	Focus Group Discussion		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Never attended school	4	29%	2	6%
5 Years primary school	5	36%	12	35%
7 Years primary school	3	21%	7	21%
At least attended secondary school	2	14%	9	26%
University/diploma	-	-	4	12%
Total	14	100	34	100

Source : *FGD with 14 respondents in each village*
Questionnaires with 34 respondents

The number of participants with secondary education levels in Kamanyana village is greater than the number of participants with secondary education in Nyabigoma village.

Table 5. 3: Age distribution of participants by methods in the village of Nyabigoma

Age distribution	Focus Group Discussion		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Less than 14 year	-	-	-	-
15 - 22 years	4	29%	2	6%
23 – 30 years	8	57%	6	18%
31 – 38 years	1	7%	14	41%
39 – 46 years	1	7%	9	26%
47 – 54 years	-	-	3	9%
Above 55 years	-	-	-	-
Total	14	10	34	100

Source: *Primary data, August data 2013*

The age groups of 0-14 years and 55 years and over were defined as non-productive. These age groups are not actively seeking jobs and, hence, they do not really contribute to household income (Susanti et al, 1995). The reason is that the age groups of 0-14 is basically still in the school, while the age group of 55 years and above is too physically weak to work.

In the FGD groups, females and males accounted for 50% each. In the questionnaire group, females represented 50% and males 50%. They were all married couples and had an average of seven children.

Table 5. 4: Age distribution of participants by methods in the village of Kamanyana

Age distribution	Focus Group Discussion		Questionnaire	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Less than 14 year	-	-	-	-
15 - 22 years	1	7%	2	6%
23 – 30 years	3	22%	6	18%
31 – 38 years	6	43%	12	35%
39 – 46 years	3	21%	9	26%
47 – 54 years	1	7%	3	9%
Above 55 years	-	-	2	6%
Total	14	100	34	100

Source: *Primary data, August data 2013*

As reflected in the table above, the average age of respondents from Kamanyana were aged between 31 – 38 years. The respondents from Kamanyana were on average older than the respondents from Nyabigoma.

5.3 Items measuring social economic status

The following were the main sources of income by the rural poor in the two villages where this study was carried out. Many of the villagers in the areas of study have resorted to these economic activities as a way of adapting to the situation. They are living a livelihood as per the location of their stay or place.

Table 5. 5: Main income generating activities ranked from common to the least common

<i>Economic activities</i>	<i>Nyabigoma village</i>		<i>Kamanyana village</i>	
	<i>Male (frequency)</i>	<i>Female (frequency)</i>	<i>Male (frequency)</i>	<i>Female (frequency)</i>
Agriculture	16 47%	11 32%	9 26%	14 41%
Trade	7 20%	11 32%	4 12%	8 24%
Teaching	3 9%	4 12%	2 6%	6 18%
Fishing	3 9%	1 3%	1 3%	2 6%

Transport	2 6%	1 3%	4 12%	0
Tailoring	1 3%	0	0	1 3%
Cattle keeping	2 6%	5 15%	1 3%	4 12%
Saloon	2 6%	0	2 6%	1 3%
Restaurant	1 3%	0	1 3%	1 3%
others	4 12%	2 6%	3 9%	2 6%

Source: *Primary data, August data 2013*

Results in the table show that 79% of respondents from Nyabigoma are involved in agriculture of which 16% are males and 11% are females. On the other hand, 14% of the females from Kamanyana are also involved in agriculture. Generally agriculture is the main economic activity in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana.

Another great activity carried out in both villages is of small scale trading. In Nyabigoma alone, 20% of the male respondents are involved in petty trade while 32% of the female respondents are involved in petty trade. On the other hand, in Kamanyana village, 32% of the male respondents are involved in petty trade. Only 24% of the female respondents in Kamanyana village are involved in petty trade. Other activities that were seen as quite important in both villages were teaching, followed by cattle keeping and the rearing of other domestic animals like rabbits, sheep and goats.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the focus has been on the characteristics of the learners which include: age, education level, occupation and marital status.

Statistics show that most of the respondents went up to primary seven, about 43%. Very few of the respondents have attended secondary education. Already, this says a lot on their capacity to work or be employed. It is not surprising that 79% of the respondents are involved in agriculture, which is the commonest rural subsistence and economic activity. These general characteristics of respondents have helped us study the respondents' likely interests and opinion.

CHAPTER SIX: PERCEPTION OF POVERTY BY THE RURAL POOR

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on respondents' perception of rural poverty and the way rural inhabitants perceive poverty. In this chapter, the researcher presents and analyses data on responses that the respondents gave in view of their understanding of poverty.

The chapter also compares responses from the two villages, and also from the sex (male and female) in each village the respondents were sampled. The general purpose of this chapter is to assess the understanding of the respondents about the definition of poverty and their perception of poverty in rural settings.

6.2 Definition and perception of rural poverty

Definitions of rural poverty vary according to their narrowness or breadth, that is, in terms of: whether they are confined to the material core; the nature of that material core; and whether they embrace also relational/symbolic factors associated with poverty, as identified by Nolan and Whelan (1996).

A definition towards the narrower end of the scale on the grounds that too broad a definition runs the danger of losing sight of the distinctive 'core notion of poverty. According to Townsend et, al (1996), they define poverty in terms of the inability to participate in society (which is broader than more 'absolute' definitions confined to subsistence needs), but emphasize that what is distinctive is the 'inability to participate, owing to lack of resources' (1996). This confines their definition 'to those areas of life where consumption or participation are determined primarily by command over financial resources' (1996; Veit-Wilson, 1998, 2004).

The United Nations (UN) defines poverty as:

"Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation"

(UN Statement, June 1998 –signed by the heads of all UN agencies)

However, the rural poor in the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma have their own understanding of rural poverty. The most prominent definitions and perceptions of poverty as expressed by the respondents have been captured below:

6.2.1 Income per year

There has been only one definition of Poverty by all Government Sectors and non-government Sectors; Poverty is looked at in terms of income of people per year, (Poverty Line 1 US Dollar per day). This definition is also the definition that the UNDP and ILO tend to acknowledge and the same definition is adopted by GoR 2007 report on poverty.

Most respondents 22 in number from Nyabigoma and 23 from Kamanyana agree that poverty is best defined in terms of income of people per year. 64% of the sampled population both males and females from Nyabigoma village were in agreement with the view that poverty is simply looked at in terms of incomes of people per year. While 29% disagreed to the opinion as 00% were neutral. In fact, 50% of females from Nyabigoma village were in agreement with the statement compared to only 14% of the males who were in agreement with the statement.

On the other hand, in Kamanyana village 68% of the respondents were in agreement with the fact that poverty is looked at in terms of income of people per year. The largest proportion that was in agreement with the statement was the males represented by 55% from Kamanyana village. From Kamanyana village only 9% disagreed with the fact that poverty is looked at in terms of income of people per year.

Table 6. 1: Poverty is looked at in terms of income of people per year

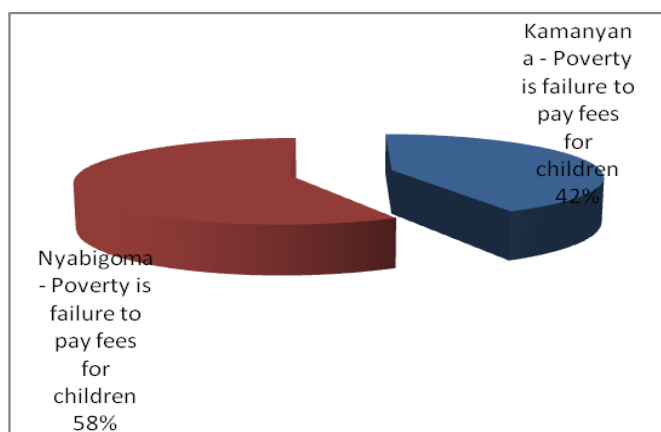
	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
% Responses	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly agree	4	3	4	7
Agree	7	6	9	8
Neutral	0	0	0	0
Disagree	5	5	1	2
Strongly disagree	1	1	0	2
Agreement	17	5	4	19

Source: Field data, 2013

6.2.2 Ability to pay fees for the children

In the rural areas of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, poverty is also defined in terms of inability to pay fees for the children in higher institutions of learning and secondary school. To most rural dwellers if someone is not poor, then there is no reason why their children cannot go to school. Analysis clearly reveals that 65% of respondents from Kamanyana agree that poverty is simply the failure to pay fees for the children. Only 35% disagree. On the other hand 56% of respondents from Nyabigoma agree that poverty is when one is unable to pay fees compared to the only 44% who do not agree. Generally however, 58% of respondents from Nyabigoma define poverty in terms of ability to pay fees compared to the 42% from Kamanyana who define poverty in the same way.

Figure 6. 1: Poverty is when someone is lacking money to pay fees for children in school



Source: Field data, 2013

6.2.3 Definitions on differentiating a poor person and a rich person

From the villagers' expressions, this research noted that they all seem to have perceived poverty to be the failure to raise up their new offsprings as they were all interested in the future of their children.

Box 3: Perception of rural poverty –Nyabigoma

Poverty is when you don't have money, can't pay school fees for your children.

Group 1 (Men)

Poverty is when you don't have enough food, can't feed your children and you can't take them to hospital.

Group 2 (Women)

Poverty is when you don't have anything in life no husband , no children, no land , no animals and no relatives and no God in your life

Group 3 (Women)

Source: Field data, 2013

Box 4: Perception of rural poverty –Kamanyana

Poverty is when a man fails to provide for his children in general, can't look after his wife , can't look after his children and can't talk in society

Group 1 (Men)

Poverty is when you don't have employment throughout in your life you have no house and you have no relatives (son, daughter or sister) who can be able to bring you some money)

Group 2 (Men)

Poverty is when you don't have respect in society , no dignity in society no one recognizes you (Agaciro), no participation in Village social functions and no freedom and no independence

Group 3 (Women)

Source: Field data, 2013

6.2.4 Social well being

Rural inhabitants of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma also perceived poverty in terms of social wellbeing of an individual or a group of individuals in society. The wellbeing is looked at in terms of: housing, clothing, accessibility to health care, feeding and education. This definition is also related to what was mentioned by Nolan and Whelan, 1996.

From Nyabigoma village, 85% of the respondents both males and females perceive poverty to mean social well-being of an individual or a group in society in terms of housing, clothing,

health, feeding and education, the results reflected in the charts below were received. On the other hand, only 15% of the respondents both males and females disagreed to the statement.

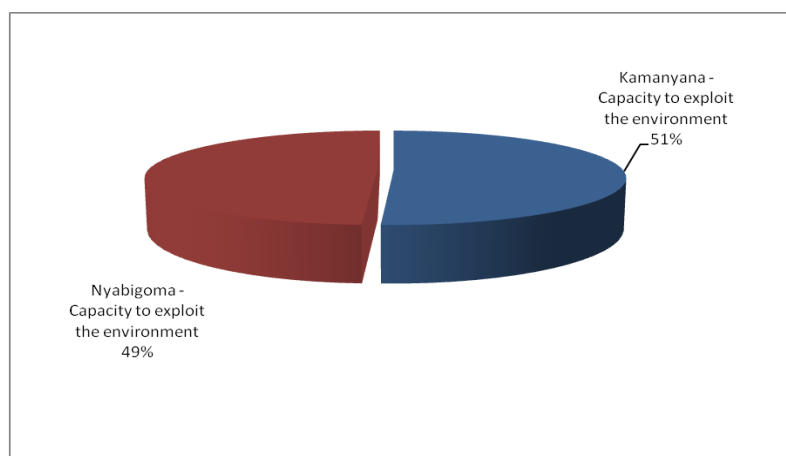
6.2.5 Capacity to exploit the environment

The definition of Rural Poverty in Rwanda has also been based on the capacity of a person or group of persons to exploit the environment around them. In other words, does a person have the capacity to exploit the resources around them and generate income from it?

In fact 51% of the respondents from Kamanyana felt that the factor of capacity to exploit the environment was a genuine factor in the definition of poverty. 49% of respondents from Nyabigoma also had the same thinking that the definition of poverty should be based on capacity to exploit resources around.

These are in line with Raveaud and Salais, (2001); Veit-Wilson, (2004) who also define poverty based on the capacity to exploit the environment.

Figure 6. 2: Capacity to exploit the environment



Source : Field data, August 2013

6.3 Poverty in the urban areas is different from poverty in the villages

The benchmarks for the definition of poverty are not the same in the rural and urban areas. Whereas in the urban areas people look at poverty using the hard cash someone may have, in the rural areas poverty is defined in terms of capacity to own land and some domestic animals. It does not matter how much an individual has in hard cash, but, provided the individual has a number of cows and other domestic animals, they would be considered very rich and not poor. 94% of the respondents both males and females from Nyabigoma village clearly looked at poverty parameters differently from the urban poverty. Also 91% of the respondents from

Kamanyana village looked at poverty in the same way. Only 6% of the respondents both males and females from Nyabigoma and 9% of respondents from Kamanyana were in disagreement with the idea of looking at poverty in rural areas differently from that in urban areas. Gordon et al., (2000b: 91), hinted at poverty parameters in rural areas as different from that in urban areas.

“Poverty is poverty regardless of whether it is affecting someone in the rural area or urban area” said a respondent from Kamanyana.

Table 6. 2: Poverty in urban areas is not the same as poverty in rural areas.

	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
% Responses	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly agree	9	8	7	7
Agree	8	7	6	11
Neutral	0	0	0	0
Disagree	1	1	1	2
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0
Agreement	17	15	13	18

Source: *Field data, 2013*

6.4 Other perceptions and definitions of poverty

6.4.1 Material possession

The rural poor respondents' from Kamanyana village simply looked at poverty as the lack of a house, lack of food, lack of cloths, and lack of shelter. This view was also backed by the view that poverty is simply when one does not have the basic needs. This definition happens to be backed by the BBC education link. www.bbc.co.uk/education and UNDP (2011) who both looked at poverty from a basic needs point of view

6.4.2 Joblessness

Joblessness was also referred to as poverty by some respondents. This view was supported by another view which referred to poverty as lack of training, and lack of education. If a person lacks certain skills or a certain level of education, then they are considered poor by some members of society.

It's also important to observe that the International Academy of Education (IAE), a not-for-profit scientific association that promotes educational research, disseminates, and implements programmes in agreement with the foregoing argument. Founded in 1986, the Academy is

dedicated to strengthening the contributions of research and solving critical educational problems throughout the world. It also published a document that looked at lack of education as something that leads poverty.

6.4.3 Poverty has a relationship with education

It is widely agreed that the relationship between poverty and education operates in two directions: poor people are often unable to obtain access to an adequate education, and without an adequate education, people are often constrained to a life of poverty. Better educated people have a greater probability of being employed, are economically more productive, and, therefore, they earn higher incomes. A better educated household is less likely to be poor. The impact of education on earnings, and thus, on poverty works largely through the labour market, though education can also contribute to productivity in other areas, such as peasant farming; Orazem, Glewwe & Patrinos, (2007: 5) and Fields, (2000; Deaton, 1997

6.4.4 Poverty has many dimensions

Poverty has many dimensions. It does not merely entail low levels of income or expenditure. The work of Amartya Sen (1992, 2001) has broadened our understanding of poverty by defining it as a condition that results in an absence of the freedom to choose arising from a lack of what he refers to as the capability to function effectively in society. This multidimensional interpretation moves far beyond the notion of poverty being solely related to a lack of financial resources. For example, Sen's viewpoint would suggest that inadequate education could, in itself, be considered as a form of poverty in many societies.

6.4.5 State of constant lack

Poverty is described in terms of lack; for example: lack of land, lack of basic needs, lack of education, lack of animals, lack of food, lack of money and lack of opportunities.

On the other hand, richness is described in terms of availabilities and capacities; availability of money, availability of land, availability of animals, capacity to meet basic needs, capacity to access education and health facilities. Richness is also described to mean achievement; a person who has a high standard of living and can afford things like cars, computers, houses and materials like animals and land is considered rich. Someone who can afford school fees for the

children, is practising modernised agriculture, can create something that can earn him money, and can satisfy his or her own needs was also considered to be rich.

6.4.6 Poverty according to World Bank

“Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not being able to see a doctor. Poverty is not having access to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear for the future, living one day at a time. Poverty has many faces, changing from place to place and across time, and has been described in many ways. Most often, poverty is a situation from which people want to escape. So poverty is a call to action; for the poor and the wealthy alike: a call to change the world so that many more may have enough to eat, adequate shelter, access to education and health, protection from violence, and a voice in what happens in their communities.”

In addition to a lack of money, poverty is about not being able to participate in recreational activities; not being able to send children on a day trip with their schoolmates or to a birthday party; not being able to pay for medications for an illness. These are all costs of being poor. Those people who are barely able to pay for food and shelter simply cannot consider these other expenses. When people are excluded within a society, when they are not well educated and when they have a higher incidence of illness, there are negative consequences for society. We all pay the price for poverty. The increased cost on the health system, the justice system and other systems that provide supports to those living in poverty has an impact on our economy.

While much progress has been made in measuring and analysing poverty, the World Bank Organization is doing more work to identify indicators for the other dimensions of poverty. This work includes identifying social indicators to track education, health, access to services, vulnerability, and social exclusion.

6.5 Interlocking Description of Rural poverty from an observation point of view

This study faced several groups and interacted with several rural poor along village paths, finding them in their gardens and homes. Most surprisingly, the rural poor were able to put an impression that one cannot define poverty within villages without describing exactly what they go through. When asked about the situation they see themselves in from day to day, they just said, the situation is completely bad; “*tumeze nabi cyane, kandi twahombye*”. This literally implying that they live in a state of ill-being.

In Kamanyana village alone, all men were able to describe the situation of ill-being in form of an easier way in defining rural poverty. The same thing applies to Nyabigoma village. All men also attempted to describe rural poverty from a stand point of its causes and impacts.

This, therefore, means that rural poverty is multidimensional. The most frequently mentioned dimensions of ill-being in rural areas correspond closely to the dimensions of causes and impacts of wellbeing (Narayan et al, 2000).

Using observatory method to describe the situation of “ill-being”, this is what was observed daily in a typical home.

“A family of averagely Seven children with Father and Mother residing so closely with distant aunts, uncles and all relatives in one acre piece of land. In these household, food crops, cash crops, and animal keeping were all to be practised in that piece of land. Children were seen with very dirty and torn stinking clothes. Adults in such a homestead were not only wearing averagely clean clothes but also very dirty tattered old pieces of clothes. Adults spending more than five days without bathing not on grounds of lack of water or soap , but because this place is too cold for them to bathe every day. They have the water and soap but then the issue is within their mindset. Their minds seem to be far away in terms of washing clothes and showering. When it comes to food, they lack enough food, they eat once a day and in most cases they survive on porridge made from sorghum and maize. At times children coming from school at lunch time are found chewing raw sorghum seeds along the way from school as their lunch. Men spend their afternoon hours taking Ikigage (local brew) as lunch and supper. But some were found to be taking this local brew because they want to forget home problems and quarrels and the several (school demands from their children). Several women survive through selling charcoal and women were seen walking distances of over 5 km’s carrying charcoal on their heads, one child in the back and one or two children also carrying charcoal on their heads going to the nearest trading centers to sell or exchange for other basic needs, such as special diet of food, or cooking oil. Young children coming from school, especially boys, move home by looking in the road side holes of rodents (like edible rats and other rodents a little bit bigger than a rat) so that they can kill one or two to use as “source” with Irish potatoes at home.

When it comes to harvesting food crops and cash crops, the best looking crops harvested are carried to the market for sale as children are left with the worst looking crops to be eaten at home. This is seen through crops like tomatoes, egg plants, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, carrots and vegetables. The ones left for subsistence at home are those which are (pest) infected and are very thin.

The same trend applies to the opportunity of having access to chicken meat /meal when a cock gets bigger and bigger, its for sale not for home consumption, in fact, matters are worse in that even when that particular cock gets a serious disease, the parents will never allow that domestic bird or animal (goat) to be slaughtered so that it can be eaten. They will keep on giving such a cock or goat natural herbs and if the sickness persists up to claiming its death, it’s when the parents will allow the children to eat it.

“ Imana niyo ibikunze ,nta kundi” Literally meaning that, it is God the creator who has wished it, nothing to do now, my children , you can slaughter it now and we eat it”

(Source: Observation from Kamanyana and Nyabigoma village rural life)

When this described observation on rural poverty is looked into critically, it is clearly seen here that it is rural poverty causing these households to live such a way of life. The situation of ill-being they go through causes them to go through untold circumstances.

Narayan (2000) asserts that ill -being and the bad life bring with them different sorts of bad experiences. These bad experiences are many and intertwined and interlocking each other whereby one bad situation causes the other. Narayan (2000) described such experiences as interwoven experiences. Afunna Adulla (2000) is famous for having developed his own definitions and criteria of describing the exact nature of poverty in general and its situation of ill being in particular in a relationship to the causes and the impacts on society. Afunna Adula (2000) describes the different types of poverty from the following criteria.

- (i) *Political poverty*
- (ii) *Environmental poverty*
- (iii) *Social poverty*
- (iv) *Geographical poverty*
- (v) *Economic poverty*
- (vi) *Intellectual poverty*
- (vii) *Technological poverty*
- (viii) *Spiritual poverty*

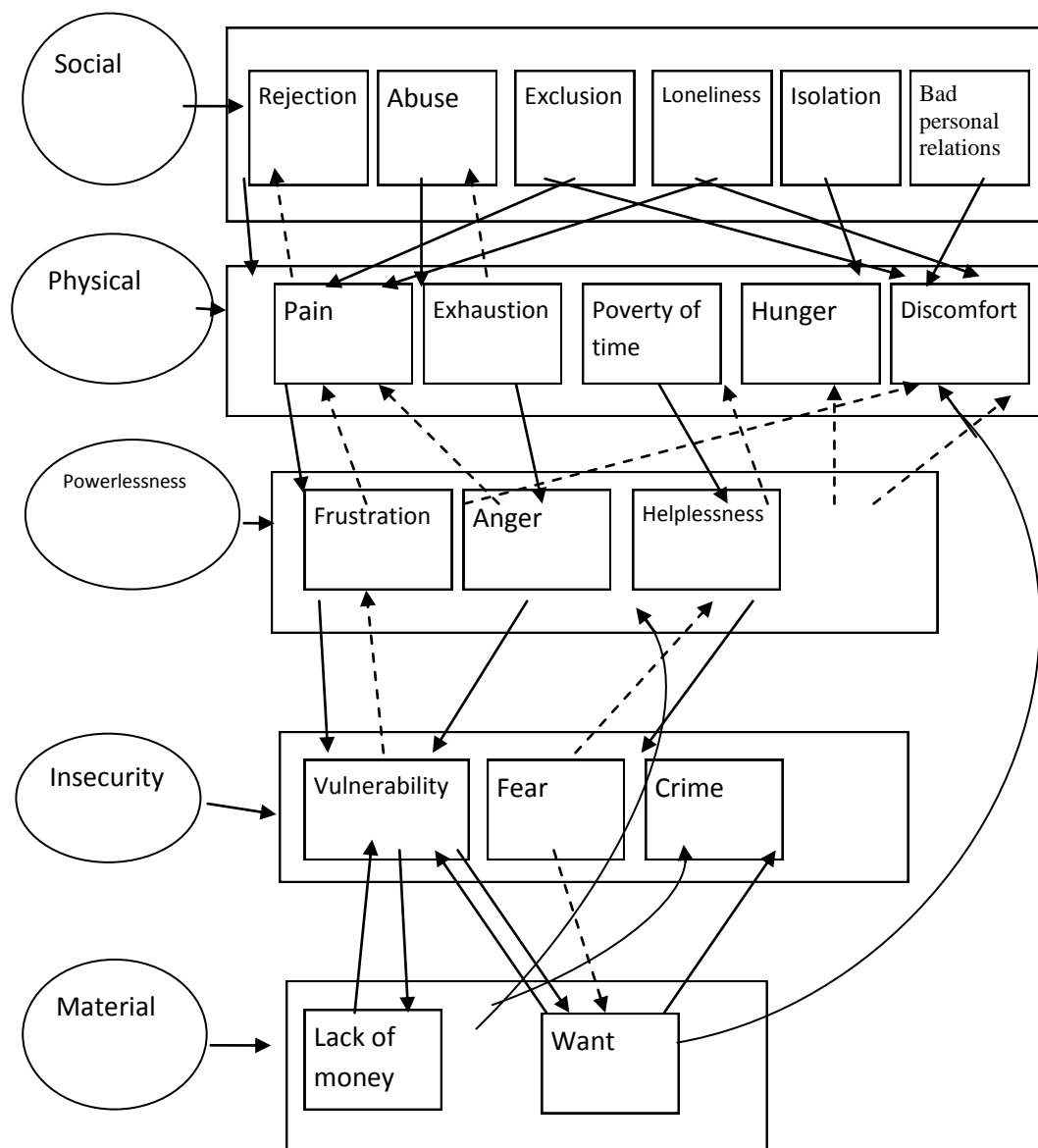
But when it comes to the minds of villagers, in rural Kamanyana and rural Nyabigoma, rural poverty was defined and described basing on the criteria of :

- (i) *Material possession (Motorcycle, bicycle, House, land and others).*
- (ii) *Society recognition (Respect in public)*
- (iii) *Security (No Fear)*
- (iv) *Power and capacity (Being able to do something about it)*
- (v) *Comfortability of agricultural harvests, (Not having any loss, uncertainty in the vagaries of weather).*
- (vi) *Settled lifestyle (No worry of being a refugee , again, no water)*

To sum up the definitions and description of rural poverty as per the views of both participants and respondents from the two villages, this research established that rural poverty is: not being in position to possess materials, not being in position to own simple assets like a bicycle, piece of land and an agricultural tool like a hoe and Panga. Rural Poverty as per the respondents in both villages is; “not being able to be recognized in society”. Rural poverty is not being sure of

life and security, rural poverty is being powerless and not having the capacity to do anything feasible. Rural poverty is accelerated by overreliance on weather which determines the rural poor agricultural produce. Rural poverty is about having unsettled lifestyles of moving from one place to another in search of arable land for cultivation, season after season.

Figure 6. 3: Definition and criteria of defining, describing and analyzing the causes, and effects of rural poverty in Kamanyana.



Source : *Focus group discussions in Kamanyana village*

According to this group discussion, rural poverty is more social than material in rural areas because social criteria has many aspects (*rejection, abuse, exclusion, loneliness, isolation and bad personal relations*) than material which only has two aspects of lack and want.

Rural poverty is defined, described and perceived to be with various interlocking impacts, consequences and effects on society as illustrated above. Just as Narayan et .al (2000) puts it, rural poverty is just a situation of ill being, having a bad life which brings with itself all sorts of bad experiences interwoven to each other whereby one leads to the other and the other leads to the other.

Two focus group discussions (each group of 7 people; men 3: women 4) in each group (A and B), making a total of 14 people were joined up to summarise from their discussions what they had come out with as to what ill experience or bad situation leads to the other. The above figure shows their life shared experiences with the varying interwoven linkages. For instance, when rural poverty was to be described under the criteria of social aspects, the participants agreed that, abuse, isolation and loneliness affect drastically the rural poor. Similarly, it is these social ill beings that were well known to accelerate the poverty they are experiencing in Kamanyana.

On the other hand, the same bad experiences like rejection bring up outrageous pain to which pain was placed under the criteria of physical. Pain as being a physical phenomenon on life style of the rural poor, it again leads to rejection. Pain coming from rural poverty leads to frustration of the highest order in the life style of the rural poor. Frustration is interwoven to vulnerability and vulnerability also accelerates the aspect of lack of and the whole vicious circle perpetuates itself to lead to frustration once again. If this entire trend is not controlled, it continues to manifest itself in crime. Crime also leads to bad personal relations in society and this also results into discomfort and anger.

6.5.1 Exhaustion, Time Poverty and Assets of the Rural Poor

This research study also reveals the reality about the main assets of the poor in relation to the time invested in whatever they do so as to live a fairly fulfilling livelihood. It was found out that the rural poor's life depends on the amount of energy they have in their body. The type of food they eat should be able to provide them with enough calories to execute heavy duties (manual labor).

“Whatever piece of work we get, requires a lot of energy and if you don’t have energy, it means no money, no living, and no food at home. This is because all the contracted jobs that are easily accessible by us are among others like, digging pit latrines, off-loading and loading, digging other people’s gardens, carrying water, charcoal burning and others.”

-A rural poor man’s explanation from Nyabigoma village

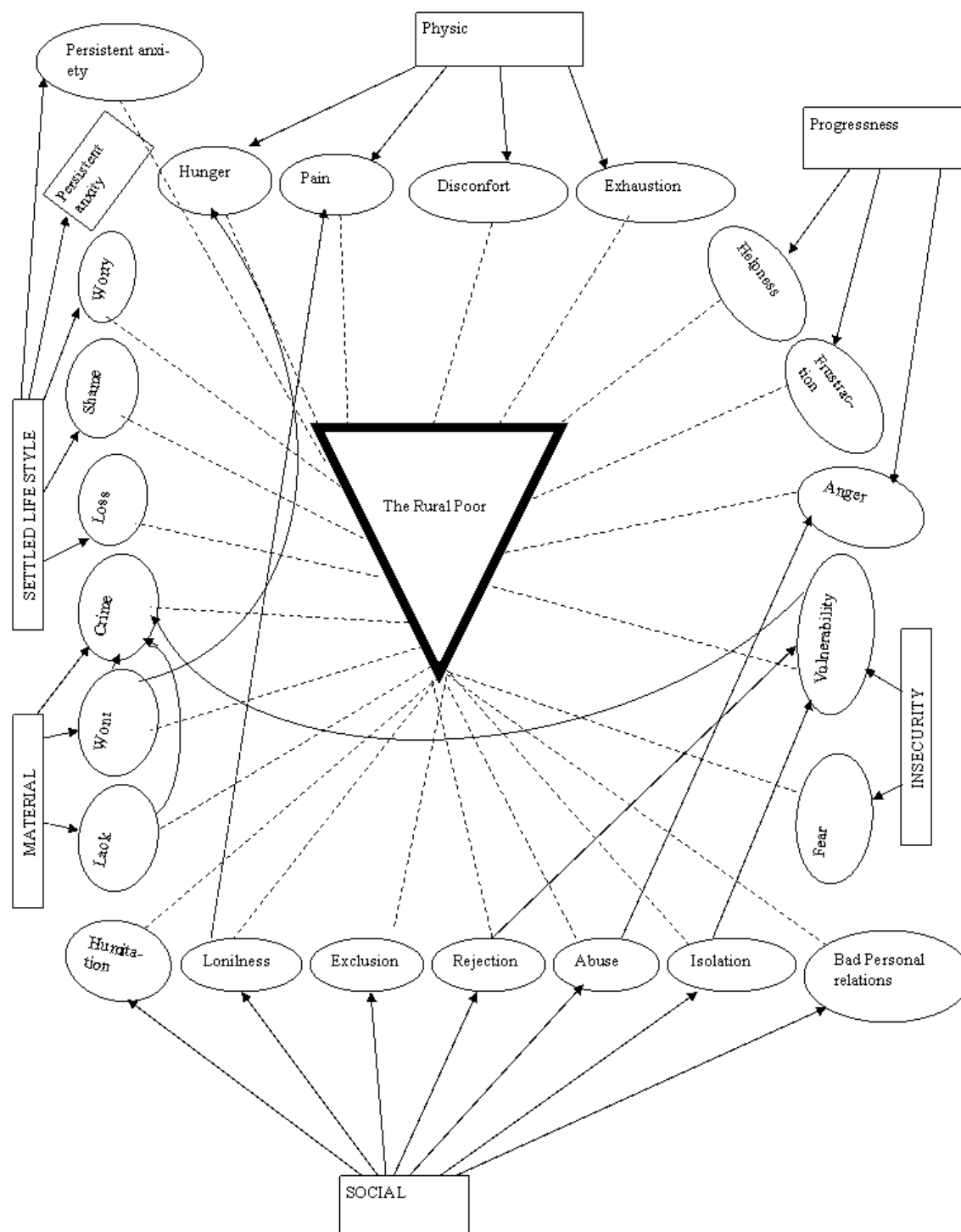
The sheer exhaustion and lack of energy many people experience is easily overlooked for many, their body is their main, and only asset (Karen and Rosemary 2002). And yet their body is uninsured. Shortage of food and sickness not only causes pain, but also weakens and devalues the asset, which is their body. Those short of food are badly stressed by hard work. There are “lazy” poor people but inactivity is often conservation of energy. Poor people are often described as tired, exhausted and worn out. The increasing burdens of their expanded roles are driving many women deeper and deeper into physical exhaustion. These burdens also expose them to “*Time poverty*” meaning that they have little or no time to rest or reflect, enjoy social life take part in community activities, or spend time in spiritual activities. Whereas men are often increasingly out of work, women are under more pressure.

As illustrated in figure 6.4 below, the rural poor in Nyabigoma, the group participants were also joined together; group C (3 women , 4 men) and group D (3women , 4 men) making a total of 14 people. So group C and group D joined up to come up with the above criteria of defining, describing and analyzing the causes, effects and consequences of rural poverty. The group participants in Nyabigoma grouped the criteria of rural poverty experiences into the following categories.

- (i) Social
- (ii) Physical
- (iii) Insecurity
- (iv) Powerlessness
- (v) Material
- (vi) Settled life style

The two groups in Nyabigoma added another new criteria of definition; a settled life style which was not cited by the other joined group in Kamanyana village.

Figure 6. 4: Definition and criteria of defining, describing and analyzing the causes and effects of rural poverty in Nyabigoma village



Source: Focus group discussions in Nyabigoma village

According to this group in Nyabigoma village, the rural poor in addition to having bad experiences through social, physical, insecurity, powerlessness and material criteria; they added another striking through criteria of settled or unsettled lifestyle. This appears in form of the rural poor as being those who pass through bad experiences of huge losses in every economic activity they do, they experience anguish, humiliation, shame, worry mental distress and persistent anxiety.

6.6 Relationships between the rich and the poor in the urban and rural areas

It was observed that the way the rural people perceive poverty and richness is different from the way the urban inhabitants perceive poverty. In the same way, people in the rural areas look at the rich from a different angle; here we look at the relationships between those considered to be rich and poor and their habitations.

6.6.1 Place of residence

Respondents in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana had their own perceptions about where a person with some income should reside. 97% of the respondents in Nyabigoma felt that those with incomes from employment are better off in the rural areas than in the urban areas. This is viewed in an angle of low general expenditure in the rural areas rather than in the urban areas.

On the other hand in Kamanyana, 100% of respondents said that those with high incomes from employment would rather be in the rural areas rather than in urban areas. To be well off, in rural areas, at least you need to have land where to cultivate your crops and keep some animals

Table 6. 3: People with high incomes from employment are better off in rural areas

	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
% Responses	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly agree	5	10	10	13
Agree	11	5	4	7
Neutral	0	0	0	0
Disagree	2	0	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0
Agreement	18	15	14	20

Source: *Field data, 2013*

6.6.2 Perception of richness in the rural areas

Generally, the belief is that to be rich in the rural areas; one needs to have land to grow crops and keep animals. Both rural villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma are in 100% agreement to this fact. In the rural areas people view lack of land and animals as poverty and this explains why literally, the availability of land with crops and animals on it would easily be looked at as wealth.

Table 6. 4: To be well off in the rural areas one should have land where to cultivate crops and keep animals

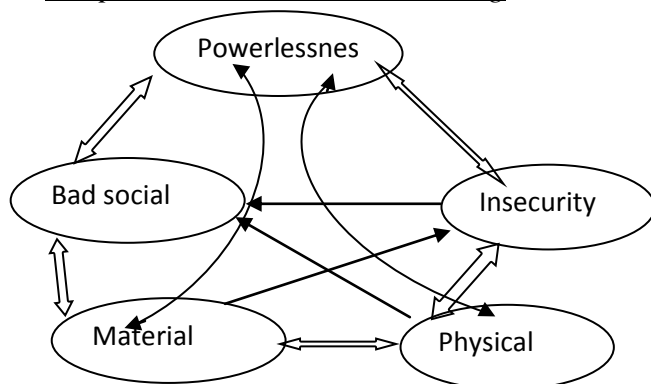
	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
% Responses	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strongly agree	1	0	1	0
Agree	9	16	7	11
Neutral	0	0	0	0
Disagree	0	0	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0
Agreement	18	16	14	20

Source: *Field data, 2013*

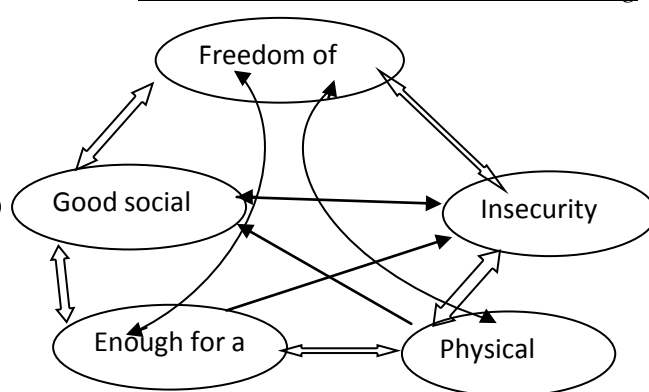
6.6.3 Who is rich and who is poor

The criteria of defining rural poverty and describing its associated bad experiences also helped this study to get to know the opposite side of the coin. As to who is rich and who is poor according to rural standards, we can rely on Narayan et al (1999). Whereas the rural poor are regarded, generally, as those who have a life of ill being, the rich are those who have a life of wellbeing. Narayan et al. (1999) in their study about the voices of the poor distinguished the poor and the rich as follows.

The poor are the ones with ill-being



The rich are the ones with a well being



Source: *Narayan et al, (1999); Voices of the Poor.*

6.6.4 Number of wives and children

Whereas 59% of the respondents in Kamanyana disagreed that, having many wives and children means being well off. A large proportion represented by 85% from Nyabigoma village was in disagreement to the same. Only 15% from Nyabigoma were in agreement to the idea that having many wives and children means being well off. On the other hand 41% of the respondents from Kamanyana felt that having many wives and children was a sign that one is welloff.

Those that believe that richness means having many wives and children, looked at it from the direction of provision of free family labour to till the land to grow crops and to rear the animals.

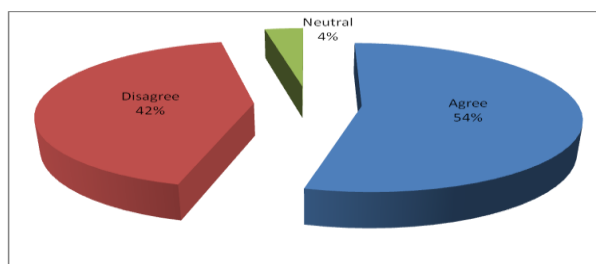
This reveals a downward trend in the traditional belief that wealth is defined by the number of women and children one has. It is also a downward trend to the traditional thought of looking at women and children as assets.

6.6.5 House of residence

There are three main types of houses in the rural areas; the permanent house, the semi-permanent house, and the temporary building. To be considered rich or poor depends largely on the type of house that a family or an individual lives. those that live in permanent houses would be considered rich while those that live in temporary houses would be considered poor.

In Nyabigoma village 54% of the residents agree that indeed to be rich one must have a permanent house while 42% feel that the type of house does not really matter. There was also a surprising percentage of 4% in Nyabigoma who remained unsure whether wealth should be looked at in terms of the type of house in which someone stays in. The Northern Ireland Longitudinal Study Research Brief of June 2011 on House Value as an Indicator of Wealth and Predictor of Health agrees with the finding that type and value of a house is an indicator of richness. This can be seen from the charts below.

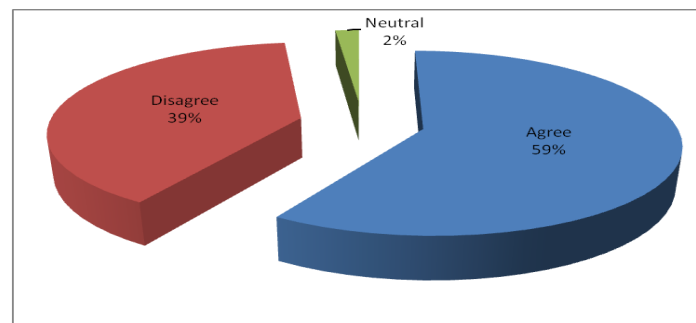
Figure 6. 5: Perecentages of respondents that say to be well off you need a good house – Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

On the other hand, in Kamanyana, respondents agree that the type of residence matters so much in understanding the level of wealth or poverty someone has. At least 54% believe that to be considered rich, one needs a better permanent house while 39% disagree that the type of housing does not matter.

Figure 6. 6: Percentages of Respondents that say to be well off you need a good house – Kamanyana



Source: *Field data, 2013*

6.6.5 Motorcycle as a means of transport

“If the poor walk to do all their work, then there must be a different way in which the rich should act!” said a respondent from Kamanyana. Simply said, the rich should either drive or ride a motorbike. Indeed this point is emphasised by the fact that 81% of the respondents in Kamanyana who agree that to be considered, rich, one should at least have a motorbike as a means of his transport. The same point is also supported by the respondents of Nyabigoma who supported it by 60%. The comparative report on relative wealth by Merry Land University of 1996 provides a backing to this point.

6.6.6 Relative in the urban centre

To feel well off, someone needs to have a relative living in the city. This relative in the city should be assumed to be well off and will financially support the poor relatives in the villages with the basic needs of life. About 61% of the respondents in Nyabigoma agree that there is need for a relative in the town as a way to prove that someone is well off financially. Only 31% from Nyabigoma disagree to this point.

On the other hand, the percentage is lower for Kamanyana, with only 56% thinking that to feel well off, you should have a relative that will support you from the urban areas. While only 44% disagree. This point was supported mostly by the female respondents. 74% of respondents out of

the 61% of the respondents in Nyabigoma who supported the idea of feeling well off when you have a relative in the urban areas were females, and 60% out of the 56% of in Kamanyana were also females.

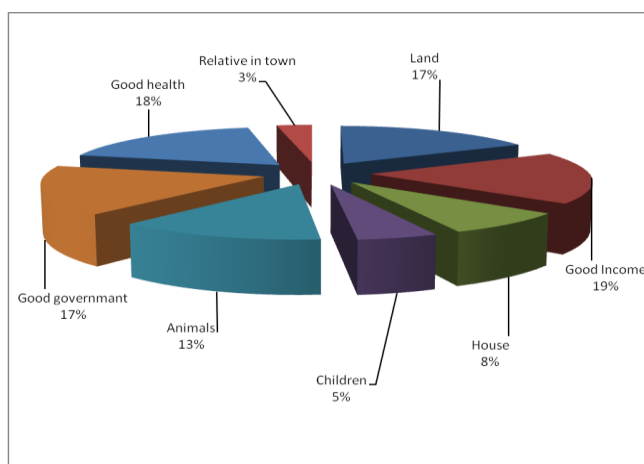
6.6.7 Value attachments

People have different things that they value in their lives. These include, land, good income, house, children, animals and poultry, relatives in urban areas, good governance, good health and good terms with God. These value attachments vary from person to person and from village to village.

From the analysis, one may say that respondents from Kamanyana, do not attach much value to having children, and having relatives in town. This is because only 3% attach value to having relatives in town, and only 5% attach value to having children.

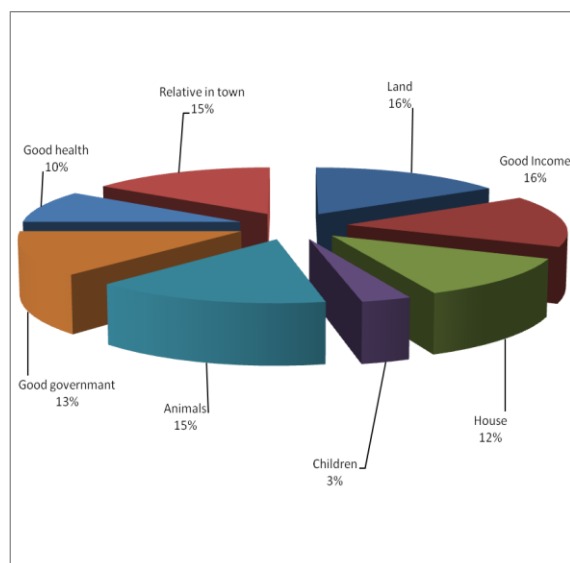
In fact, respondents attach most value to good income by 19%, good governance by 17%, and good health by 18% and land by 17%.

Figure 6. 7: What Respondents value most in their lives in rural areas – Kamanyana



Source: *Field data, 2013*

On the other hand, in Nyabigoma, respondents attach less value to having children. Only 3% attach value to children. This probably is because children are seen as an inconvenience and expenditure in paying school fees and medical treatment. However respondents attached most value to land 16%, good income 16%, animals 15% and relatives in town also 15%.

Figure 6. 8: What respondents value most in their lives – Nyabigoma

Source: *Field data, 2013*

6.7 Comparison between what respondents value in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana

There is a great difference between what the respondents from Nyabigoma and Kamanyana consider as valuable in life.

Whereas in Nyabigoma land is considered as most valuable, in Kamanyana its income that is considered most valuable.

This is what the researcher has ranked as 1st for both villages. Secondly, in Nyabigoma respondents consider income as valuable while Kamanyana respondents consider good health.

In the third place are animals for Nyabigoma while it is good governance for Kamanyana.

In the last place are children for Nyabigoma while it is having relatives in town for Kamanyana.

Table 6. 5: Comparing the valuables in Nyabigoma to Kamanyana.

<i>Things they value</i>	<i>Nyabigoma rank</i>	<i>Kamanyana rank</i>
Land	16% - 1 st	17% - 4 th
Income	16% - 2 nd	19% - 1 st
Animals	15% - 3 rd	13% - 5 th
Good governance	13% - 5 th	17% - 3 rd
Good health	10% - 7 th	18% - 2 nd
Children	3% - 8 th	5% - 7 th
Relative in town	15% - 4 th	35 - 8 th
House	12% - 6 th	8% - 6 th

Source: *Field data, 2013*

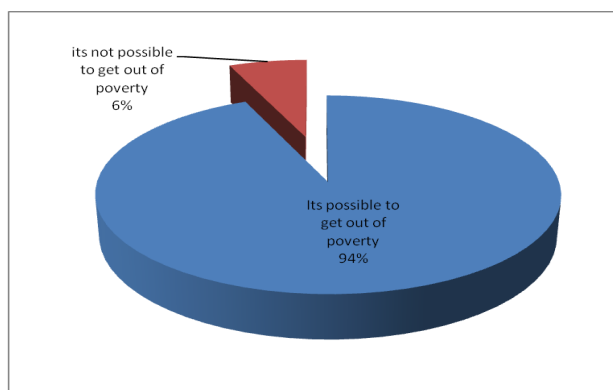
The cause of the difference is that Kamanyana village is nearer the trading centre where there is a stone throw away distance to the main road. while Nyabigoma village is quite deep. This, therefore, explains why place effect is paramount in taking up the minds of the rural poor. The deeper the area is, the more the needs and perceptions rotate around land, income, domestic animals, relative in town, good governance, house, good health and children as seen from the valuables needed most in Nyabigoma village above. Whereas, the nearer the village or area is to an urban area, the more the valuables rotate around money (clear source of income), good health, good governance, then land and so on and on as depicted by the respondents from Kamanyana in the above table.

6.8 Getting out of poverty

Poverty is not perceived as a permanent situation but a temporary one. At least, 94% of the respondents in Nyabigoma agree that they can be able to get out of poverty while only 6% fear that they may not be able to get out of poverty.

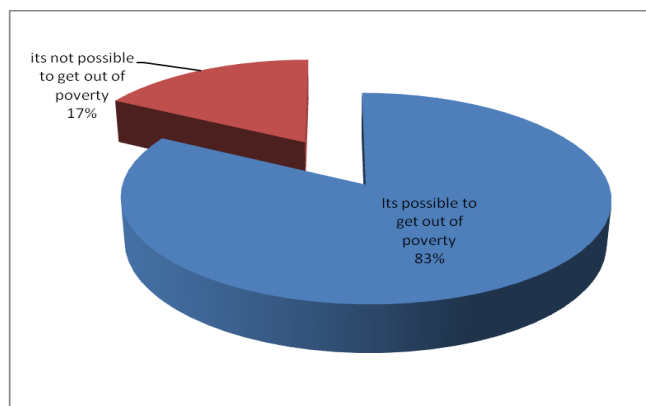
On the other hand, 83% of the respondents from Kamanyana also agree that they are able to get out of poverty while only 17% think that they may not be able to get out of poverty.

Figure 6. 9: *Perecentages of opinions on whether it's possible to get out of poverty or not- Nyabigoma*



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 6. 10: *Perecentages of opinions on whether it's possible to get out of poverty or not- Kamanyana*



Source: *Field data, 2013*

In relation to the above analysis, according to the global post; an article that focused on Rwanda with reference to the Rwandan Household Living Conditions Survey(NISR, 2001) [/http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/120328/rwanda-economic-growth-pulling-rwandans-out-poverty](http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/120328/rwanda-economic-growth-pulling-rwandans-out-poverty) it was reported that at least 1 million Rwandans have been lifted out of poverty in just five years, 11 million people living in poverty were reduced from 57 to 45 percent, according to the report. That is, in the past 17 years Rwanda has pulled its economy up from the ruins to become one of Africa's most dynamic and fastest growing economy registering at least 8 percent GDP growth for the past 5 years.

It has not been easy work and the country still has a long way to go. A majority of Rwandans still live on less than 50 cents per day, with 77 % on less than \$1.25 daily, according to United Nations statistics. The report also notes that President Paul Kagame's government has put emphasis on economic growth based on tourism and services to create new employment. Kagame's gamble appears to be getting results. At least 1 million Rwandans have been lifted out of poverty in just five years, according to the Rwandan Household Living Conditions Survey, released by the government earlier this year (EICV2, 2012/2013).

Economic growth between 2006 and 2011 reduced the number of Rwanda's 11 million people living in poverty from 57 to 45 %, according to the Report. International Development Expert, Paul Collier, author of *"The Bottom Billion,"* called the Rwandan statistics "deeply impressive". He said that Rwanda had pulled off a rare "hat trick" of rapid growth, sharp reduced poverty and reduced inequality. He wished that Rwanda's' success story would be happening all over Africa! *"This should be happening everywhere in Africa,"* Collier said, at the release of the report. *"Instead, it's happening nowhere else."*

Rwanda's economic growth is helping to reduce the numbers of poor, rural Rwandans. Furthermore, the Rwandan Household Living Conditions Survey by National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda 2000/01 also records that Rwanda has had an impressive record in translating its recent growth into poverty reduction across the country over the past five years; the results show a reduction in poverty at the national level by 12 percentage points between 2005/06 and 2010/11. This is a significant reduction over a five-year period. The findings contrast with the limited poverty reduction experienced over the period 2000/01 to 2005/06 of only 2 percentage points. This is an assurance that the respondents from both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana villages were right to have a feel that it's possible to get out of poverty.

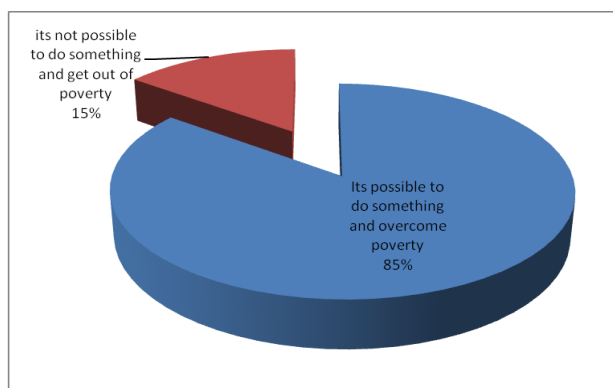
6.8.1 Possibility of doing something to overcome poverty

Getting out of poverty is not just about talking but the possibility of doing something to overcome the said poverty.

About 85% of the Nyabigoma village respondents felt that it was possible to do something to get out of poverty. Only 15% felt that it was not possible to do something that can get them out of poverty.

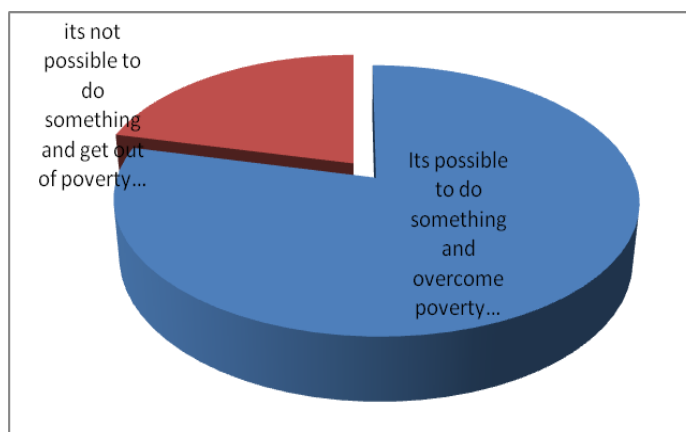
In Kamanyana village, 79% said it was possible to do something to get out of poverty while 21% of the respondents felt it was not possible to do something that can help get out of poverty.

Figure 6. 11: *Perecenteges of opinions on whether it's possible to do something that can help get out of poverty- Nyabigoma*



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 6. 12: *Percentage of opinions on whether it's possible to do something that can help get out of poverty- Kamanyana*



Source: *Field data, 2013*

The percentage in Nyabigoma (85%) was higher than that in Kamanyana (79%) that believed it was possible to do something to help get out of poverty. The Rwanda National Development plan - Operational Plan 2011 – 2015 updated June 2012 gives priority among others to economic empowerment of Rwandese people with an aim of helping them get out of poverty. There, is therefore, hope that people will be capable of getting out of poverty.

6.9 Conclusion

With reference to the definition of poverty by the UN;

“Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation”

(UN Statement, June 1998 –signed by the heads of all UN agencies).

There is no one definition of poverty. Poverty seems to vary considerably depending on the situation. Feeling poor in Canada is different from living in poverty in Rwanda. The differences, between the rich and the poor within the borders of a country can also be great.

No matter how poverty is defined, it can be agreed that it is an issue that requires everyone’s attention. It is important that all members of our society work together to provide the opportunities for all our members to reach their full potential. It helps all of us to help one another.

Poverty is also often defined by the United Nations in absolute terms of low income – less than US\$2 a day, for example. But in reality, the consequences of poverty exist on a relative scale. The poorest of the poor, around the world, have the worst health. This confirms the Rwandan saying that a rich man dies in the morning while a poor man dies in the evening.

Within countries, evidence shows that in general the lower an individual’s socio-economic position is, the worse their health. There is a social gradient in health that runs from top to bottom of the socio-economic spectrum. This is a global phenomenon, seen in low, middle and high income countries.

The new reality here is that place effect is paramount in taking up the minds of the rural poor. The deeper the area is, the more the needs and perceptions rotate around land, income, domestic animals, houses, having relatives in town, good governance, good health and children as seen from the valuables needed mostly in Nyabigoma. Whereas, the nearer the village or area is to an urban area, the more the valuables rotate around money (clear source of income), good health, good governance, then land and other resources.

Generally, the views expressed in regard to the definition of poverty are the same in both the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma. Even the males' and females' opinions did not show much disparity. It looks clear from the above analysis that people hold similar views on poverty in both the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma. There is also high hope that people will get out of poverty and they have the ability and will power to do something that can help them get out of poverty.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CAUSES OF RURAL POVERTY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and analyses data on responses that the respondents gave about the causes of rural poverty in their localities. The data presented and analysed here attempts to explain the causes of rural poverty. The chapter also attempts to show new realities about the causes of rural poverty and it also compares rural poverty to urban poverty. The general purpose of this chapter is to enable decision makers address poverty from an informed point of view and to solve the causes of poverty in Rwanda if the entire issue of poverty is to be solved.

7.1.1 Basis of rural poverty in the Rwandan context

Agriculture is the backbone of Rwanda's economy. It has contributed to an average of about 36 per cent of total GDP between 2001 and 2008, and it employs more than 80 per cent of the population. But the sector is very fragile. Rough terrain, erosion and climatic hazards combined with the geography and the lack of modern technology to create serious constraints to agricultural development. In his first visit to Rwanda, Pope John Paul II is nationally remembered in Rwanda for his comment; "*Rwanda, a country of a thousand hills, a thousand problems and a thousand opportunities*" (Pope John Paul II, 1990 visit to Kigali Speech).

Rural livelihoods are based on an agricultural production system that is characterized by small family farms of less than 1 hectare (ha), practising mixed farming that combines rain fed grain crops, traditional livestock-rearing and some vegetable production. Food crops account for 92 per cent of the cultivated area, and two thirds of food crops are earmarked for family consumption. A small number of farmers grow higher-value cash crops such as coffee and tea, which occupy 3 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively, of total cultivable land. The most vulnerable rural people are landless people and small-scale farmers who cultivate less than 0.2 hectares. The rural enterprise sector offers alternative employment for a growing rural population, living on increasingly scarce land. Microenterprises and small businesses have a role in construction, transport, trade and services, production of manufactured goods and processing of agricultural products, but all these of income remains largely untapped.

The poverty line has been set at 1 level which 40 % of the households in the 1985 survey fell below. Genocide caused an immediate and dramatic increase in poverty from which the country is still recovering. The proportion of households below the poverty line rose from 53 % in 1993

to an estimated 70% in 1997. The latest estimate of the proportion below the poverty line is 65% (NISR, 2012)

7.2 THE EFFECT OF PLACE (RURALITY) TO ACCELERATING RURAL POVERTY

It is remembered that this study was mainly concerned with looking at how the effect of place affects the socio-economic development and livelihoods of the rural poor.

7.2.1 Places of the poor

This study discovered that many poor people are disadvantaged by the places and physical conditions where they live and work. They often experience: problems with water that is scarce, inaccessible and unsafe. Being isolated with bad roads and inadequate transport; precarious shelter; scarcities of energy for cooking and heating; and poor sanitation, all these make the poor vulnerable. Poor communities are typically neglected, lacking the infrastructure and services provided for the better off. Access to services often costs poor people more.

Many places where poor people live present multiple disadvantages that include not only missing of inadequate infrastructure and services, but also unfavorable geography, vulnerability to environmental shocks and seasonal exposure. Quite often these disadvantages combine in ways that endanger or impoverish those who live there. The vagaries of weather in rural areas influence the rural poor's lifestyle a lot. Much of their livelihood is mostly based on agriculture. Many of the worst deprivations that come with living in these places are seasonal in nature, including property damage by rain, wind, floods and landslides, and unhygienic conditions ranging from flood, water, insecurity of person and property. Therefore, the mere fact of location of place keeps the rural dwellers poor.

Poor people are often born into marginal places and conditions. Then, if they move, they find the better sites already taken. Often the places they find are bad in many ways, variously isolated, infertile, insecure, vulnerable and dangerous. They include areas that are hilly, remote, drought-prone; ex-posed to landslides, floods or pollution, distant from or too close to water; and open to extremes of weather.

This section explores how these places of the rural poor impose multiple disadvantages and discomforts on those who live and seek their livelihoods in them. It opens with highlights of

rural poor's discussions about the hardships of missing or inadequate infrastructure and basic services. The section then highlights how the disadvantages of living in deep rural areas interlock to keep people poor or drive them further into abject poverty. While the types and combinations of hardships vary widely among place, in general, the new reality here is that, the rural poor do struggle more than the urban poor.

7.2.2 The Missing Basics

When discussion groups in both villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma were involved to have a say on this, it was astonishing to find the following revelations which were frequently pinned on serious gaps in terms of accessibility to basic services and infrastructure such as failing to access clean water, roads and transport, housing, fuel and sanitation.

“We need water as badly as we need air. Most of these streams and wells dry out during the dry season. We have to travel long distances searching for water”

-A participant in a discussion group of poor women, Kamanyana village.

“How can we sow anything without water? What will my cow drink? Drought is so often here. Water is our life”

-A participant in a discussion group of poor men in Nyabigoma village.

People in both of these villages spoke forcefully of the lack of adequate and safe water as acute deprivation. Water shortages and difficulties accessing safe drinking water appear most serious and widespread in the deep rural areas of Rwanda. There are problems of distance, quantity, seasonality, quality and safety of supply; environmental issues like flooding siltation and pollution, questions of maintenance; and often combinations of these. And yet water is also critical for animal and crops. For many, water scarcity means daily hardships.

“We have to spend more than an hour to fetch and bring a pot of water,” at times, you find our children fighting to get at the village's only well”

-A participant of Nyabigoma village said

For many rural people in Kamanyana, water availability and quality vary with the seasons. As rivers and streams dry out or water sources deteriorate, people suffer shortages. An illustration of emphasis by one of the participants in Kamanyana is stated below;

“Look at our river! The cows stop milking when they drink this water. When I was a boy we used to go fishing there, and there were good fish. Now even the frogs have disappeared. We have no choice but to use it for the gardens-so all the metals are soaking in the soil and we eat them”

The rural poor in the study areas (Kamanyana and Nyabigoma) are isolated by distance, bad roads conditions, lack of or broken bridges, and inadequate transport. In both villages, these conditions make it difficult for people to get their goods to market and themselves to places of work, to handle health emergencies, to send children to schools, to obtain public services and to keep in touch with events and influence decisions.

In rural areas people repeatedly mention roads and, often, bridges when discussing community problems. The participants reported that there is no transportation into the nearest town and during heavy rains households get cut off by flooding.

Difficulty in getting crops to market is a recurrent concern. In Nyabigoma village, drivers are said to charge very high fees because of the bad roads. As a consequence, much of the food crop is locked up on farms, leading to postharvest losses. The study, therefore, notes that the condition of the road is thus a disincentive to production and productivity.

“Often times our food rots in the fields, and people are starving here, in other countries and round the world. There are no good roads. To get the products out of the farm you have to use your heads”

-A poor man in Nyabigoma village in group D

Travel to clinic or hospitals for treatment, especially in emergencies, is another common concern. Attracting staff to remote villages lacking infrastructure is equally a problem.

“If anybody gets sick in the community, it costs a lot to go all the way around. If you are not careful the people can die before they reach the hospital. Nurses and medical doctors avoid coming to our villages and they see our villages as a plague because of absence of basic infrastructure.”

-A poor woman in Kamanyana village in Group C

In differing contexts, the rural poor emphasised how the lack of roads and other means of communication can limit them, making it more difficult for them find jobs, negotiate better prices for their produce, access services such as credit or social assistance, or shape events that affect them. A poor woman in Nyabigoma village explains that she did not know how to get loans:

“There is no telephone communication in the village, no post office. Newspapers and magazines are expensive, and we cannot afford to buy them. We don’t have access to Government Television program. Here we just rely on Radio Rwanda and if the weather is not very clear, you don’t even access the waves of any radio”

7.2.3. The poor are trapped in Poor Places

Most participants from the two villages provided explanations of how their safety is endangered and their lives greatly limited because of the difficulty and risky conditions where they live. Very frequently, these disadvantages can be found in combinations; and sometimes they interlock in ways that present serious hazards to the local rural poor. Poor children in many rural areas face a multitude of risks to their safety.

Because of these sorts of permanently trapped conditions, the rural poor in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana live with high risks of insecurity and stigma. This is because rural places vary in security. In urban places, the urban poor face high levels of crime and violence as major aspects of severe insecurity of both person and property. On the other hand, in deep rural areas, the rural poor have insecurity through land related issues since they are always squatters on land owned by absentee land lords. The rural poor participants in the different discussion groups of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma reported being shunned by would-be employers because of where they live. Legal insecurity is also widespread. The rural poor are residing and working on land to which they have no rights or rights that are uncertain and insecure. In rural areas this can be the land of a big landlord, or land that has been appropriated by a boss or landlord, or public land. Shelter and housing are often also legally insecure.

“We always live in constant threat of being thrown out of this land. After filling in the land in the area, the Government carried out a census and that time, we didn’t sleep for fear that we might be evicted, but they didn’t throw us out, thanks to God. After, the census came and then we knew the small plots of land were ours.”

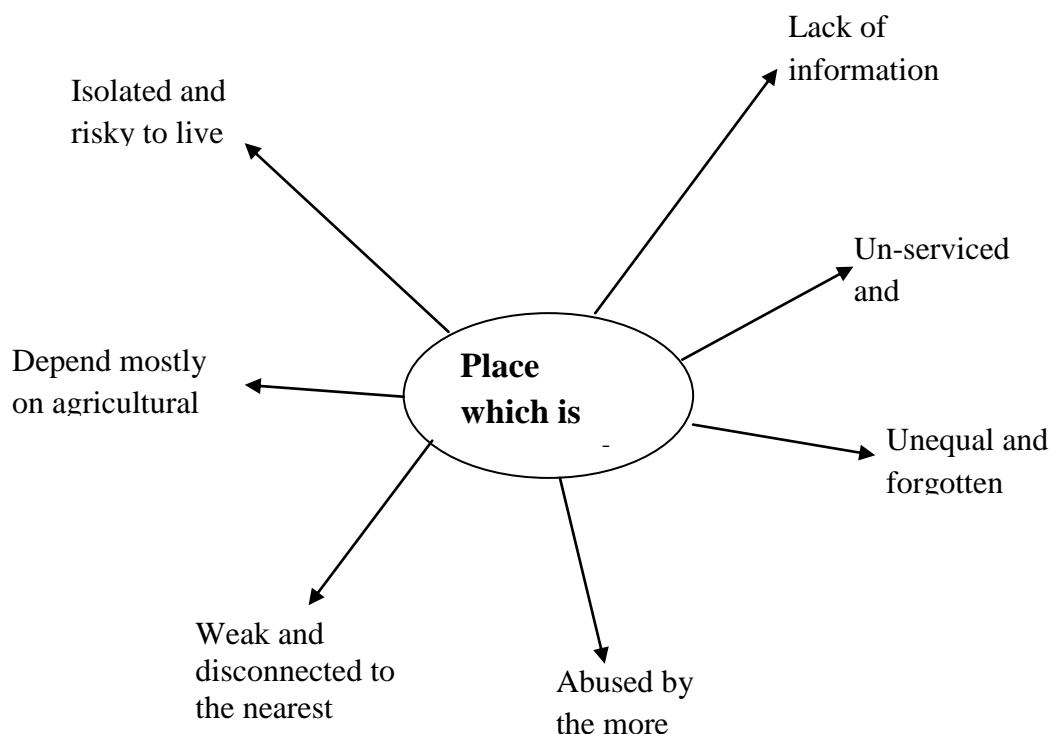
-An exclamation from a poor man in Kamanyana village

However, this fear also is in the minds of the rural poor because in Rwanda, they know that once you have a relatively bigger piece of land and your neighbors are lacking, then part of that land has to be taken away from you and given to those who don’t have.

Mbabazize and Twesige (2013) assert a conclusion that, rural places snare poor people in a web of disadvantages, including isolation, problems of water and energy, sewage, garbage, pollution,

filth, environmental hazards, ill health, seasonal exposure to the worst conditions, insecurity of person and property, and stigma of place. According to Mbabazize and Twesige (2013), these disadvantages are not universal, but many apply in many rural places much of the time. And they interlock as a trap. In the struggle for livelihood and a better life, the rural places deepen deprivation. Poor places make it difficult for poor people to escape. Poor places keep people poor. And poor places also kill.

Figure 7. 1: The effect of place (Rurality) to accelerating rural Poverty



Source: Focus group discussions- All groups of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana combined

7.3 Causes of rural poverty as per the respondents through the questionnaire

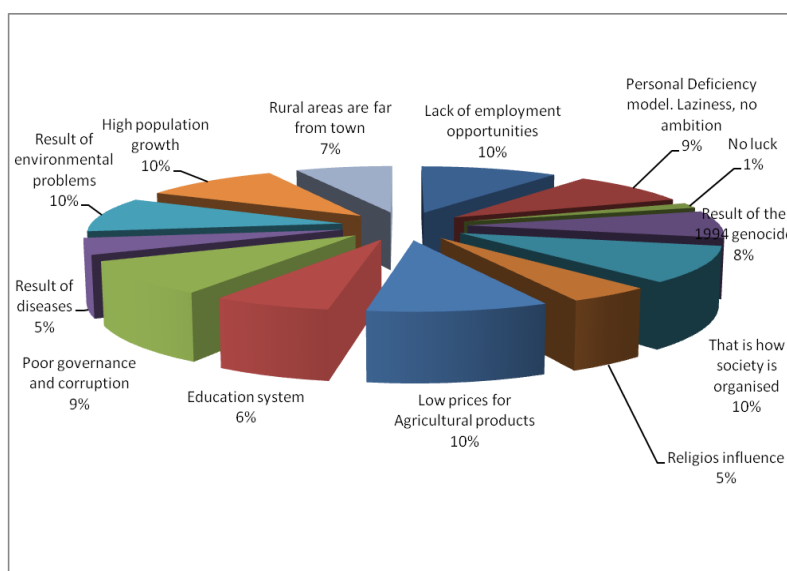
Respondents interviewed raised different causes of poverty and these causes have been captured below:

- Lack of employment opportunities,
- No source of capital to establish a business
- The poor are responsible for being poor: bad habits, personal deficiency model, laziness, no ambition
- Some people in villages are poor as a result of accidents-Individual accidents model, No luck hence poor fate
- Rural Poverty is rampant because of the widely known 1994 Genocide in Rwanda

- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of the way our society is socially and culturally organized as rooted from colonization days*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of religious influences*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of having low prices for Agricultural products (fluctuation of Agricultural prices)*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of the way poverty education policies have been implemented in the times of past Governments and, after the war policies to halt poverty were not rural based, hence rural poverty continued to increase*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is a result of diseases*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of environmental conditions we inherited like having no land.*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of high population of young people (High no of children)*
- *Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of our villages being far away from Major urban centers (Distance or place effect theory)*

As seen from the different reasons outlined above, rural poverty is caused by several factors but this study was mainly concerned with attempting to see which single factor leads to rural poverty more than the other.

Figure 7. 2: Causes of poverty in Nyabigoma village



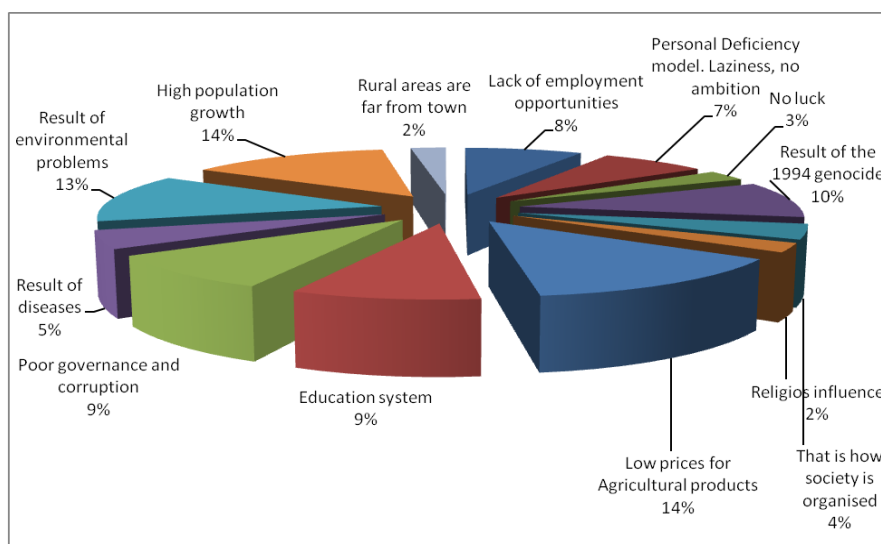
Source: *Field data, 2013*

As seen from the above chart, lack of employment, low prices for agricultural products, high population growth and environmental factors took at least 10 % each major contributors of poverty in Nyabigoma village. The respondents in this village also hinted that some people not having luck may not necessarily be a big cause of their poor state of life. No luck scored 1% as seen from the above chart.

On the other hand, the same question was also presented to the respondents of Kamanyana village and to them, the influence of genocide was one of the major contributors to the level of poverty they have. Partly this is because of the nearness of this village to an averagely trading center connecting to the main road. This is a new reality on the fact that the 1994 genocide in Rwanda must have inflicted serious consequences to people in urban areas than people in deep rural areas.

However, there are some other major contributors to the poor state of life they are in. These are: low prices of agricultural products, high population growth rates over the small piece of land to which all these accounted for 14 % each, having no luck also contributed to 3% in Kamayana which implies that it was also the least cause of poverty as it was mentioned in Nyabigoma village.

Figure 7. 3: Causes of poverty in Kamanyana village



Source: *Field data, 2013*

7.5 Comparing causes of poverty in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana

This study went ahead to compare the major cause of poverty in the two villages in form of a table below. From both Nyabigoma and Kamanyan villages, in ranking the top six causes of poverty; low prices for agricultural products features as number one.

This is because the rural inhabitants from both villages entirely depend on agriculture as their main economic activity.

Table 7. 1: Top 6 causes of poverty in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana

<i>Nyabigoma – top 6 causes of poverty</i>	<i>Kamanyana – top 6 causes of poverty</i>
1. Low prices for agricultural products	1. Low prices for agricultural products
2. Result of environmental problems	2. High population growth
3. High population growth	3. Result of environmental problems
4. Lack of employment opportunities	4. Result of the 1994 genocide
5. That is how society is organised	5. Education system
6. Personal deficiency; laziness and lack of ambition	6. Poor governance and corruption

Source: *Field data, 2013*

From the above table, it is also clearly seen that environmental problems features as the second for Nyabigoma while the same environmental problems features as number three for Kamanyana. The environmental problems considered here are factors like rain, floods and draught. It is important to remember that, environmental factors affect agriculture productivity and so they relate directly with agriculture production.

What features as number three for Nyabigoma is high population growth rate and it features as number two for Kamanyana. It is also important to remember that population growth reduces land for agriculture practices. One may attribute poverty in the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana to factors that affect agricultural productivity.

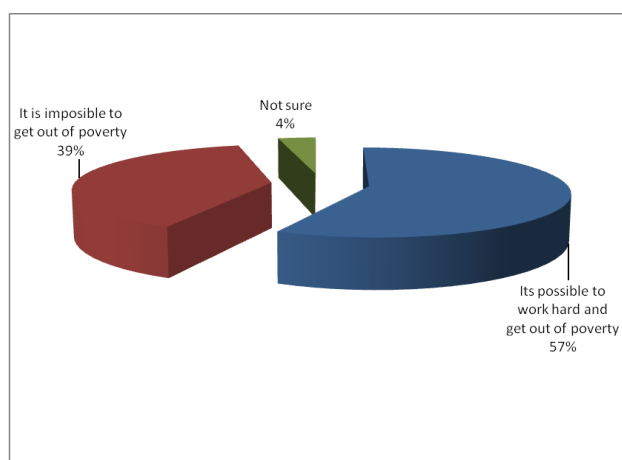
7.8 Possibility of working hard enough and getting away from poverty

Despite the several factors that may be responsible for rural poverty in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, the rural poor inhabitants think that it is possible to work hard and get out of poverty. In Nyabigoma; 53% agree that, it is possible to get out of poverty and 42% think that it is not possible to work hard and get out of poverty. While the 53% agree that it is possible to do something and get out of poverty, only 37% are currently working hard to get out of poverty and the 42% are said to be doing nothing to get out of poverty. Moreover about 21% are not sure if they are doing something that will help them get out of poverty.

On the other hand in Kamanyana, 57% agree that it is possible to work hard and come out of poverty, while 39% think it may not be possible to come out of poverty while 4% were not sure.

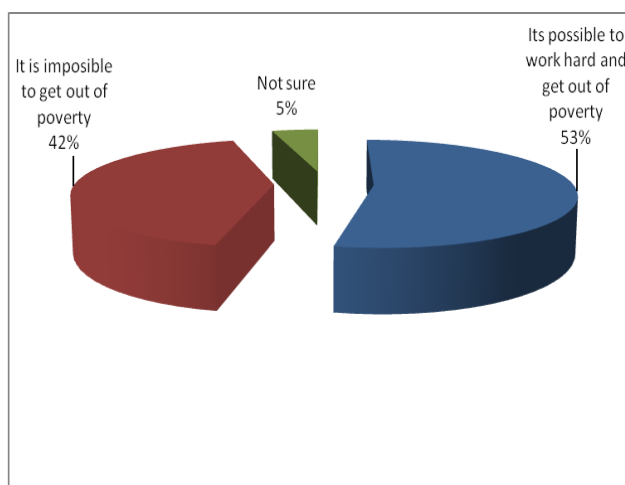
While the 57% agreed to the possibility of doing something and get out of poverty, only 47% are said to be doing something that will help them to get out of poverty and 33% are doing nothing as the 20% are not sure if they are doing something that will help them to get out of poverty.

Figure 7. 4: Possibility of working hard and getting out of poverty- Kamanyana village



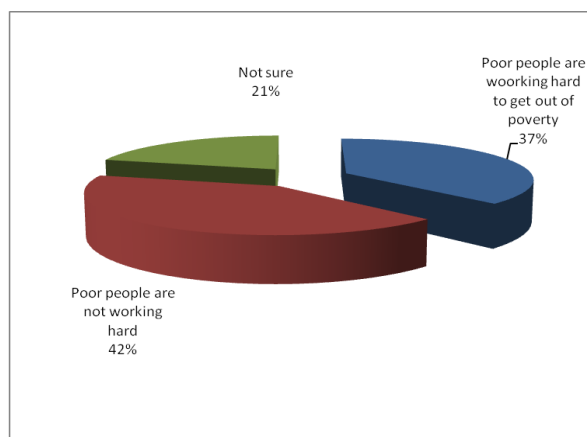
Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 7. 5: Possibility of working hard and getting out of poverty- Nyabigoma village



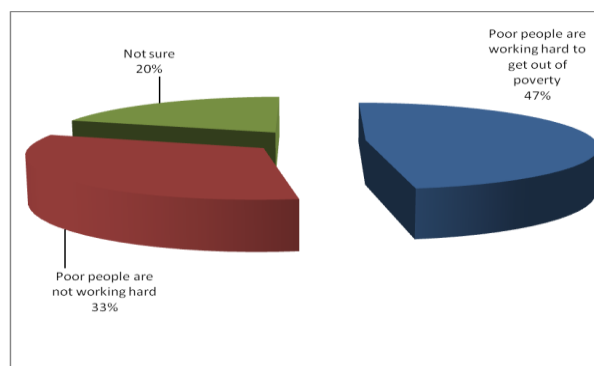
Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 7. 6: Poor people are currently working hard to get out of poverty- Kamanyana village



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 7. 7: Poor people are currently working hard to get out of poverty- Nyabigoma village



Source: *Field data, 2013*

But again this research went ahead to ask the focus group members why people were not working hard to come out of poverty

This is what one group of women in Nyabigoma had to say:

“It’s because some are demoralised and feel that there is no hope”

Another group of women in Kamanyana said this;

“But we have always toiled and toiled from the time we were young. There is still averagely little we have gained from our gardens. It is only God who knows where our future is heading to”

7.9 Rwanda's' poverty reduction success story

However Rwanda recently announced that it had cut poverty by 12% in six years, from 57% of its population to 45%. That equals roughly a million Rwandans emerging from poverty -- one of the most stunning drops in the world. It is a remarkable achievement for Rwanda, which has emerged from civil war and a bloody ethnic genocide in the 1990s.

According to Paul Collier, the director of the Centre for the Study of African Economies at Oxford University, the drop of poverty in Rwanda from 57% to 45% is attributed to:

7.9.1 Agricultural prices

There were one or two helpful events, notably the rise in world coffee prices, which pumped money into the rural economy, although, overall the global economy since 2005 has not provided an easy environment for success.

7.9.2 Domestic policies

Rwanda is the nearest that Africa gets to an East Asian-style “developmental state,” where the government gets serious about trying to grow the economy and where the president runs a tight ship within government built on performance rather than patronage. There were strong supporting policies for the rural poor -- the “one cow” program [that distributed cows to poor households free of charge], which spread assets, and the improvements in health programs. Alongside this, the economy was well managed, with inflation kept low, and the business environment improved, both of which helped the main city, Kigali, to grow. The growth in Kigali then spread benefits to rural areas -- the most successful rural districts were those closest to Kigali.

7.9.3 Good governance, political stability, and good civil service

Basically, the government built a culture of performance at the top of the civil service. Ministers were well paid, but set targets. If they missed the targets there were consequences. Each year, the government holds a whole-of-government retreat where these performances are reviewed: good performance rewarded, and poor performers are required to explain. An example is the strategy to improve Rwanda's rating on the World Bank's “Doing Business” annual rating, where

over the course of six years the country moved from around 140th to 60th in the world rankings. Each component of the ratings was assigned each year to an appropriate minister. So over time, a cadre of government officials has been built up who believe in their ability not just to strategise but to get things done. As a result of these policies, some changes are obvious to the eye -- houses that now have tin roofs instead of thatch. Thatch may look prettier, but the world over, a decent roof is one of the first changes people make when they start the ascent out of poverty. Some of the changes are psychological -- a sense that things really can improve, and a sense that individual families can do something about their circumstances.

7.9.4 Possibility to reach middle income country

The government has now set its focus on getting the country to middle-income levels. This will require a change in the growth strategy. So far, growth has come primarily from doing better the things that Rwanda is doing already. To reach middle income, new activities will need to be introduced and the economy diversified. Rwanda needs pioneer investors and aid to support them with public infrastructure.

7.10 Conclusion

The best way of dealing with poverty in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana and in fact Rwanda at large is identifying the causes and taking appropriate measures of handling these causes. During our discussions with the respondents, agriculture related problems were the main cause of poverty. These causes included low prices for agricultural products, unreliable climatic and environmental problems; distance from the rural areas where agriculture is practiced to the urban areas where better markets are located and population increases that is reducing the agricultural land in favour of human settlement.

Despite the causes however, Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) provides a medium term framework for achieving the country's long term development aspirations as embodied in Rwanda Vision 2020, the seven year Government of Rwanda (GoR) programme, and the Millennium Development Goals. The strategy builds on strong achievements in human capital development and promotes three flagship programs. These flagships serve as a means to prioritise actions by the GoR, mobilise resources for development and improve policy implementation through more coordinated interventions across sectors.

The first flagship, sustainable growth for jobs and exports, will be driven by an ambitious, high quality public investment program aimed at systematically reducing the operational costs of business, increasing the capacity to innovate, and widening and strengthening the Financial Sector. This means heavy investment in “hard infrastructure” by the GoR to create strong incentives for the Private Sector to increase its investment rate in subsequent years.

The second flagship, Vision 2020 Umurenge, will accelerate the rate of poverty reduction by promoting pro poor components of the national growth agenda. This will be achieved by releasing the productive capacity of the poor in rural areas through a combination of public works, promotion of cooperatives credit packages and direct support. Finally, the third flag ship governance provides an anchor for pro poor growth by building on Rwanda’s reputation as a country with a low incidence of corruption and a regional comparative advantage in “soft infrastructure”. In order to implement the EDPRS strategy, the sectoral allocation of public expenditure will be distributed to maintain momentum in the social sectors education, health and water and sanitation while also targeting agriculture, transport and Information and Communication Technology ICT, energy, housing and urban development, good governance and rule of law, proper land use management and environmental protection.

In agriculture, the main programs include the intensification of sustainable production systems in crop cultivation and animal husbandry; building the technical and organisational capacity of farmers; promoting commodity chains and agribusiness, and strengthening the institutional framework of the sector at central and local level. Environmental and land priorities involve ecosystems the rehabilitation of degraded areas and strengthening newly established central and decentralized institutions.

Special attention will be paid to sustainable land tenure security through the planning and management of land registration and rational land use, soil and water conservation, reforestation, preservation of biological diversity and adaptation and mitigation against the impact of climate change.

In education and skills development the emphasis is on increasing the coverage and the quality of nine year basic education, strengthening Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and improving the quality of tertiary education.

The concerted effort to build scientific capacity will be based on the objectives of knowledge acquisition and deepening, knowledge creation through scientific research knowledge transfer and developing a culture of innovation, in particular protecting intellectual property In infrastructure, the objectives are to reduce transport costs within the country and between Rwanda and the outside world, and to ensure security of energy supplies by increasing domestic energy production from several sources. Efforts will be made to promote investment in, and the growth of the Information and Communications Technology industry. In meteorology, the aim is to provide a wide range of timely, high quality information to different groups of users. The habitat subsector will develop planning tools for restructuring the country's settlement pattern consistent with the rural and urban land use and environment protection schemes and develop and implement master plans for new urban residential zones and imidugudu sites.

In health, the objectives are to maximise preventative health measures and build the capacity to have high quality and accessible health care services for the entire population in order to reduce malnutrition, infant and child mortality, and fertility, as well as control communicable diseases. This includes strengthening institutional capacity increasing the quantity and quality of human resources ensuring that health care is accessible to all the population increasing geographical accessibility

High population growth is a major challenge facing Rwanda. Slowing down population growth requires innovative measures, including the strengthening of reproductive health services and family planning and ensuring free access to information, education and contraceptive services.

The Water and Sanitation Sector aims to ensure sustainable and integrated water resources management and development for multipurpose use including increased access for all to safe water and sanitation services.

In social protection, the objective is to achieve effective and sustainable social protection for the poor and vulnerable. The sector will provide social assistance to the most needy while supporting the able bodied to progress out of extreme vulnerability and poverty into more sustainable means of self support. To achieve this, a single, coherent strategy is being designed and joint funding arrangements sought to replace the current plethora of small program in this area.

Special attention is also given in the EDPRS, to the challenges and opportunities facing young people, in order to strengthen the youth's participation in the social, economic and civic development of Rwanda. The objectives in governance include maintaining peace and security through defense against external threats and participation in peace keeping missions, preserving and strengthening good relationships with all countries, continuing to promote unity and reconciliation among Rwandans, pursuing reforms to the justice system to uphold human rights and the rule of law, and empowering citizens to participate and own their social, political and economic development in respect of rights and civil liberties including freedom of expression.

The governance program puts emphasis on supporting the development of "soft infrastructure" for the Private Sector through implementing the commercial justice, business and land registration programs, improving economic freedom, improving the regulatory and licensing environment for doing business, and promoting principles of modern corporate governance. The program covers a wide range of public sector reforms which include strengthening decentralisation and enhancing accountability at all levels of government, enhancing Public Sector capacity, strengthening public financial management and improving procurement, institutionalising performance based budgeting and increasing the transparency and predictability of policymaking.

The EDPRS incorporates a number of crosscutting issues (CCIs) which include gender, HIV the environment, social inclusion and youth. Wherever possible, issues relating to CCIs have been integrated into the discussion of sectoral policies and programs.

The idea in all is that government understands the causes of poverty in Rwanda and has put in place good policies to this effect. If all these policies are implemented, especially those that refer to agriculture that is the largest employer in Rwanda, then poverty will be made a matter of the past.

CHAPTER EIGHT: EFFECTS OF RURAL POVERTY

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data on responses that the respondents gave about the effects of rural poverty. This chapter attempts to create new realities about understanding the effects of rural poverty. It also intends to relate rural poverty to rural livelihoods. The first section in this chapter presents and analyses data on the negative effects of rural poverty according to the views of the respondents in the study area. At the end of this chapter, the researcher presents some responses from respondents which show that, despite the negative effects of rurality to the rural poor's livelihoods, in some way, it has some positive attributes to their rural livelihoods.

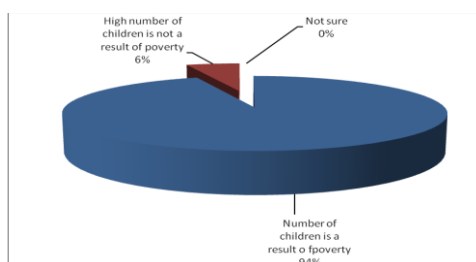
8.2 Effect on household size and composition

Everywhere in the world, in every kind of culture, the poorest people have the greatest number of children. This is one of the factors influencing the poverty status of households. In Nyabigoma, 94% of the respondents say that the big number of children is a result of poverty.

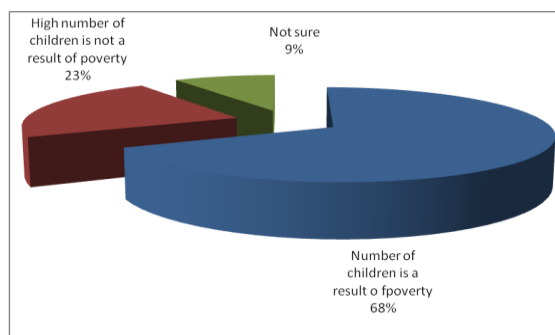
The people are poor and idle and have nothing important to do, thus, spend most of the time in procreation of children. Secondly the poor think that the children are the ones that are valuable.

On the other hand, in Kamanyana, 68%, of the respondents think that the high number of children is a result of poverty as 23% of the respondents feel that the number of children is not a result of poverty while 9% of respondents were not sure if the high number of children is an effect of poverty.

Figure 8. 1: Number of children is a result of poverty – Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 8. 2: Number of children is a result of poverty - Kamanyana

Source: *Field data, 2013*

One other interesting thing about the causes of the high number of children revolved along the debate of a cold climate in enhancing population increase. As stated earlier in the scope of this study, from the two villages in this study are along the cold volcanic mountains of virunga and Muhabura Mountains. From the views of men focus group discussions in Nyabigoma village, it was revealed that people in this area produce very many children because they spend much of the time in their houses and bedrooms in particular.

“It is true because we go to bed early and wake up even late in the morning”

One other women group in Nyabigoma had this to say;

“As we are in bed for long hours and given the coldness of this area, chances of having more sex during a month are very high and so are the chances of getting pregnant during the unsafe days when the female reproductive ovulation is to take place”

It was further argued by Kamanyana women group discussions that;

“Surely, we get pregnant very fast even when we are still breastfeeding just partly because the weather at times forces us to go in bed as early as 7:00 and wake up the next day as late as 9:00 when it is a bit clear and if it has stopped drizzling”

Now, to very many social scientists and scholars of demography worldwide, this seemed to yet again precipitate a very long debate which has been dragging on and on for centuries: that; does the effect of cold climate lead to increased population?

In the 1950's and 1960's, it was argued that the Bakiga tribe in Uganda was producing so fast because of the coldness in Kabale District in southern Uganda. It should be remembered that Kabale is also adjacent to these cold areas of Rwanda's Northern Province.

Jane Hamilton (The Sun Tabloid, 2013) presents one of the current situational analysis to settle this debate which has been going on and on for years among social scientists as to whether cold climate has an influence on increase in population. Presenting the whole situation as it was reported during the coldest ever weather of 2013 in United Kingdom; it is interesting to find that;

“The coldest weather for 50 years has seen a stiff rise in condom sales – as Brits stay between the sheets to keep warm. Over the last four weeks, the number of consumers buying the contraceptives has leapt by an unprecedented 25 per cent above normal levels, new figures reveal.

The highest sales have been in areas of the UK blanketed by snow, and have been matched by an 85 per cent jump in shoppers buying sex toys, according to Superdrug. Saucy retailer Ann Summers has also reported a 25 per cent rise purchases of sex aids designed to be used by couples. Sales of pregnancy tests are also up, leading experts to predict a January 2014 baby boom. But sales of other items including clothes and groceries drooped as the cold kept customers away from the High Street. Last month Britain was hit by the worst March snowfall for 30 years and subzero temperatures made it the second coldest March since records began 100 years ago.

Steve Gray, Superdrug Health Director said: “The unseasonable weather hasn’t just seen rising energy bills but also a rising excitement in the bedroom. We’ve seen a significant increase in condom sales as Brits look to other ways of having fun and keeping warm on the cold and dull evenings. We could see a January 2014 baby boom on our hands.” An Ann Summers spokeswoman added: “During this latest bout of unseasonal frosty weather, we have noticed a rise in people staying indoors and raising the temperature between the sheets, instead of braving the outdoors.”

Source: www.thesun.co.uk/sol/.../cold-weather-sees-condom-sales-soar.html (Apr 15, 2013)

However various studies carried out in Uganda by Gutani (1961), Bannet, N. Walter, K. James, O. Bernard, M. Robinah, M. Ntozi, J (2003; show that when the Bakigas were transferred to other districts of Uganda like Bunyoro, which is not so cold, still their population continued to multiply in number up to until today, they have outnumbered the indigenous Banyoro in districts like Kibale. But this is partly due to internal migration.

Back to the case study areas of this study, high population growth is also due to poor education and the negligence of using family planning methods. This has also been enhanced by the Catholic Church which does not recommend the use of family planning as most of the people here belong to the catholic community. Another factor is also due to the influence of culture where men do demand their women to produce more children backed by a mentality of replacing those who died during genocide.

8.3 The influence of culture on poverty and reproduction

Cultural attitudes in the whole of Rwanda also influence the perpetuation of poverty in various ways. But based on this study, the respondents were given a free environment to air out their perceptions on this inquiry. It is surprising that many women lamented that it is within the Rwandan culture to be forced into sex. The women are brought in a situation whereby they are not supposed to freely show that they have consented to the act, but rather, show that they are not ready for it. On the other hand, men also know it that women in Rwanda do not show consent to the act of sex not until they are forced. Literally, this is translated in the Kinyarwanda dialect as “*kumufata na ngufu*” though it may not literally imply to rape as per say.

For example many girls join their high school studies and university when they already have children at home and yet they are not married. This is because at one point in time, such a girl was caught by force (*kumufata na nguufu*); not rape here but part of the Rwandan culture where as long as a girl visits a boyfriends’ home; she must not be politely asked but be forced into sex and she ends up becoming pregnant, hence producing when she is not married.

One group of women in Nyabigoma village had this to say;

“For me, that’s how I dropped out of school..... as I visited my boyfriend... he forced me into sex and I got pregnant and yet here in Rwanda our culture is that you don’t refuse and even a man is not supposed to discuss such a thing with you so as to have sex by mutual consent; No no... No... the moment you take yourself there, it means you went even knowing that you are ready for.....that.”

On the side of men in Kamanyana’s focus group discussions, they also narrated that;

“Yes....yes.... now, if a girl surely has come to visit you in your house, why do you need to have a mutual consent and discuss first, no need of discussing first as she came to your place also knowing it and yet for us we are even told this by our peers, parents and we have grown up knowing that this is how things are supposed to go-by in as far as our culture is concerned.”

A group of men in Nyabigoma focus group discussions commented that;

“Leaving a beautiful girl who came to visit you own her on consent to go free without sex means she will never visit you again as you disappointed her. So we men fear that even the girl will laugh at you if you leave her to go scot free.....”.

This has led to very many women to be single mothers in various villages.

Single motherhood here in these villages was also caused by the famous 1994 war and genocide. But it should be noted that today, there are so many young girls at school (Secondary education and University) who have become single mothers after the 1994 genocide. The effect of *kumufata na nguufu* explains the cause of this trend of the new generation of single households headed by single mothers.

Women in Rwanda are also very many. The population of women in Rwanda is outnumbering men (NISR, 2001). In a given randomly picked gathered population of 10 people the ratio is 7:3 (women to men). This also leads to single motherhood headed families (www. RNW Africa Desk (Photo: Flickr/Women for Women)).

In relation to the above, the composition of the household is also a result of poverty. As a result of poverty men have abandoned their wives and children and left the women to head families. This has led to the situation commonly known as female headed families. The steady rise in female-headed households and in the number of children living (Casper and Bianchi 2002) has important life course implications for recent cohorts of women and children. About half of all women will experience single motherhood at some point in their lifetimes (Moffitt and Rendall 1995), and a majority of children will live in a female-headed household (Graefe and Lichter 1999).

8.4 Conflicts such as the 1994 Genocide, arose partly due to rural poverty

The specific problems caused by genocide include: change in the demographic structure resulting in an increased number of women headed households and minor headed household: incidence of high traumatisation: high prison population, large number of internally displaced persons who lack shelter, increased incidence of poverty due to widespread loss of capital stock and labour, further decimation of human resources, a weakened social network, and an urgent need for unity and reconciliation. In the 1960s and 1970s, Rwanda's prudent financial policies, coupled with generous external aid and relatively favourable terms of trade, resulted in sustained growth in per capita income and low inflation rates. However, when world coffee prices fell sharply in the 1980s, growth became erratic.

Compared to an annual GDP growth rate of 6.5% from 1973 to 1980, growth slowed to an average of 2.9% a year from 1980 through 1985 and was stagnant from 1986 to 1990. The crisis

peaked in 1990 when the first measures of an IMF structural adjustment program were carried out. While the program was not fully implemented before the war, key measures such as two large devaluations and the removal of official prices were enacted. The consequences on salaries and purchasing power were rapid and dramatic. This crisis particularly affected the educated elite, most of whom were employed in civil service or state-owned enterprises.

The 1994 genocide destroyed Rwanda's fragile economic base, severely impoverished the population, particularly women, and eroded the country's ability to attract private and external investment. However, Rwanda has made significant progress in stabilising and rehabilitating its economy. In June 1998, Rwanda signed an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility with the International Monetary Fund. Rwanda has also embarked upon an ambitious privatization program with the World Bank.

In the immediate post-war period—mid-1994 through 1995—emergency humanitarian assistance of more than \$307.4 million was largely directed to relief efforts in Rwanda and in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries where Rwandans fled during the war. In 1996, During the 5 years of civil war that culminated in the 1994 genocide, GDP declined in 3 out of 5 years, posting a dramatic decline at more than 40% in 1994, the year of the genocide. The 9% increase in real GDP for 1995, the first post-war year, signaled the resurgence of economic activity.

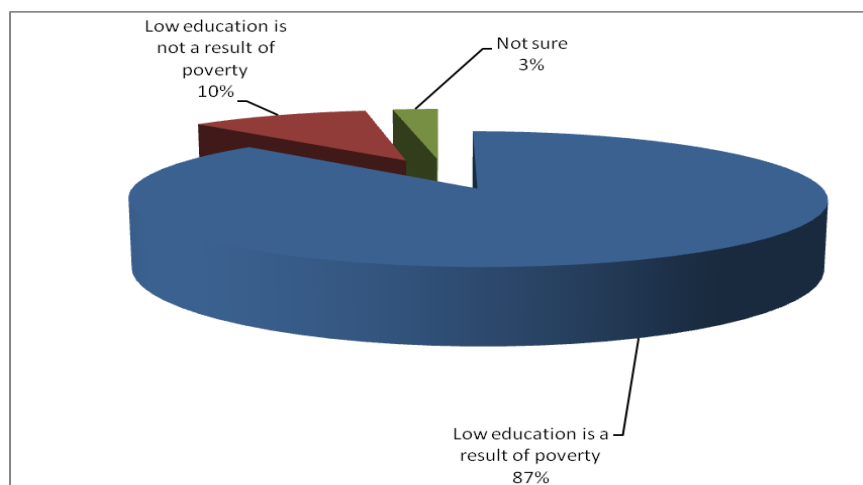
No wonder 54% of the respondents in Kamanyana and 61% of the respondents in Nyabigoma said that one of the effects of poverty was the genocide. The war was about resources and how to share the meager resources and who takes much of the meager resources. This led to the 1994 genocide and had an extreme effect on the economy of Rwanda.

8.5 Low levels of education

Education requires that children pay tuition to go to school. As a result of poverty, children are unable to go to school because the parents are unable to pay tuition at all. The children of the world are innocent, vulnerable and dependent. They are also curious, active and full of hope. Their life should be full of joy and peace, of playing, learning and growing. Their future should be shaped in harmony and co-operation. Their lives should mature, as they broaden their perspectives and gain new experiences. But for many children, the reality of childhood is entirely different.

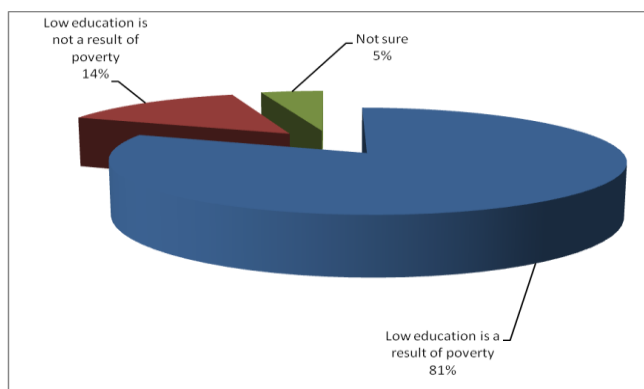
Enhancement of children's health and nutrition is a first duty, and also a task for which solution is now within reach. The lives of tens of thousands of boys and girls can be saved everyday, because the causes of their death are readily preventable. Further attention, care and support should be accorded to disabled children, as well as to other children in difficult circumstances. Strengthening the role of women in general and ensuring their equal rights will be to the advantage of the world's children. The provision of basic education and literacy for all is the most important contribution that can be made to bring about the proper development of the world's children. Despite the introduction of universal primary education (UPE) in Rwanda and the introduction of the NEPAD e-Africa Commission project to further develop ICT in *Rwandan* schools, education generally is still low despite the increased level of school enrolments. This is attributed to poverty. In Nyabigoma, up to 87% of the population think that low education is a result of poverty while only 10% think that low education is not necessarily caused by poverty.

Figure 8. 3: Low education is a result of poverty- Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

On the other hand also in Kamanyana, 81% of the respondents attribute low education to poverty while 14% of the respondents attribute low education to other factors.

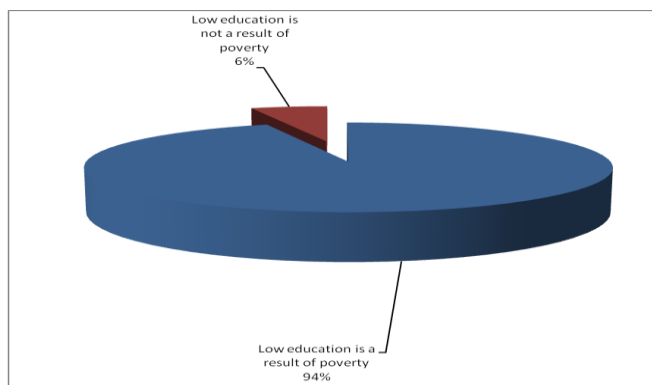
Figure 8. 4: Low education is a result of poverty- Kamanyana

Source: *Field data, 2013*

8.6 Generation of debts and selling of assets

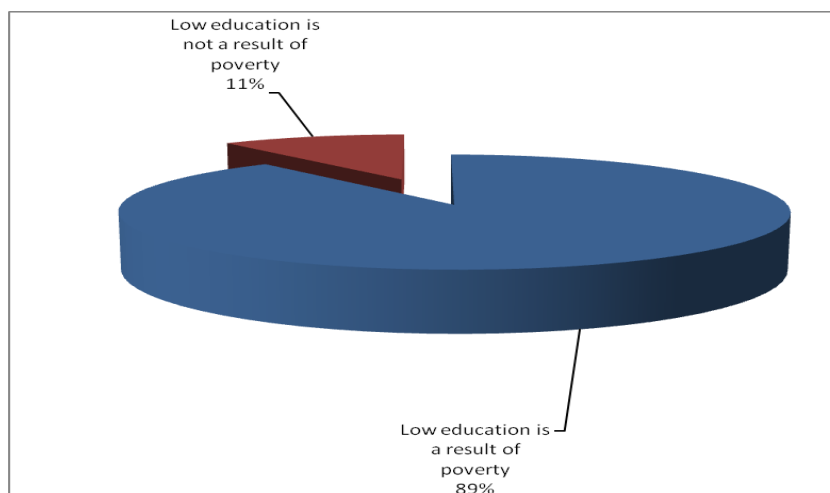
Some residents in the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana reported that, as a result of poverty, people resorted to selling their assets, especially land and animals.

In fact, up to 94% of the respondents from Nyabigoma said that they have sold their assets as a result of poverty and only 6% mentioned not selling their assets as a result of poverty.

Figure 8. 5: Generation of more debts and selling assets as a result of poverty- Nyabigoma

Source: *Field data, 2013*

In Kamanyana also the story is not different; up to 89% agree that poverty has led to inhabitants selling their assets and generation of debts. While only 11% think otherwise.

Figure 8. 6: Generation of more debts and selling assets as a result of poverty- Kamanyana

Source: *Field data, 2013*

According to Microcon Research (2008), on Poverty Dynamics, Violent Conflicts and convergence in Rwanda, households that owned large land holdings (> 1 hectare) in 1990 were more likely to fall into poverty in 2000, but not households owning between 0.66 and 1 hectare in 1990. André and Platteau (1998) and Verwimp (2003) have demonstrated that land-rich households had a higher probability to fall victim to deadly violence (murder) compared to land poor households. This led to the inhabitants selling off the available assets to survive the poverty.

It has also been reported by the government of Rwanda that close to 14 per cent of rural dwellers have become landless peasants living in conditions of extreme poverty. A large number of demobilised young soldiers have swelled the ranks of the unemployed.

8.7 Hunger- people eating one meal per day and failure to get basic needs

There are people living who don't even know what they are living for or what they need to do to survive. Many live for passion, money, and for their loved ones. But there are people who spend most of their time trying to provide for themselves. Many of us take this for granted while we carry out our daily routine activities. Sadly, hundreds of millions in this world still die because they don't get their basic necessities (clothing, food, shelter) some people simply have only one meal a day as a result of poverty. This is because they cannot afford food.

In Nyabigoma, the respondents said that it is not a new thing for people to have only one meal a day. This was supported by 97% who felt that people on average have only one meal per day. On the other hand in Kamanyana, 92% also agreed that most people eat only one meal a day but spend the rest of the day on either water or porridge. Of the 97% from Nyabigoma village, that agreed that people eat only one meal per day, 80% of them were female while of the 92% from Kamanyana who said that people eat only one meal per day, 76% were females. This also means that females are most affected by the problem of food in the family.

8.8 Social discrimination

Poverty and discrimination are often linked. Discrimination based on ethnicity/race or gender directly influences economic opportunity through a complex set of institutional effects in families, schools, and work settings. At the same time, the poor are routinely targets of discrimination, frequently viewed with contempt for circumstances beyond their personal control. Greater democratic participation in the economic sphere would lead to investments that meet real human needs first, starting with the poorest of the world's poor, the one billion who live on less than \$1 a day (<http://www.psyr.org/issues/discrimination>) In reference to the Human Rights Watch Report on discrimination, inequality and poverty of 2011, it is on record that despite recognition in the Millennium Declaration of the importance of human rights, equality, and non-discrimination for development, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) largely bypassed these key principles. The fundamental human rights guarantees of equality and non-discrimination are legally binding obligations and do not need instrumental justifications. That said, there is a growing body of evidence that human rights-based approaches, and these key guarantees in particular, can lead to more sustainable and inclusive development results. Discrimination can both cause poverty and be a hurdle in alleviating poverty. Even in countries where there have been significant gains toward achieving the MDGs, inequalities have grown. The MDGs have supported aggregate progress—often without acknowledging the importance of investing in the most marginalized and excluded, or giving due credit to governments and institutions which do ensure that development benefits these populations. Recognition of this shortcoming in the MDGs has brought an increasing awareness of the importance of working to reverse growing economic inequalities through the post-2015 framework, and a key element of this must be actively working to dismantle discrimination.

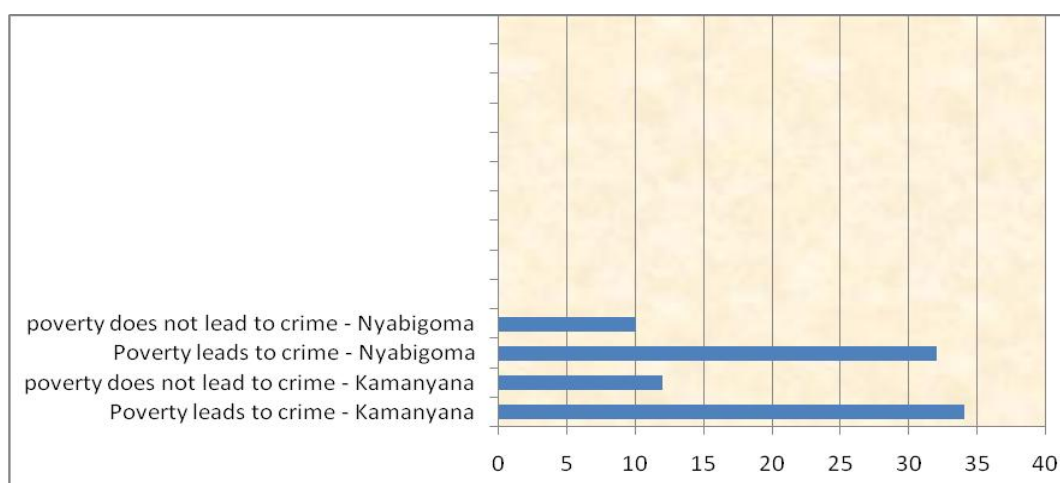
The fact of discrimination although an international phenomenon, is also evident in the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana. As a result, the poor cannot participate in the decision making processes of the country but are always decided for. At least 79% from Nyabigoma feel discriminated as a result of poverty while only 21% do not feel discriminated. On the other hand in Kamanyana, 76% are discriminated as a result of poverty while only 24% do not feel discriminated.

8.9 Crime and theft

If you struggle to pay your bills and do not know where your next meal is coming from, studies show you are more likely to be incarcerated. Once you fall into that cycle, it is difficult to break out. When people get out of jail, they usually have no money or a stable home to turn to. Studies show that people resort to crime only if they determine that there is no hope. Therefore, people living in poverty are more likely to commit burglary, larceny or theft. It is a fact that neighborhoods where the poor are concentrated are more prone to high crime rates, and poor residents are the most common victims of crimes.

According to Lytle (1999), criminality is a result of poverty. When you are hungry, you have to find a way of getting food. It should be noted that in most cases, the poor engage themselves into crime just for the survival. In their research on the voices of the poor, Narayan et al (2000) calls this type of crime as “*reluctant crime for livelihood.*” The poor were described as people who resort to crime as a risky strategy, undertaken with reluctant desperation. Similarly, poverty was thought to be the most prominent cause of crime in this research study.

Figure 8. 7: Poverty leads to or does not lead to crime- Kamanyana and Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

In fact in Nyabigoma alone, it was reported that 87% said that poverty led to increased crime in the community and in Kamanyana alone, 74% responded that poverty and crime had a close relationship.

8.10 Betrayal of one's religious beliefs

Although Nyabigoma respondents by 89% referred to poverty as leading to betrayal of one's religious beliefs by 89% and Kamanyana respondents agreed to poverty leading to betrayal of religious beliefs by 92% all other research, however, seems to contradict to this.

Religion has a surprisingly high correlation with poverty, according to a Gallup survey conducted in more than 100 countries. The more poverty a nation has, the higher the “religiosity” in that nation. In general, richer countries are less religious than poorer ones. The biggest exception?; The United States, which has the highest religiosity relative to its wealth on the planet

New research has demonstrated that the personal insecurity associated with income inequality is a major reason that some countries, even wealthy ones, are more religious than others. The study by an independent researcher, Dr Tom Rees (Journal of Religion and Society, Vol 11) analyses data from over 50 countries representing a wide range of religions, wealth, and social structures. It uses income inequality as a measure of how much personal insecurity people in those countries face. The finding may explain why conventional theories about the causes of religion have always fallen short. Conventional theories on why religion varies from place to place claim either that modernisation leads to loss of faith, or that states that interfere with religion actually make people disenchanted with it. However, neither of these theories can explain the differences between wealthy countries.

The new analysis shows a high correlation between personal insecurity and countries which are more religious than others. Indeed, personal insecurity is the single most important factor in predicting national variations in religiosity. “This is because inequality is associated with a range of social problems that combine to make people feel insecure and in need of the comfort offered by religion,” suggests the study author, Tom Rees.

Tom Rees also confirms that;

“More religious nations have more indicators of social disharmony, with lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, higher murder rates, more corruption, and a higher number of abortions. They also scored worse on the Global Peace index, that is, they are less peaceful both

internally and in their external relations. What is more, the research shows that nations with high levels of belief in God, Hell and the Devil ('passionate dualism') have higher murder rates. The combined effects of personal insecurity, modernisation and freedom of religion explain most of the differences between countries. For the first time, we have a comprehensive theory of national religiosity, explaining religiousness in countries as diverse as India and Germany."

Most importantly, it explains why countries with similar wealth and freedom have different levels of religion. It all depends on whether the country chooses to spend its wealth on improving personal security by, for example, investing in a strong welfare state.

David Flint as the chairman of Humanists4Science, an independent group affiliated to the BHA, promoting scientific understanding and the application of scientific method to issues of concern to broader society, once asserted that,

"This is an important study, especially when combined with previous studies. It's likely, as Tom suggests, that religion offers comfort to the insecure. It is also likely that religion, by discouraging people, especially policy makers, from rational analysis, creates the conditions that lead to inequality and insecurity. That would be a true religious vicious circle!"

Consequently, when we look at our research case study of the two villages we used, we find that; on poverty and religion, the rural poor of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma seem to have resigned from all but not daring to resign from God. When asked about their views on religion, having to live with faith in God; they responded that;

"Indeed, they all attend church services every Sunday and they are doing so by passing the same information to the new generation"

In Rwanda, the word "Imaana" means God; God the creator, God the provider, the God who is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. This study found out that the rural poor tend to give names to their children with an attachment to the concept of the word- God (Imaana). Indeed, even when the participants were asked to mention their names in one of the group discussions in Kamanyana village, all their surnames were found to be ending with godly phrase.

Box 5: The rural poor's dedication to Godly phrases in their names- Kamanyana

Uwimana – The one of God Uwera – God is Holy Uwayezu – The one of Jesus Nsabimana – Asked God Nyiranzamurererikimanayamumperereye-God gave this child to me, how will I thank him?

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Box 6: The rural poor's dedication to Godly phrases in their names –Nyabigoma

Rulinda – The one who keeps or looks after people
 Harerimana- may you be natured by God
 Ndikumana –Iam living due to or living due to God
 Niyibizi—God is the one who knows it all

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Indeed most of the participants names in the groups we had in the study area were mostly having names dedicated to Godly phrased statements. And when asked about the names they give to their children, *“The same thing also happens”* answered one of the participants.

But why do you always look for such phrases with the word Imaana at the end? Asked the researcher;

“It is because it is in him that we are , we belong, we live and the only one we hope in to make us live, get food, water , shelter and health, our God is the only living hope on which our lives are based on”

This is contrary to the poor in urban areas, whose names may differ a bit from such phrases. This study gave a new reality here in that; in the deep rural areas, a pregnant woman passes through inexpressible pregnancy complication and once she delivers successfully, the only way to thank her creator is to dedicate the baby to God by naming that baby with a name which has a Godly phrase.

8.11 Environmental degradation

Poverty is considered as a great influence of environmental degradation. In many regions of the world, Rwanda inclusive, regional overgrazing has resulted in destruction of grazing lands, forest and soil. Air and water have been degraded. The carrying capacity of the natural environment has been reduced. As the people become poorer, they destroy the resources faster. They tend to overuse the natural resources because they don't have anything to eat or any means of getting money except through the natural resources, they start to depend more on natural resources. Poor people harvest natural resources for their survival or in order to meet their basic needs such as firewood, charcoal, agricultural productions (such as maize), and water and wild plants for their medicine.

All people regardless of being poor or rich depend on natural resources; the concern with poor people is that they are utilizing the resources directly. The rich people do depend on these resource but they do not go to the forest directly to harvest the resources. Due to the insufficient income, people start to use and overuse every resource available to them when their survival is at stake. As desperate hunger leads to desperate strategies for survival.

For instance many trees are harvested for fire wood, timber and art craft. Most of the poor people use this fire wood as their source of income by selling it. Art craft products are also used for income generation. The roots of the trees are dug out for medicinal purpose. This leaves the soil exposed as the grasses are also grazed by animals and also collected for roofing the houses.

Poor people often lack sufficient income and education to afford higher quality life where they can use electricity and also buy electric appliances to ease their domestic life. Instead of cutting trees for fire wood, for instance, they can use electric stoves for cooking. They can also use electric heaters to warm themselves during winter month. Electricity can also slow down the firewood business as most people will no longer be relying on firewood as it takes time to prepare the fire using wood than just switching on the electricity. The use of electricity will make their lives simpler because it will save time, they won't go to the field to fetch wood.

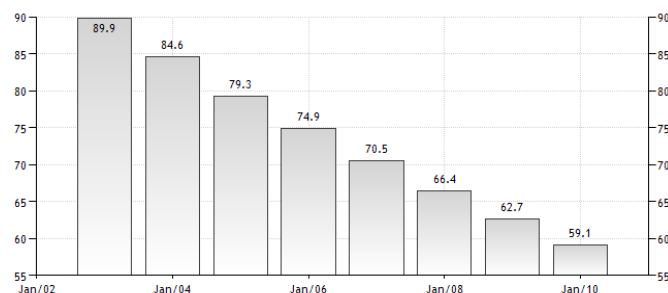
8.12 High Infant mortality rates

Poverty has been named as the single biggest contributor to the high number of infant deaths. This is because, poor women end up bearing under weight babies with a high risk of death. The higher infant death rate among Rwanda's infant mortality rate; infant (per 1,000 live births) this data in Rwanda was last reported at 59.10 in 2010, according to a World Bank report published in 2012.

Whereas the entire Rwanda was affected, Nyabigoma and Kamanyana villages are not left out either. It was reported by 88% respondents in Nyabigoma that, indeed, poverty has led to infant mortality in many instances.

The same has also applied to Nyabigoma where it was reported by 95% that poverty is a key cause of infant mortality. Poverty may not only lead to lack of money to go to the hospital but also leads to lack of access to a health facility or where there are health facilities, they may lack the necessary equipment and medication.

Figure 8. 8: Historical data chart, and forecasts for Mortality rate; infant (per 1;000 live births) in Rwanda.



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Table 8. 1: World Bank Indicators - Rwanda - Mortality

	Previous	Last
Mortality rate; female child (per 1;000 female children age one) in Rwanda		55.0
Mortality rate; male child (per 1;000 male children age one) in Rwanda		69.0
Mortality rate; under-5 (per 1;000) in Rwanda	111.9	104.1
Mortality rate; adult; female (per 1;000 female adults) in Rwanda	324.5	321.4
Mortality rate; adult; male (per 1;000 male adults) in Rwanda	357.0	353.9
Mortality rate; infant (per 1;000 live births) in Rwanda	70.5	66.4
Life expectancy at birth; female (years) in Rwanda	54.9	55.5
Life expectancy at birth; total (years) in Rwanda	53.7	54.2
Life expectancy at birth; male (years) in Rwanda	52.5	53.0
Survival to age 65; female (% of cohort) in Rwanda	44.8	45.9

Source: *Field data, 2013*

While poverty is mostly blamed for causing the deaths of babies, other issues also came into play, such as premature births, teenage motherhood, smoking, alcohol and drug abuse.

8.13 Domestic violence (Quarrels and Divorce)

Domestic violence is being reported as a serious problem in Rwanda. The main root causes have been named as poverty, ignorance, drunkenness, polygamy, forced marriage and men not viewing women as equals or respecting women's rights.

According to recent survey in Kicukiro sector in Kigali, Rwanda by healthy poverty action, domestic violence is common (physical violence affects 60% of women and psychological violence affects 40%). At least 60% of women and girls are severely overworked, which produces broken families. Although this study did not focus on domestic violence, respondents however did accuse poverty as leading to domestic violence especially when men do not have an income to sustain the family and resort to threats when the women ask for food to feed the family.

In Nyabigoma alone 94% of the respondents blamed poverty as leading to domestic violence and in Kamanyana also 88% said that domestic violence was reportedly caused by poverty.

There is a law preventing violence against women in Rwanda. However, police, legal and health systems do not have the resources to adequately deal with the problem. Survivors of sexual attack must pay for transport to a hospital and for their health care. They also have to pay legal costs which is one of the reasons many cases do not get to court.

An organisation called Health Poverty Action is working to strengthen women in their struggle for gender equality. This work includes:

- *Strengthening survivors of violence through providing health care, legal aid, community safe houses, counseling and means of income generation.*
- *Strengthening services to support survivors of violence through training police, health workers and judges.*
- *Working with organisations including women's organisations and youth organisations to strengthen them to tackle violence against women.*

The efforts by this organisation however, have not yet extended to Nyabigoma and Kamanyana where the study took place

8.14 Migration to urban centres

Migration is a broad concept covering all sorts of human movement, small but also very large distances are included from the livelihood perspective migration is linked to the capabilities of the household because of the investment that is required. This investment comes in terms of

travelling time, information, finances and absence of household members. Social class and migration are related because social stratification is reinforced when higher classes enjoy greater mobility, therefore, increasing their range of opportunities in order benefit more from new developments

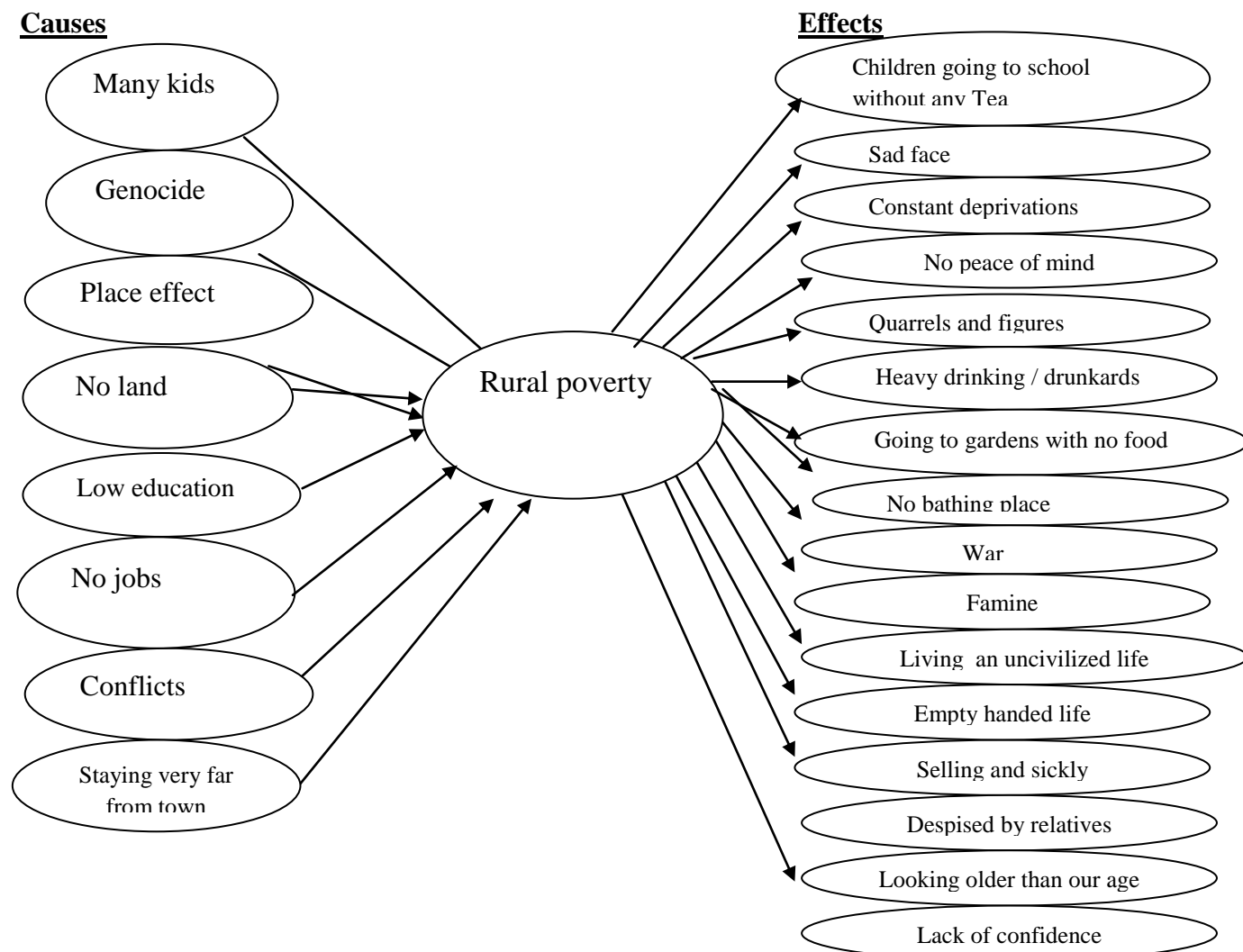
Migration is a complex process and it has been a feature of human societies for many centuries. There are many reasons why people choose to migrate, including: poverty, armed conflict, social strife, political turmoil and economic hardships. In most cases, however, people are compelled to move because they are poor. They think that by moving to another place, they may somehow find solution, to their poverty.

In both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, respondents agreed by 100% that youth have moved to the urban centers in search of wealth. It was also said that the youth are running away from poverty which was said to be stronger in the rural areas than in the urban centers.

“It seems poverty in the village is stronger than in urban areas” – said a respondent during a focus group discussion in Nyabigoma.

However, apart from the youth, rural old men with children and grandchildren have been found by this study to do the opposite. They do not migrate to the urban areas; instead, they keep on moving further and further deep in rural areas in search of better arable land for cultivation. Not only do they migrate for cultivation, but also, in search of settlement and forms of survival.

From the focus group discussions, the effect of rural poverty can be summarized as emanating from the root causes of poverty as illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 8. 9: Focus group discussions

Source: *Focus group discussions, Kamanyana village*

8.15 Problem trends accruing from poverty in the last five years

This study investigated the poverty indicators in terms of social standards of living. It is evident that in both villages, in the past five years, the poverty problems cited by the respondents included bad tools for farming, lack of cash /credit, piped water, a permanent job, electricity, health and inadequate micro-enterprises. The prevailing socio-economic problem clearly shows that the studied population under this study is purely in a rural setting, where agriculture is the dominant economic activity.

Although the study did not establish how the respondents viewed what a rural setting meant, (Billy and Shepherd, 2005) define a rural area as, different from urban centres and their classification is important for policy purposes.

Rural areas are usually referred to as small, inward looking, idyllic communities held together by kinship relations and supporting basic agricultural occupations, while urban areas on the other hand are dynamic, ever-changing, and commercial centres (Ekong, 2003). The major differences between rural settings and urban centres and cities are:

Table 8.2: Differences between Rural Settings, Urban Centres and Cities

Features	Rural settings	Urban and Cities
1. Size	Small particularly in areas inhabited	Inhabit large space area
2. Population density	Low population density	High population density
3. Closeness to nature	People in rural areas are exposed to the physical elements of the environment	Are protected from the physical and biological elements of the environment
4. Occupation	Farming is the major occupation of rural dwellers	People in urban centres mainly engaged in commercial, manufacturing and administrative activities
5. Social interaction	Social interaction in Rural areas is mainly characterised by primary group contacts	Social interaction in urban areas entails a lot of secondary contacts- through radio, television, magazines newspapers
6. Social differentiation	Low in differentiation and tends towards homogeneity	Urban area is highly differentiated
7. Social stratification	There are fewer social classes in the rural areas	There is a wide gap between the poorest and richest in urban areas
8. Social Mobility (movement from one stratum to the other)	Social mobility in rural areas is very slow	Social mobility in urban areas is very rapid
9. Social control	Behaviour of individuals is guided by informal institution and the application of norms and values	Behaviour of individuals in cities is guided by formal institutions such as police, traffic warden, lawmen and others.
10. Standard of living	Standard of living in rural areas can be said to be low	Urban dwellers enjoy high standard of living. This includes: ownership and use of items such as radio, television, refrigerator, cooker, eating off balanced regular meals)

Source: Ekong, E. E. (1988). *An Introduction to Rural Sociology*. Ibadan: Nigeria. Jumak Publisher Ltd.

In the areas this study was confined to, the physical, social and economic structures of these villages are still in poor conditions.

Table 8. 3: Perceived problem trends in the last five years (Kamanyana and Nyabigoma combined)

Worse than five years	Still bad now	Improved over the past five
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tools for farming • Transport • Cash/credit • Piped water • Permanent job • Electricity • Health • Prices • Micro-enterprise • House • Road 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tools farming • Cash/credit • Piped water • Permanent job • Electricity • Health • Micro-enterprise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Roads •Some have permanent houses •Transportation (motorcycles) •Cooperatives <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Built markets -Some families have one cow from the one cow per family program

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Nevertheless, majority of the respondents reported an improvement in some social amenities such as roads, houses, markets and other social supports programs such as one cow per poorest family. Albeit respondents were not in position to quantify the gradual improvement, they were, however, familiar with the ongoing government interventions that were responsible for this positive change in the last five years before the study was conducted.

EDPRS 1 of the GoR, here marked the emphasis on social support, through Girinka programs, sustainable growth for jobs through among others; infrastructural development and opening of markets

Houses are also in a poor conditions , but with the government policy of transforming the old rural traditional houses , commonly referred to as '*Nyakatsi*' to iron roofed houses. Residents of the area with the support of the government through the provision of construction materials such as iron sheets, have made a significant change in the nature of houses being constructed.

It is also worth noting that the evolution of cooperatives in Rwanda has taken a new form and shape as now it is viewed as an engine of rural development and whilst as observed in the study, the respondents were directly involved in farming and were attaching importance to cooperatives in promoting their common interests related to agricultural production and marketing, the research carried out by Katar Singh and Rs Pundir, 2000) in India indicated a similar situation of the extent to which cooperatives have contributed to rural development .

Financial services and health systems are also still a problem. Formal financial institutions like commercial banks have tended not to establish their networks in rural areas and to agriculturally employed clients (James, Brau and Gay M. Wooller, 2004). Those available, are still associated with difficulty in their lending methods.

Health systems are still low with few health care centers, dispensaries and clinics. The problem is aggregated with still longer distances and poor roads. The world health organization report of 2008, indicates poor service delivery in many Sub Saharan African health care systems. According to (EDPRS 1, 2007) it is pointed out that in Rwanda, the health survey data collected shows that health had improved substantially, but there are still inequalities in the health care systems and the problem is much more acute in rural areas .

Moving away from conventional sources of energy to renewable alternative sources of energy has been one of the global objectives (WWF Report, 2011). The energy crisis in Rwanda indicators include accelerated deforestation, Biomass deficit and deterioration in electrification generation and distribution systems (Rwanda state of environment and outlook report 2009). Electricity generation capacity is extremely low at 72.44 MW for all categories (MINIFRA, 2009) and fire wood is the major energy for 94% of the population. Energy as a locomotive force, needs to be modernised to reduce their labour in the agricultural sector to other non-farm activities. Electricity is a major drive, however the research revealed that it is still a bottleneck to their problem, majority reportedly confirmed that electricity costs are still exorbitant and the rural dwellers cannot afford them

Functional employment that guarantees a permanent job in these two villages of Kabanyana and Nyabigoma is still a critical challenge. The influx of village dwellers in towns has been largely but not solely linked to push factors, notably, lack of jobs to earn a leaving. The current study never examined causes of this rural-urban migration as it was outside the scope of research interest. In Rwanda, unemployment is still very acute in rural areas (NISR, 2013). But this is not an isolated situation as (Kees Van der Geest, 2010) reveals that unemployment rates are still high in developing countries and mainly among the youth population and mainly in rural areas, which is contrary to the modern way of the industrialized countries. However , among the chief causes of this, as reported by the respondents, was the poor performing agriculture sector that has not promised them a sustainable living. It is confronted with price fluctuations and other

negative impacts from the climatic changes that have drastically affected their production volumes and the quality of the yields which consequently affected their income levels.

Availability of clean water is still a problem in many rural areas of the developing countries and inaccessibility to safe drinking water affects about 1.1 billion people in the world. It contributes 400 deaths of children below the age of five (Ashok Gadgil, 1998). In Rwanda, the percentage of rural people who can access safe and clean water is still very low with 63% of the population having access to safe drinking water. Sanitation is still below the Millennium development target (www.waterforpeople.org). This is not different from the two villages, where the study was carried out. The respondents revealed that piped water is not widely distributed in these villages and at the peak of the problem; it increases with the big periods of drought. Achieving sustainable development is among the millennium development goals. Extending clean water supply networks as an indicator to the residents of Nyakamana and Nyabigoma, has not reached impressive results as the percentage of people having access to piped water is still daring.

8.16 Conclusion

The effects of poverty are enormous and they cannot be ignored. In fact, poverty is estimated to be 44.9% nationally, with 22.1% poor in urban areas and 48.7% poor in rural areas. This is an indication that the rural poor that the researcher focused on in this study are more affected by the effects of poverty than the urban poor. However, since 2005/06, the poverty headcount has fallen by some 4% in Kigali City and by 10% or more in all other provinces, with the fall highest by far in Northern Province. Poverty is highest in Southern Province and lowest by far in Kigali City. The Eastern Province is the second least poor province – *the third integrated household living conditions survey by National Institute of statistics of Rwanda – 2010/11*

The poorest people from the two study villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana are mainly in paid agricultural work as their main job, while the better off are in paid non-farm jobs or working as self-employed in non-agricultural businesses. Small-scale farmers and their family workers are slightly more likely to be poor, in contrast to persons in the public sector who are more likely to be in the richest quintile. There has been substantial creation of jobs, predominantly in non-farm activities over the past five years. This was almost certainly an important factor contributing to poverty reduction.

A second factor identified in this report is increased agricultural production. Average land size cultivated per household has fallen over the period, the number of family farmers has remained static, but the productivity (in terms of real value of output per unit area) has increased at a much faster rate. This pattern of increased production is consistent with production data from the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI). At the same time, there was a substantial increase in the use of chemical fertilisers in agriculture over this period.

A third factor has been increased commercialisation of agriculture. In 2005/06, households sold around 18% of their agricultural output on average. By 2010/11 the average proportion of output sold had risen to 25%. There was increased demand for agricultural production from Rwanda from neighboring countries over this period partly in response to food crises elsewhere. These actions by the government have, to some extent, reduced the effects of poverty as noted above.

CHAPTER NINE: COPING STRATEGIES

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data on responses that the respondents gave about the coping strategies they are involved in so as to survive in the rural areas. Important however, is that some coping strategies the rural poor are involved in are in twofold: government led and rural poor led. The causes of poverty in Rwanda are manifold. First, the population increase has not been matched by an increase in agricultural productivity. Rough terrain and erosion, combined with a lack of modern technology, place serious constraints on agricultural development, yet agriculture is the main source of rural livelihood

Rwanda, Africa's most densely populated country remains poor and essentially rural. Several significant demographic and social shifts in the course of its history have contributed to slowing its economic development. First, Rwanda's population multiplied eightfold in just half a century. Then, the 1994 genocide and the HIV&AIDS epidemic followed on this spiraling demographic growth, coupled with soil degradation and the resulting negative impact on farming – the major source of income for most Rwandans. Today an estimated 51.2 per cent of all Rwandans – 70 per cent of people living in rural areas – live in poverty. Recent data shows that 94 per cent of the population lives in the countryside, generating barely US\$100 in gross domestic product (GDP) each year, compared with US\$230 per capita nationally.

During the 12 months that followed the 1994 genocide, the population shrank by 30 per cent. Close to one million people died and more than two million refugees left the country. Most of the exiles were later repatriated. The nature of human settlements in many areas of the country has been altered, as many of those repatriated lost their land, housing and assets. The overall image of Rwanda's post-war economic recovery is quite positive. After a spectacular post-war boom, national income has continued to rise steadily with an average growth rate of over 10 % between 1996 and 2002. On the other hand, the actual translation of growth into poverty reduction has been disappointing (Ansoms, 2005 and 2007) which diminishes the government's hopes of a purely growth-led strategy for poverty reduction. However, the Rwandan Government aims at a pro-poor effect by, "looking for growth in the sector where the poor are located" (GoR, 2002).

In this chapter, therefore, the researcher explains the strategies used to cope with poverty. Despite the fact that the rural people are poor, they have learned to live with it over time. In this chapter, the researcher explains clearly what the poor do in coping with this situation.

Coping strategies

Basing on the fact that poverty is estimated to be 44.9% nationally, with 22.1% poor in urban areas and 48.7% poor in rural areas, there is bound to be a strategy of dealing with the poverty situation. The coping strategies are hereby looked at in twofold: the government led strategy and what the rural poor are actually doing to manage poverty.

9.1 GOVERNMENT LED STRATEGIES

9.1.1 Building an enabling environment

The state's main role is to create a conducive environment in which economic activity can take place effectively. The current thrust is towards a strong and competent state that provides a visionary leadership and management role. A delicate balancing act also needs to be created between market forces and the strong guiding and facilitative hand for the state.

The role of the state in helping the poor cope with poverty includes:

- *Providing a stable macroeconomic environment*
- *Good governance and national reconciliation,*
- *Enforcing a coherent legal and regulatory system which protects the property rights of all citizens, including the poor and enabling entrepreneurs to operate in a business-friendly environment,*
- *Maintaining quality infrastructure*
- *Promoting human resource development,*
- *Protecting the environment*
- *Intervening to correct market failures, promote equity and protect the vulnerable.*

More so, poverty reduction affects all aspects of public action targeting both the urban and rural areas. It is, therefore, important to comprehensively guide all aspects of public policy. The current actions by government are grouped under the following core areas:

9.1.2 Good governance

Good governance, democratisation; national reconciliation, national political stability and security. Grassroots participation in development and decision making an all-inclusive economic

system that allows effective participation of all social and economic groups in the population and creates an economy of stakeholders.

Policies

Policies to increase productivity and incomes of the poor, the measures to increase incomes focuses on employment and labour productivity, agricultural modernization, provision of rural credit and financial services, as well as support for micro and small scale enterprises.

Public action

Actions to improve the provision and accessibility to information and social services so as to improve the quality of life of the poor, The priorities include primary health care, primary education, water and sanitation, energy and housing, They also include assertive public action to address the high rate of population growth. Addressing the problems of vulnerable groups on a sustainable basis, replacing transfers with sustainable livelihoods and establishing safety nets

9.1.3 Poverty Reduction Strategy

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), a document that has been developed and is used as the platform for sector policy-setting in each ministry since late 2003.

The government published its PRSP in June 2002. Broadly speaking, it calls for high economic growth accompanied by measures to increase export earnings and agricultural production and diversify the economy by developing information technology and communications. Priority is placed on education as a means of creating a competitive, highly qualified and trilingual labor force (speaking Kinyarwanda, French and English) that is responsive to the needs of the marketplace. Through a broad national consultative process, six priorities were set as outlined below, in order of importance:

- *Rural development and agricultural modernisation*
- *Human development*
- *Economic infrastructure*
- *Governance*
- *Private-sector development*
- *Institution-building*

The first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) document recognised the rural sector to be of crucial importance for Rwanda's economic future by presenting the agriculture and livestock sector as "the primary engines of growth" (GoR, 2002:30). This ambition reappears in the new EDPRS (PRSP-2) policy which aims at equitable growth, sustainable development, and poverty reduction with rural development as important priorities (GoR, 2007). This hardly seems surprising, given that the primary sector employs almost 90% of Rwanda's active population and. It represents about 45% of its GDP. Moreover, rural poverty is more prominent and severe in comparison with the urban type. Based on a poverty line of 250 Rwf (Rwandan francs) per adult equivalent per day (1,22\$ PPP, 2006 current exchange rate), 56,8% of the rural population are labeled poor, of whom 36,8% are considered extremely poor (living below the food poverty line of less than 175 Rwf per adult equivalent per day, GoR, 2007).

However, Rwandan 'poor' are not a uniform group, nor is the problem of rural poverty a homogeneous one that can be solved with a uniform package of policy measures that enhance agricultural growth. The contribution of this paper lies in the identification of different livelihood profiles for rural households in Rwanda. An understanding of the variations in the characteristics of different livelihood profiles, and the institutional constraints they face, is a prerequisite for effective rural policy making.

The livelihood approach finds its main roots in a paper by Chambers and Conway (1991). They define sustainable rural livelihoods as, "the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers and Conway, 1991:6). The approach has been taken up by many scholars as a framework for poverty and/or vulnerability analysis (Ellis et al., 2003; Bird and Shepherd, 2003; Bebbington, 1999; Moser, 1998 and Chambers, 1995). In addition, it has been transformed into a more practical tool by and for development practitioners like UNDP, Oxfam, Care and DFID (Hoon et al., 1997; DFID, 2001 and Solesbury, 2003).

Finally, the country has no ocean access, and the closest port is 1,500 km from the capital. The resulting transport costs, together with the other constraints, keep poor farmers from earning sufficient income from agriculture.

9.2 THE RURAL POOR LED COPING STRATEGIES

What the rural poor are actually doing to manage rural poverty as reported from various interviews and focus group discussions has been presented in this section.

9.2.1 Appropriate income per day

On average, respondents required appropriately 2000 Rwf or more per day to live an appropriate life. Its only 2 married women from Nyabigoma and also 2 women from Kamanyana who said that between 200 – 500 Rwf was appropriate per day. All the other respondents from both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana said that an appropriate income should range from 1000 Rwanda francs and above. However, the third integrated household living conditions survey (2011/2) report suggests that an appropriate income per day would at least be 2500 Rwanda francs per day.

Table 9. 1: Income needed per day to live an appropriate life – Nyabigoma

Rwanda francs	Single		Married	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
200 – 500	0	0	0	2
1000 – 1500	6	5	5	3
2000 – more	15	10	7	9

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Table 9. 2: Income needed per day to live an appropriate life - Kamanyana

Rwanda francs	Single		Married	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
200 – 500	0	1	0	1
1000 – 1500	4	5	3	6
2000 – more	12	14	8	11

Source: *Field data, 2013*

9.2.2 Actual income per month

The majority of respondents' incomes in both Kamanyana and Nyabigoma is between 0 – 19,00 Rwanda francs per month the lowest level of income was 4000 Rwanda francs. It is only 4 respondents who were found to be above 40000Frw per month which is only about 4% of the respondents. While all the other 95% falls below the income level of below 40,000 per month.

Specifically if the income is placed in a daily rate then respondents would be considered as living below poverty line.

Table 9. 3: Income needed per day to live an appropriate life

Income level Rwanda francs	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 – 19,000	12	2	7	13
20,000 – 39,000	6	4	6	2
40,000 – 59,000			1	1
60,000 - above		1		1

Source: Field data, 2013

Coping with poverty

Poor rural inhabitants' have adopted different strategies to overcome poverty. These strategies vary from person to person and from community to another community. Generally, however, the following strategies have been considered by the poor. Poverty is a multidimensional problem that goes beyond economics to include, among other things, social, political, and cultural issues. Therefore, solutions to poverty cannot be based exclusively on economic policies, but require a comprehensive set of well-coordinated measures. Indeed, this is the foundation for the rationale underlying comprehensive poverty reduction strategies.

So, why focus on macroeconomic issues? Because economic growth is the single most important factor influencing poverty, and macroeconomic stability is essential for high and sustainable rates of growth. Hence, macroeconomic stability should be a key component of any poverty reduction strategy

9.2.3 Educating our children

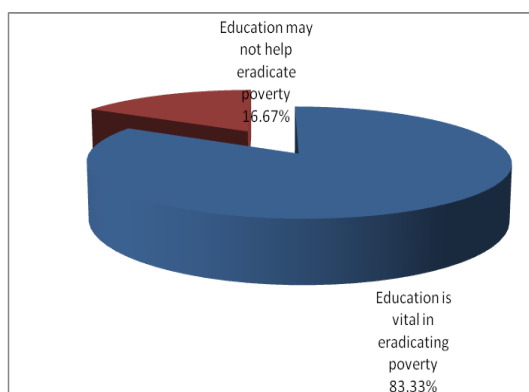
Rwanda is on the verge of a breakthrough. Having weathered one of the worst humanitarian crises imaginable. Just fifteen years ago, and with an impoverished countryside plagued by HIV/AIDS, hunger, and malaria, Rwanda seems to be an unlikely place for an economic renaissance. Yet, the nation's commitment to good government and support for free market solutions place it among the most likely countries to see rapid advancement in the coming decades. Such a future is far from guaranteed, and whether it comes to fruition depends largely on the country's system of education.

For Rwanda, more than any other country, education holds the key to the future. The Rwandan government has demonstrated its commitment to education by making education the largest area of spending, accounting for 27 percent of the budget. Rwanda's education sector must be a prime candidate. Strengthening education in Rwanda will not only help the Rwandan people overcome poverty, but it will also reinforce the democratic institutions Rwanda has developed in the last fifteen years. Educational reform has played a pivotal role in encouraging entrepreneurship in Rwandan youth. By making Entrepreneurship a compulsory course of study in secondary schools, students have acquired necessary tools and knowledge to be able to be more innovative and enterprising. The results are interesting. With more and more younger people getting involved in business ventures, there are clear signs that it has helped to transform lives and communities. Several Higher Education Institutions (HEI) offer certificates and diploma courses in Entrepreneurship, while, recently, the National University of Rwanda (NUR) alongside its partners organised a Students' Business Plan Competition. With support from various financial institutions, the competition is set to be a success. The role of education in this process is particularly one of achieving universal primary education and adult literacy

Poor children have numerous disadvantages in relation to their better-off counterparts. They are usually less healthy, their language skills less developed (a factor that has negative influence on school achievement), and they are generally less well equipped - socially, emotionally and physically - to undertake a school programme. If their disadvantaged position and different day-to-day experiences are not taken into account by school education, it is no wonder that they are unable to benefit fully from the school system. As previously mentioned, wealth creation is a significant aspect in education programmes intended to contribute to poverty eradication. How can education assist learners to create wealth? Integration of school education within the economic activities of a community is one example. For instance, in a carpet-weaving village, lessons would also cover various aspects of the carpet industry. In this way, school education would help children to improve traditional trade skills of the village alongside other curricular contents. It would ensure that their future employment possibilities and contribute to the (economic) wellbeing of the whole community. Furthermore, the school would not be alienated from the community and traditional trade would reinforce learning. For the education system to truly respond to the needs of poor children and to contribute to wealth creation in communities and society at large. It needs to take the issue of poverty into special consideration in the

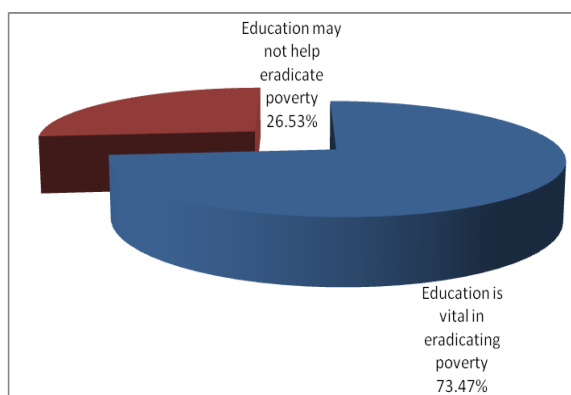
planning of educational services. Essentially, it has to stress the preparation of all children to achieve at school, and empower them by heightening their awareness of their rights and responsibilities, their abilities, and enhance their self-confidence to enable them to improve their lives. From the communities of Nyabigoma (83%) and Kamanyana (73%), the value of education in poverty eradication is not negligible.

Figure 9. 1: Education leads to eradication of poverty - Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 9. 2: Education leads to eradication of poverty - Kamanyana



Source: *Field data, 2013*

9.2.4 Accessing soft loans

Rwanda's "Entrepreneurial President", as he is fondly called understands this very well;

'In Africa today, we recognise that trade and investment, and not aid, are pillars of development'.

Promoting policies that encourage trade and investment has been on Rwanda's agenda and if the ever growing number of financial institutions in the country is anything to go by, then his

message is sinking in. Roselyn, a banker at Banque Populaire de Rwanda (BPR), a citizen-based bank said that “*we are getting more and more people applying for loans*”. As it is, the majority of people are not financially able to create businesses. ‘People from rural areas, especially the farmers have now learnt what they can do with a loan and how they can pay it back in the long-run. It is pretty exciting.’ A loan scheme specifically targeted to farmers in rural areas allows them to get money to acquire livestock and be able to start their own businesses.

More importantly, the influx of banks and micro-finance institutions has created a sort of competition for clientele. This means that services have now increased and are easier to get from these institutions, and significantly, access to loans is much faster and easier. Loan schemes are growing in number as well and it is clear that many Rwandans have taken advantage of this. The banks and micro-finance institutions conduct regular information sessions and sensitisation seminars to train people on the importance of entrepreneurship and how they can use loans and credit to develop their own businesses. The respondents from both Nyabigoma (71%) and Kamanyana (78%) appreciate the role of loans in eradicating poverty.

9.2.5 Agriculture modernising

Agriculture employs 80% of the labour force in Rwanda and accounts for about 33% of GDP. This creates a demand for modernising agriculture and makes it more productive. Normally, the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is a holistic, strategic framework for eradicating poverty through multi-sectoral interventions enabling the people to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable manner. “Eradicating poverty by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture” It is an outcome-focused set of principles upon which sectoral and inter-sectoral policies and investment plans can be developed at both the central and local Government levels. Furthermore, poverty reduction strategies that focus on agriculture modernisation are the strategies that would be considered pro-poor.

According to the Rwanda Operational Plan 2011-2015, updated in June 2012, the agricultural sector presents a great opportunity for poverty eradication because it employs over 80 percent of the labour force, and because agricultural growth can be accelerated substantially by the uptake of modern farming techniques. Over Based on the poverty focus and the need to transform agriculture, the vision of the PMA encompasses both the farmer and the sector. The PMA vision

is “poverty eradication through a profitable, competitive, sustainable and dynamic agricultural and agro-industrial sector.” Achieving this vision in Rwanda will depend on two related processes: transforming the subsistence farmer, and transforming the agricultural sector in general. The objectives of the PMA are to: increase incomes and improve the quality of life of poor subsistence farmers, improve household, food security, provide gainful employment, and promote a sustainable use and management of natural resources. In a broad sense, to achieve this vision, it is essential to maintain prudent macroeconomic and sectoral policies, undertake institutional reforms and adjustments, and implement the identified priority interventions. During the study, the respondents interviewed in Nyabigoma (89.4%) and Kamanyana (79%) villages were positive that investments in agriculture would help get them out of poverty.

9.2.6 Assistance from NGOs - Girinka Munyarwanda (one Cow per family)

The support from nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) was also mentioned as vital in the eradication of rural poverty. In Nyabigoma, at least 77% of the respondents were very appreciative of the contribution of NGO's while in Kamanyana 69.3% of the respondents were confident that with the support from NGOs, poverty would be totally eradicated. Respondents also said that NGOs had already made vast contributions towards the eradication of rural poverty and their increased contribution would lead to further eradication of rural poverty.

NGOs like CARITAS, and World Vision were mentioned and appreciated for their efforts in eradication of rural poverty. Assistance from NGOs and government initiatives like “Girinka Munyarwanda” was mentioned as the key element of poverty eradication in Rwanda.

In this context, it is worth referring to Jeffrey D. Sachs's strategy for alleviating poverty. According to Sachs (2005), a ‘poverty trap’ must first be solved in combating poverty. Although the poor have willingness to overcome their ill-being, they are not able to do it by using their own resources. There are so many factors that trap the poor until they are in powerless conditions, such as diseases, climate stress, environmental degradation, physical isolation, and also extreme poverty itself. Sachs states:

“The world's poor know about the development ladder: they are tantalised by images of affluence from halfway around the world. But they are not able to get a first foothold on the ladder, and so cannot even begin to climb out of poverty” (Sachs, 2005: 19-20).

Essentially, the poor must be helped to exit from the poverty trap. If it can be reached, there will be an opportunity to get a first foothold on the ladder of development. In helping the poor to climb out of poverty, NGOs use two approaches: supply-side and demand-side (Clark, 1995).

In a similar sense, Fowler (1997) identifies two types of NGO tasks: micro-tasks and macro-tasks. From the supply-side or micro-tasks approach, NGOs provide various basic public services to the poor. It is argued that especially in countries where government lack public services, NGOs play a significant role in the direct provision of social and economic services. In general, NGOs emerge and play the roles as service providers. There are also several Non-Governmental Organisations that set up trainings and workshops for entrepreneurial training.

9.2.6 Strengthening of cooperatives

Cooperatives are at work in almost every country and economic sector. More than 760 million people around the world are engaged in the cooperative movement. Whether a rural cooperative in Benin, which ploughs back profits into building reservoirs and upgrading roads, or a savings and credit cooperative in Sri Lanka, providing insurance and postal services to its members, a cooperative can play a significant role in fulfilling development objectives. It is, generally, recognised that cooperatives respond effectively to the ever-changing needs of people.

For example, in response to the effects of globalization, people continue to choose cooperatives to address their needs. In a number of countries, people are starting new cooperative enterprises in such areas as social care and information technology. Women and youth are also choosing the cooperative form to start enterprises of their own, thus creating new jobs and opportunities. The cooperative advantage extends to the users of cooperatives and indeed to the communities in which they operate. Cooperatives set industry standards by putting into practice their values and ethics. In some countries, cooperatives are seen as leading agencies in promoting food safety and security, and in protecting the environment. Further more,, cooperatives are building peaceful societies by promoting understanding and collaboration among people of different cultural and income backgrounds. The values of cooperation - equity, solidarity, self-help and mutual responsibility - are the cornerstones of cooperatives and should be sustained so that cooperatives can continue to respond with flexibility and innovation to changes and challenges posed by globalization. This part of the world is yet to benefit from globalization as the people live by 2 US dollars a day.

Cooperatives, and in this case we are specifically limiting ourselves to agricultural marketing cooperatives, have emerged as a critical rural development institution in Tanzania. They have been the kingpins of development interventions aiming at alleviating poverty of the small holder farmers spread out in the rural areas of Tanzania. The colonial governments promoted the formation of agricultural marketing cooperatives particularly for cash crops, mainly coffee, cotton and tobacco. The Nationalist post colonial government saw cooperatives as an important vehicle which could be harnessed to spread the benefits of development to a wide section of the Rwandan population.

During the study in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, although respondents did not seem to understand exactly how a cooperative works, they felt that it was still necessary in eradicating poverty. In Nyabigoma village 76% of the respondents looked at cooperatives as a credible means for coping with rural poverty while in Kamanyana 88% considered cooperatives as credible means of eradicating poverty.

Currently the cooperative movement is increasingly being promoted by international development organizations as a means for participatory development in Rwanda. One of these promoters is Chapman who focused on the promotion of the cooperative sector in Rwanda as outlined in the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Her research included visits to many cooperatives in Kigali, the capital, and interviews with officials working with development policy. The broad-ranging nature of a cooperative, allows for multiple growth opportunities. Cooperatives not only offer a means for attaining economic growth, but also offer an opportunity for empowerment of otherwise marginalized populations in social and political realms of everyday life.

9.2.7 Protection of environment

The protection of the environment has been seen as a key poverty reduction strategy by both the respondents from Nyabigoma (82%) and Kamanyana (78.2%). The Poverty Reduction and Environmental Protection Programme responds to three of the four outcome areas outlined in the Country Programme Document: capacity-building for peace and human security, increased livelihood opportunities and improved natural resources management, and gender equality.

Its core work is divided into three pillars: Supporting formulation and implementation of strategic economic development policies with focus on small and micro-finance for inclusive

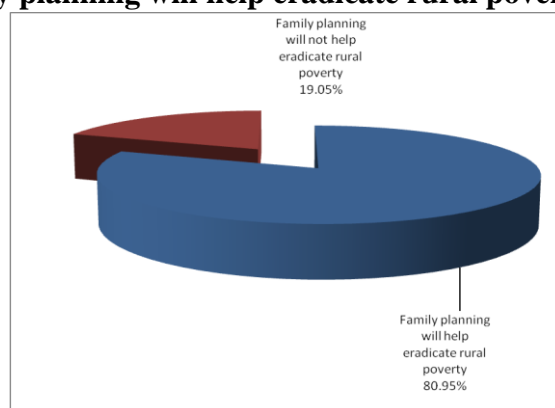
growth; empowering local communities to analyse, participate in and advance recovery and development through encouraging local enterprise, managing conflict and fostering sustainable environmental management as well as ensuring that environmental and natural resources are utilised in a sustainable, equitable, gender and conflict-sensitive manner, by supporting formulation and implementation of strategic policies.

Poverty Reduction and Environment Protection Programme supports vulnerable communities by providing pro-poor social services towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals and by creating an enabling environment for reconstruction and development. It strives to increase local communities' income, improve their ability to manage natural resources, and prevent or mitigate the impact of disasters, both natural and man-made. The programme particularly focuses on community support with an inclusive range of partners at the community level and in the private sector. Environmental Protection efforts targets MDG7, ensuring environmental sustainability. It also promotes sustainability of the sources of livelihoods for the majority of the population that depends on productivity of natural resources. It has also already been agreed that poverty reduction and environmental conservation should go hand-in-hand.

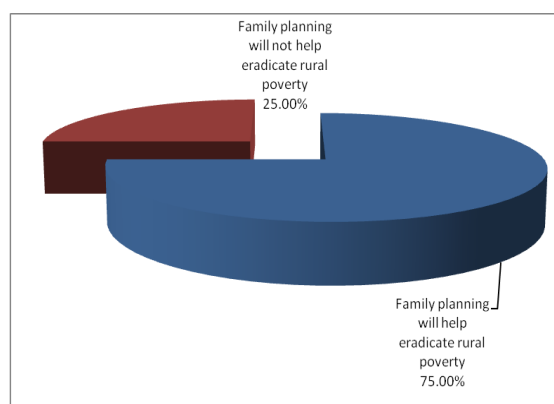
9.2.8 Family planning and child spacing

Family planning plays a pivotal role in population growth, poverty reduction, and human development. Evidence from the United Nations and other governmental and nongovernmental organisations supports this conclusion. Failure to sustain family planning programmes, both domestically and abroad, will lead to increased population growth and poorer health worldwide, especially among the poor. However, robust family planning services have a range of benefits, including maternal and infant survival, nutrition, educational attainment, the status of girls and women at home and in society, human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) prevention, and environmental conservation efforts. Family planning is a prerequisite for achievement of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals and for realizing the human right of reproductive choice.

This position on family planning as another means of coping with poverty was agreed on both Nabigoma and Kamanyana. The respondents in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma however looked at family planning as a means of reducing the burden of children related expenditures.

Figure 9. 3: Family planning will help eradicate rural poverty- Nyabigoma

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 9. 4: Family planning will help eradicate rural poverty- Nyabigoma

Source: *Field data, 2013*

As noted in the charts above; 80.95% of the Nyabigoma respondents were in agreement with the contribution of family planning in the reduction of rural poverty. Also in Kamanyana the response was not far different either; 75% agreed that the reduction of rural poverty would require the component of family planning not to be ignored.

In relation to family planning, when it comes to population growth, the United Nations has three primary projections. The medium projection, the one most commonly used, has world population reaching 9.2 billion by 2050. The high one reaches 10.5 billion. The low projection, which assumes that the world will quickly move below replacement-level fertility, has population peaking at 8 billion in 2042 and then declining.

If the goal is to eradicate poverty, hunger, and illiteracy, then we have little choice but to strive for the lower projection. Slowing world population growth means ensuring that all women who want to plan their families have access to family planning information and services.

Unfortunately, this is currently not the case for 215 million women, 59% of whom live in sub-Saharan Africa and the Indian subcontinent. These women and their families represent roughly 1 billion of the world's poorest people, for whom unintended pregnancies and unwanted births are an enormous burden.

Former US Agency for International Development (USAID) official Joseph Speidel notes that;

"If you ask anthropologists who live and work with poor people at the village level; "they often say that women live in fear of their next pregnancy. They just do not want to get pregnant."

The United Nations Population Fund and the Guttmacher Institute estimate that meeting the needs of these 215 million women who lack reproductive healthcare and effective contraception could each year prevent 53 million unwanted pregnancies, 24 million induced abortions, and 1.6 million infant deaths. Family planning can lead to economic growth both at the family level and at the national level, making it a critical component of strategies to reduce poverty.

9.2.9 Stabilizing prices of our agricultural products

Village dwellers in Nyabigoma (73%) and Kamanyana (82%) believe that one of the factors that have sustained poverty in their villages is the fluctuating and low prices of agricultural products, yet agriculture is the main economic activity for them. This creates a dire need for stabilizing prices of agricultural products. Recognising the important influence of agricultural price stabilisation and support policies on agricultural development, on consumption levels, on farm incomes, and on international trade, is paramount. The desirability of agreed principles to serve as guidelines to Member Governments in establishing or reviewing their agricultural price stabilization and support policies is paramount. The important contributions in this field made in the reports of the FAO Expert Working Party which met in 1956, of the Expert Panel which met in 1959, and of the regional meetings held in Asia and Latin America have to be recognized.

Fluctuation in market prices for agriculture products could adversely affect financial condition and results of operations. Prices for cereals, oilseeds and by-products, like those of other commodities, can fluctuate significantly. The prices that we are able to obtain for our agriculture products depend on many factors beyond our control.

Financial condition and results of operations could be materially and adversely affected if the prices of grains and by-products decline. Fluctuation in market prices for agriculture products could adversely affect our financial condition and results of operations. Prices for cereals,

oilseeds and by-products, like those of other commodities, can be expected to fluctuate significantly causing adverse effects on the incomes of farmers. The prices that we are able to obtain for our agriculture products depend on many factors beyond our control.

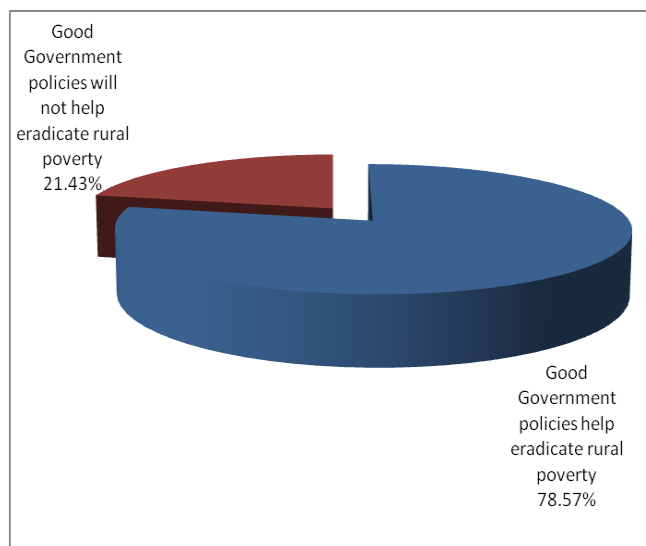
Price fluctuations are not only a situation affecting the farmers or villagers in Rwanda alone but also it is a global phenomenon. For example, from June 2005, to June 2006, prices in U.S. dollars for soya beans dropped by 8.75 %, the price of the corn increased by 11% and wheat increased by 15.6%. (CBOT- Bloomberg, 2006). The international price fluctuations also affect the prices on the local market.

9.3 Good Government Policies

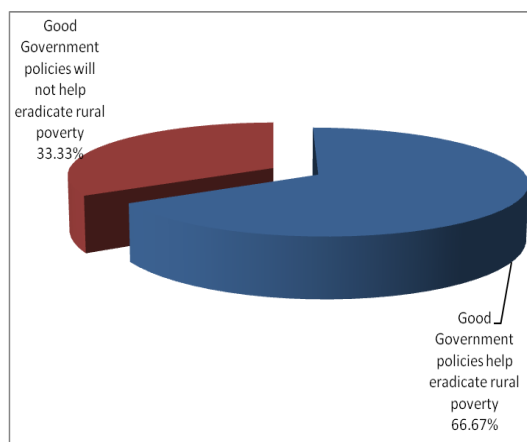
Poverty alleviation is a deliberate effort by all countries that overcome it. This, therefore, calls for deliberate government effort to establish the right policy frameworks for poverty eradication. Economic growth is the single most important factor influencing poverty. Numerous statistical studies have found a strong association between national per capita income and national poverty indicators, using both income and non-income measures of poverty.

Nyabigoma and Kamanyana respondents believe that good government policies will help them get out of poverty.

Figure 9. 5: Good government policies will help eradicate poverty - Nyabigoma



Source: *Field data, 2013*

Figure 9. 6: Good government policies will help eradicate poverty – Kamanyana

Source: *Field data, 2013*

Pro-poor policies are vital in eradication of rural poverty or in coping with poverty.

9.4 Macroeconomic policies and private sector investment

One recent study consisting of 80 countries covering four decades found that, on average, the income of the bottom one-fifth of the population rose one-for-one with the overall growth of the economy as defined by per capita GDP (Dollar and Kraay, 2000). Moreover, the study established that the effect of growth on the income of the poor was, on average not different in poor countries from that in rich countries. The poverty–growth relationship had not changed in recent years, and that policy-induced growth was as good for the poor as it was for the overall population.

Studies show that capital accumulation by the private sector drives growth. Therefore, a key objective of a country's poverty reduction strategy should be to establish conditions that facilitate private sector investment. No magic bullet can guarantee increased rates of private sector investment. Instead, in addition to a sustainable and a stable set of macroeconomic policies, a country's poverty reduction policy agenda should, in most cases, extend across a variety of policy areas, including privatisation, trade liberalisation, banking and financial sector reforms, labour markets, the regulatory environment, and the judicial system. The agenda should include increased and more efficient public investment in a country's health, education, and other priority social service sectors. Macroeconomic stability is the cornerstone of any successful effort to increase private sector development and economic growth. Cross-country regressions

using a large sample of countries suggest that growth, investment, and productivity are positively correlated with macroeconomic stability (Easterly and Kraay, 1999).

Although it is difficult to prove the direction of causation, these results confirm that macroeconomic instability has generally been associated with poor growth performance. Without macroeconomic stability, domestic and foreign investors will stay away and resources will be diverted elsewhere.

In fact, econometric evidence of investment behavior indicates that in addition to conventional factors (past growth of economic activity, real interest rates, and private sector credit), private investment is significantly and negatively influenced by uncertainty and macroeconomic instability (Ramey and Ramey, 1995).

9.5 Women and girls empowerment

It is also important to involve women and girls in the eradication of poverty.

Women face the direct impact of poverty in the rural areas of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana and it is an important aspect of coping with poverty. The respondents realised the need for women and girls empowerment and, to include them as key partners in development and coping with poverty. Particularly, women in Nyabigoma (92%) and Kamanyana (86%) felt that they needed to participate more in handling poverty. It is also important to encourage women to start doing some jobs that were previously marked for men only.

In situations of extreme poverty, women and girls are particularly at risk as they tend to inherit the poverty of their mothers. They are prone to abuse of all forms, and very often confined to households in which they are virtually slaves. UNICEF has been working on this issue as part of the follow-up to the 1993 Ouagadougou Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls. Other groups of poor children who merit special attention are children orphaned by HIV/AIDS, street children, and children of some ethnic minorities. For them, the provision of non-academic support and security is essential in order to contribute to their total wellbeing and success in life. Moreover, dialogue and cooperation with parents and families should improve their participation and performance in education.

9.6 Main economic activities

Different economic activities take place in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana.

Although each individual has different activities that they are engaged in, the predominant one is agriculture employing 38% of the males and 20% of the females and salaried job employing 29% of males and 29% of the females in Nyabigoma.

On the other hand in Kamanyana the main economic activities are agriculture employing 24% of the males and 30% of the females. The second economic activity in Kamanyana is the salaried jobs employing 14% of the males and 29% of the females.

Other economic activities taking place in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana include: fishing, driving, carpentry, shoe making, haircutting, basket weaving, mats making, chairs, tailoring, mobile restaurant of snacks like chapatti, mandazi, mechanics, hunting, making local brew such as ikigage for alcohol, mining, farming and any sort of agricultural activity, witch craft, private salaried job, civil service or government job, trading such as operating a shop and selling of second hand clothes.

Table 9. 4: Permanent livelihoods in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

Livelihood	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fishing			8%	14%
Driving	3.5%		2%	
Carpentry	9%		2%	
Show making and saloon	6%	12%	2%	13.5%
Hand craft		8.5%	2%	4%
Tailoring	8%	14%	2%	13%
Cookery	2%	4%		6%
Mechanics	2%		3.5%	
Brewing	4%	8%		3%
Trading	8%	15%	9%	5%
Witchcraft				2%
Salaried jobs	29%	29%	14%	29%
Bee keeping		3%		3%
Agriculture: crop and animal husbandry	38%	20%	24%	30%

Source: *Field data, 2013*

All rural inhabitants from both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana interviewed were involved in multiple economic activities.

The main economic activity that all the respondents both in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana were involved in was agriculture which activity directly or indirectly employed up to 100% of the males in Nyabigoma, and 97% in Kamanyana. It also employed 76% of the males in Kamanyana and 100% of the females in Kamanyana.

The second major activity that employed multiple persons was trading, which employed 18% of males and 18% of females in Nyabigoma. On the other hand 4% of the males and 6.5% of the females in Kamanyana were also involved in trading.

Table 9. 5: Second livelihoods activities in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

Livelihood	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fishing			14%	
Driving	2%		4%	
Carpentry	9%		8%	2%
Show making and saloon	12%	26%	15%	14%
Hand craft	18%	29%		2%
Tailoring	9%	11%		14%
Cookery	14%		18%	13%
Mechanics	2%			
Brewing	4%	6%	4%	
Trading	18%	18%	4%	6.5%
Witchcraft				
Salaried jobs	7%	9%	12%	195
Bee keeping	2%	16%		20%
Agriculture: crop and animal husbandry	100%	97%	76%	100%

Source: *Field data, 2013*

9.7 Reasons for engaging in multiple jobs

Different people were involved in different economic activities and the said activities are ranked in the table below. Almost 100% of the males in both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana were engaged in more than one economic activity because of the low incomes they receive. The idea is that the incomes cannot help them to effectively meet their daily needs. So the individuals end up doing more than one economic activity to help them to manage their lives effectively.

Basically, the highest ranked reason for the rural poor doing multiple economic activities is the low incomes received from doing only one economic activity, thus, the motivation of doing more than one activity. The table below contains all the other reasons by the respondents for engaging in multiple economic activities.

Table 9. 6: Reasons for engaging in multiple jobs in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

Reason	Nyabigoma		Kamanyana	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Ranked reason from highest to lowest</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Rank</i>
	<i>%ge</i>	<i>%ge</i>	<i>%ge</i>	<i>%ge</i>
1. Because of low incomes	100%	86%	100%	68%
2. Because of too much Poverty	82%	66%	70%	88%
3. Because of Rising prices of Basic necessities	54%	30%	47%	55%
4. Because of Family needs e.g. Many Children to feed at home	33%	20%	-	17%
5. Because of need to pay fees for my children	24%	-	32%	19%
6. Because of Need of Getting money for food	14%	11%	-	29%
7. Because of Poor Asset Base (No land)	-	13%	16%	-
8. Because of No easy Access to credit	4%	2%	8%	-
9. Need for income to help me get married	2%	-	-	-

Source: *Field data, 2013*

9.8 COPING WITH SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF RURAL POVERTY

The residents of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma, have not remained passive in the face of the social and economic problems they confront. The concept of self-resilience to them has been of a veritable aspect in how they began to define their life styles, turning their vulnerability contexts into a promising situation to change rather than to maintain its state of prevalence.

Table 9. 7: Strategies for coping with problems

Most Cited Problems	Coping Strategy
Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a manual labourer • Crushing stones to sell, and quarrying sand and stones for building • Growing vegetables • Planting crops to sell • Collecting some fruit from other places and bringing them back to the village to sell • Borrowing from relatives, close friends or neighbors.
House	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using local materials such as wood, bamboo from the virunga mountains and “sago” leaves to build houses • With the income they obtained from the above sources, using a part to buy some materials from some shops in the town
Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing vegetables like cabbages, carrots and egg plants • Planting the crops • Buying from some shops in the town
Education/schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most children attend the schools on a 12 year basic education which free primary education by government • Free education for 12 years primary school

Main poor road conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The road connecting the villages to the town is also not good in times of rains and floods from the Virunga mountains
Job	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Self-employed (any manual laboring, farming, making bricks and crushing stones)
Electricity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using lantern lamps, local traditional candles.
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using water coming from the crater lake up at virunga mountain

Source: *Fieldwork conducted in the village of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma*

The sustainable livelihood frame as a holistic approach in defining rural poverty (Chambers and Conway, 1982) identifies the poor as a victim of poverty at the same time as a social engineer (Chambers, 1983) to act on the undesired social economic situation and come up with coping and adoptive strategies to stress and shocks, in any form and context it may exist.

9.8.1 Strategies on coping with low rural incomes

Income levels as already noted above are still very low. The study did not extend the scope of research to categorise the respondents in income classes, as this was thought to create a bias to the least income group and subsequently prevent the researcher from gathering a wide range of information.

In Rwanda, statistics have continued to indicate a high prevalence of poverty levels in rural areas (EDPRS 1 of the GoR, 2007) the middle income class is mainly in urban and peri-urban centre. At least 90% of the sampled population and the probed sample were economically employed in farming as centrally to most urban population of Rwanda. Village dwellers have been reported.

In Tanzania, for example, just like Rwanda, 90% of the poor people, are still in the rural areas although, there are higher poverty levels in villages. In Rwanda too, according to the similar report, it is on record that 64.7% of the rural population is still poor and 37% are in extreme poverty.

However, there are universally agreed upon coping strategies on how the rural population can withstand the problem of low incomes. Albeit the Indian noblest Amartya Sen in his work on sustainable livelihoods, produces a set of coping strategies namely Migration, diversification, hoarding, reduction in food consumption and others (Sen, 1984). Lower incomes in the rural population have affected largely the investment and production potentials of rural communities. Agriculture in Rwanda has lagged behind (IPAR Rwanda Report, 2009) due to unfavorable climatic conditions and poor soils, a factor that has bonded the rural population in the circles of

poverty. This state and context would be altered if the rural population can find other sources of income to supplement the little and unguaranteed earnings from agriculture products.

In this study, participants in the focused group discussions were asked to suggest how they withstood the problems of low incomes in situations of stress and shocks. Answers to this inquiry were rotating around how the rural people have decided to tolerate this problem and survive this cause by resorting to other off –farm productive activities where to earn a living.

Among the survival strategies listed were: being a manual labourer, crushing stones to sell, growing vegetables, planting crops to sell, collecting some fruits from other places, and borrowing from relatives. How sustainable these coping strategies were, was outside the research limit of this study. But the interesting insight is the commonality of these strategies with the work of Robert Chambers, 1991 on sustainable livelihoods. Since this research never classified the respondents by income categories, it was difficult to establish the level of significance of a particular coping strategy. Providing manual labor was considered as surplus labor that would ensure sustained incomes.

Some rural theorists who have researched on the relationship between agriculture and rural industrialisation (Francisco Golletti, 2009), have attached agricultural development and food security in Asian countries in the late 1960's to the process of rural industrialization.

In many developing countries, in contrast many developed countries, agriculture and rural development, has not taken a good off well due to low levels of rural industrialisation. In Rwanda, this is not a unique occurrence among rural areas as factories are still on a low scale in number, activity and sparsely distributed. The industrial sector shares 15% of the total GDP (MINICOM, 2011).

Nyabigoma and Kamanyana Villages are not exceptional, the percentage and scale of rural industrialization in Rwanda still has a lot to be done in terms of extending textile industries and other manufacturing industries that can absorb the large number of labour employed in agriculture.

Another off-farm activity where the residents source an alternative income was stone quarrying. Although the mining industry is still picking momentum, the Government of Rwanda, supports local initiatives towards developing a strong mining sector (OGMR, 2010). The residents of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana find stone quarrying as an alternative source of income during the periods of income shortages particularly when expectations from sale of agricultural products are

in vulnerability confrontations such as during poor weather conditions. To overcome such struggles, mining, is regarded as a survival strategy to the rural poor. Stone quarrying has not been specific to the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana alone. The mining sector in Rwanda currently employs 20,000 people in addition to those working in mining concessions.

Volcanic eruptions that can be dated around 1882 (*Wikipedia/wiki/Mount -Nyiragongo*) is responsible for the amount of stone mass wasted along valleys and respondents confirmed that these are crushed and sold for building purpose. The study also established the fact that this would be a sustainable non-farm activity due to the rampant increase in construction of roads and other physical infrastructures.

Another social capital that was suggested by respondents as another form of coping strategy was income transfers in form of borrowed cash from friends and neighbors. These kinds of linkages have been commonly referred to as remittances. A study of the impact of cash transfer on social networks of Kenyan households participating in transfer programs reflects borrowed money as form of social capital (Phyllis Ressler, 2009). Social networks in many African societies particularly still in rural areas, reflect a great deal of kinship , brotherhood especially in the absence of formal financial structures many people in developing countries depend on borrowed money to reduce their exposure to risks(Salvado di Fallo and Erwin Bulte,2009).

In Rwanda, developments in information technology have diversified their products and service offer to include cash transfers by Mobile Telecommunication Company, which now in Rwanda has gone global (East African Business week, 2012). Across Africa , there has been money transfers as forms of survival strategies which seem to be filling lending gaps and defying the complex nature of the lending institutions like small village micro credits and middle men money lenders who charge high interest. Those who fully agreed with this form of support in both Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages indicated that these remittances are sent directly from their relatives who leave in urban centres. According to Food Security and Nutritional Analysis Unit, Somalia (FSNAU, 2013) in Puntland and Somaliland, reports show a direct correlation between Family ties, remittances and livelihoods support.

Income shortages were also withstood by growing crops and vegetables. This, according to the respondents was more immediate as juxtaposed to other survival strategies. More emphasis here was put on the growth of vegetables which assured them ready market as compared to other edible crops. UNFPA-Rwanda, promotes the concept of Kichen Gardens as a strategy to

supplement food requirement and food security as well as a source of income. However our present study did not establish the nature of the kitchen gardens and where they sell these vegetables, albeit many contended that there is a growth of lucrative markets within and outside the village boundaries that present potential consumers for these vegetables. This is an interesting result as it reflects the growing need for non-colonial cash crops.

In Africa, the agriculture sector in Sub Saharan Africa, is on the road to diversify its agricultural output to support the export volumes (Delgado and Christopher, 1995) thus leading to a growing population diversifying their agricultural crop choice, to vegetables although the study in the studied villages could not investigate their exportation possibilities . But in Rwanda according to (EDPRS 1 of the GoR) there is an increasing percentage of vegetables to the agriculture export volume.

9.8.2 Strategies for coping with poor rural housing

The state of rural housing is still seriously cited as a problem in the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana. Although the Government of Rwanda has a policy of improving the wellbeing of the rural population through rural electrification and provision of housing facilities, the problem still is prevailing (EDPRS 1,GoR,2007). In many rural areas of African countries houses are still in poor conditions and the problem is abbreviated with lack of incomes to buy modern building materials. According to (Nubi, 2000), lack of incomes in rural Nigeria is responsible for the poor state of settlement. In Rwanda, those residing in rural areas are particularly still in worst housing conditions; the structures are prone to environmental catastrophes like heavy rains and winds. However, lack of building materials due to shortage of incomes and unemployment is a significant problem. The main coping strategies to address this problem by the residents in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages was basically dependent on the environment itself as seen in their responses in the table above.

Development and environment are reinforcing (Shaofeng Chen, 2012). For example, in these two villages, local wood like bamboo, from Viruga Mountains, was cited as being of significant importance in the construction of houses. Still bamboo trees have a double role, direct incomes are generated from their sale and residents are in position to purchase building materials. In other rural areas, this is how the problem has been overcome. However, inspite of the fact that the incidence of poverty and lack of incomes has been very high, residents have devised the above coping strategies to solve their housing problems.

9.8.3 Strategies for coping with inadequate access to food in rural areas

Food shortage was among the problems faced by the residents of these two villages, although it was not clear whether there was a total lack of food, as some members of the sampled respondents interpreted the problem in terms of frequency (number of times they had their meals per day). Hunger and starvation are indeed synonymously used, According to the Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA) and Nutrition Survey 2012, the prevalence of chronic malnutrition among children under the age of 5 is still high, at 43 per cent (WFP, 2012) and the problem is on a prodigious scale in most sub-Saharan rural areas.

In the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, the predicament was compounded by low incomes and price fluctuations that have discouraged farmers from growing food crops. The main crop grown in these areas, has been Irish potatoes (<https://agrifinfacility.org>) which is supplied to urban population. Respondents posed that prices are always increasing, and the increasing number of hotels in urban and peri-urban creates an excessive demand for this crop. This was evident in some cells as it was observed through large tracks of land under cultivation. Some respondents maintained that, the problem of food shortages existed.

The study went at further to establish that market liberalization and price allocation of resource was too responsible for the continued movement of food supplies from these villages to towns, as food traders competed for these less priced irish potatoes. Amartya Sen while examining the right to food, presents a relevant association of lack of freedom to entitlement failure (Amartya Sen, 1984). But in Rwanda, Sen's observation and, specifically, to these villages, is not of greater significance, as many pointed out that, it is the problem of land shortage that barred them from growing food. The coping strategies suggested were using their own incomes obtained from other sources to buy food from town shops, growing vegetables like cabbages and carrots as these were favored by the fertile volcanic soils.

9.8.4 Strategies for coping with the ever increasing costs of education

Education is expensive and schools are very few. This was cited as another challenge the residents of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana face. In these two villages, education still confronts major challenges. It was noted that many respondents, due to income shortages, can hardly be in position to send their children to school much as there is Free education being one of the Millennium development goals.

9.8.5 Strategies for coping with bad roads in rural areas

The nature of roads connecting town the center to villages is still poor, the residents reportedly find this a major hindrance to their economic prosperity, as transporting food crops and other materials has increased costs. This problem becomes more acute during periods of heavy rains as there are very minimal feeder road. Majority of the respondents expressed that this problem has isolated them from major and emerging economic opportunities in urban centers. But the government of Rwanda, through the Community Development Programs under Sustainable Growth for Jobs Flagship (EDPRS 1, 2007), has embarked on a countrywide approach of rehabilitating damaged roads and building new ones, that connectS markets to production centres. The residents of Nyakamana and Nyabigaoma, overtly indicated a positive support to any government initiative that will promote the infrastructural development of their villages.

9.8.6 Strategies for coping with the problem of unemployment

Full employment in rural Rwanda is still is hard as many do not have access to it. It is alarming in the villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana that many respondents reported to be facing this problem.

The Government of Rwanda, through the short term strategy of achieving the long Vision 2020 economic development targets (EDPRS 1 and 2 Of GoR, 2008-2012) as earmarked, reveals that rural unemployment is still at high incidence and most acute among the rural youths.

With the implementation of the Vision 2020 Umurenge Program, Government embarked on strategies to address high level unemployment among the youth through public works, diversifying the rural economy, modernizing agriculture and eventually realising rural industrialization. The respondents, nevertheless, proposed coping strategies in finding alternative sources of incomes through farming, making bricks and crushing stones.

Chambers and Conway (1991) while debating on the nature of vulnerability contexts experienced by the rural poor people suggested that human capital, such as held skills can be used to find new jobs and sell what they referred to as human labour.

They (Chambers and Conway) argue that migration in form of moving from a place with less opportunity to another with a vast opportunity can also be a better coping strategy. However, there was a dearth of information of members in these villages who had migrated to other areas in search for jobs.

9.8.7 Coping with rural sources of energy, water and sanitation

Rural electrification in Rwanda is among the national strategies to be achieved by the year 2020 (EDPRS 2). In Rwanda and notably in the researched areas of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, residents mainly rely on the conventional methods of energy. Although Government has embarked on a nationwide electrification programme, the costs of electricity are very exorbitant and rural farmers find it difficult to meet these costs. This has accounted for the slow growth of the non-farm activities such as processing and value addition to agricultural products which require electricity. Charcoal burning in Rwanda (Muhire, 2012) has been regarded as a source of livelihood but it has posed severe negative impacts to the rural population. The ministry of Environment in Rwanda, reports that conventional sources of energy are responsible in part to the poor climatic changes in Rwanda (REMA, 201). The respondents in the two villages on which this study is done, use lantern lamps, and local candles to meet their energy and lighting demands. However their experience clearly shows a discomfort for the electricity costs and they continuously call upon government to intervene and regulate these costs.

Water shortages and poor supply networks was another grave problem faced by the villagers of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana. The two villages are geographically mountainous and, extending piped water to such points has been problematic. Nevertheless, residents use water coming from the crater lakes up at Virunga Mountains. Problems associated with distance and the nature of terrain, were mentioned as major hindrances in using this water from crater lakes.

Table 9. 8: Needs and priorities to cope with poverty as ranked by focus group discussions in the two villages as most important priorities

Needs/Priorities	Nyabigom	Kamanyana
Natural Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land • Forest • Sea 	√	√
Physical Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road • Transport facilities • Piped drinking water (pipe or pump) • Electricity 	√ √ √	√

Human Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education (schools, teachers and others) • Health (clinic, doctors, nurses, medicines) • Skills 	√ √	√ √
Social Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houses • Latrines • Community hall 	√	
Financial/Economic Assets <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capital/cash • Micro-enterprise • Permanent jobs • Fishing tools • Farming tools • General prices • Market 	√ √	√ √

Source: *Field data, 2013*

In the field surveyed data, one of the operation questions in understanding poverty and rurality, employed was to establish the needs and priorities the rural poor required most. Respondents of both villages, Nyabigoma and Kamanyana suggested a number of strategies in withstanding with the vulnerability contexts as defined to them. Orientations were made to them for simplifications using the sustainable livelihood frame work (Chambers, 1991) as the holistic approach for guidance.

9.8.8 Coping rural efficiency utilization of scarce natural resources

As observed from the table above, there was a significant considerable association between the problems faced or lacked in what was viewed as the causal factors to poverty and remedial strategies as coping priorities. Although there was some degree of variance to what was placed as more significant need than others, five priority needs were identified as natural assets: physical, human, social, and economic assets.

The natural assets constituted, land, forest and sea. In both villages, land was ranked as an immediate need and placed top priority as a supportive tool to their poverty circles. Agriculture in Rwanda is the dominant employer, directly or indirectly to the rural population. Looking at the economic assumption as to why land is demanded by many in these two villages, it established that was many attached great values to it as a derived good. And this was associated,

correspondingly to its economic value as the basic primary factor of production. The study deepened the investigation to establish land ownership practices and interestingly, many respondents, in both villages, reported to be facing structural and ownership practices that denied them the right to own land. This is also true in many agrarian sub-Saharan African countries. It is still an existing problem although it varies from society to society.

Access to and control of land was identified closely as a major hindrance. Transfer of land to the productively active farmers was unclear and basically a requirement of buying and selling land whilst financial resources were lacking. Villagers, therefore, needed land to fully support their livelihoods, practice farming and cope or adopt more resilient strategies such as the practice of mechanised, extensive and intensified agriculture that would guarantee food availability as well as increased incomes. Other economic activities like fishing and lumbering were not identifiable to them as possible priorities to address poverty. Respondents of Nyabigoma in particular, reported a great need of Electricity, piped drinking water and transport facilities as opposed to those in Kamanyana.

Looking at the United Nations Environmental reports (UN World Water Report, 2012; www.waterforpeople.org), very few people can access clean and safe water in Rwanda. The severity of this problem is at high prevalence in rural areas and in places that are geographically isolated from urban centres whose requirement to address their poverty problem was basically the need for safe drinking water. This is as already detailed in the causes of poverty in these two villages. Agriculture and specifically farming, still faces critical challenges and, therefore, in response to modernising it, energy is fundamentally required. Electricity was explicitly pointed out in both Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages as needed for addition of value to their agricultural primary products, alongside transport facilities to move the products to the nearby market centers.

Education and health are among human development indicators (UNDP, 2010), and these were the priority areas of emphasis among the human capitals required to improve the wellbeing of the population in both villages as ticked in the table above. In his analysis, Sen (1984) introduces the concept of capabilities in form of human functioning as imbedded in human beings which and needed to be promoted for example through provision of skills. This means that poor health can be both a cause and a consequence of poverty. Therefore setting up hospitals, clinics and

dispensaries as well as equipping them with enough medical practitioners, was also found to be a considerable priority for action in order to address their poverty levels.

Among social capital assets needed most was housing as mainly needed by the respondents in Nyabigoma. As already noted above, the Rwanda government is transforming poor houses into modern iron roofed houses. The Government of Rwanda has set up another home grown solution called “Nyakatsi” which is literally translated as bye-bye to grass thatched houses.

Financial or economic priorities included capital, microfinance, a permanent job, general prices and markets. These were provided to the respondents for choices of priority. Due to the problem of price fluctuations, and poor market systems, respondents in both villages, suggested that government should intervene and regulate the agricultural prices through buffer mechanisms as well as provide them with market access locally, within the region and more particularly in the neighbouring countries where these products can be exported.

Conclusion

In light of the effects of poverty in Rwanda’s rural areas of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana, it is important to look closely at factors that might account for progress in reducing poverty in these rural areas. The reduction of poverty will help to mitigate the effects of the same in the rural Rwanda. One contributory factor will be the reduction in average household size over the period (implying reduced consumption needs); this is consistent with the declining fertility rate reported in the Rwanda’s DHS surveys.

Based on the income data, the survey results show an important resilience among the population to cope up with the effects of poverty by practising multiple economic activities in order to raise the level of income that will help to solve the major problem of poverty.

Agriculture modernisation and agriculture related solutions like product price, market availability, will surely help stabilise income from agriculture. Analysis of the survey data confirms the importance of wage activity by identifying that there has been substantial creation of jobs, predominantly in non-farm activities, like trade, salon and show making.

Rwanda, generally, has registered an increased commercialisation of agriculture. In 2005/06, households sold around 18% of their output on average but by 2010/11, the average proportion of output sold had risen to 25%. There was increased demand for agricultural production from

Rwanda over this period from neighboring countries and in part, in response to food crises elsewhere.

Finally, the evolution of poverty in Rwanda from 2000 to 2011: results from household survey shows an important and impressive degree of progress. Rwanda has made over this five-year period; poverty fell over this period at a faster rate than recent reductions in the other most successful African countries in poverty reduction, including Ghana, Senegal and Uganda.

It is clear that the last five years have seen a substantial reduction in poverty in Rwanda and an improvement in the living conditions of many Rwandans. It is a good sign that the rural poor will cope well with poverty measures that will see villages become better places to live in.

CHAPTER TEN: CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

10.1 Introduction

This chapter is in two sections:

- (i) Knowledge accruing from the objectives of the study.
- (ii) Knowledge advanced on fundamental models to uplift rural growth and help in escaping rural poverty.

The first section is about the general knowledge this study attempts to bring to light based on the objectives of the study. This first section focuses on discussing the contribution this study makes to existing knowledge and the contribution focuses on the areas of perception and definition of poverty by rural inhabitants, causes of rural poverty, effects of poverty, and how rural people are coping with poverty.

The second section is about discussing the most appropriate models advanced by the researcher on how the rural poor livelihoods can be improved from a state of deprivation to a state of improved living standards.

Although some recommendations are based on the interviews, questionnaires and participatory and focus group discussions of the rural poor in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages. It should be noted however, that, this study makes new revelations about the new realities on rural poverty and rurality.

The study has indeed helped to advance and formulate fundamental models to uplift rural growth which should act as routes of escaping from poverty. This chapter is also intended to help future researchers' that wish to focus their studies on rural poverty to authoritatively quote or use the new knowledge generated from this study.

10.2 General knowledge accruing from the objectives of the study

In this study, many respondents were from age category 20 to 40 years. They were readily available to offer information and refer the researcher to others.

The findings of the study revealed that there was a significant understanding on poverty by the rural poor: the information on poverty included the definition and perception on poverty, causes of poverty, effects of poverty and how the rural inhabitants were coping with poverty. This implies that with the right strategies the rural poor can be able to cope better with poverty.

10.2.1 Learning from the perceptions and definitions of rural poverty

It needs to be clearly understood that definitions and perceptions on rural poverty vary according to their narrowness or breadth, that is, in terms of: whether they are confined to the material core; the nature of that material core; and whether they also embrace relational/symbolic factors associated with poverty. This perception was also identified by Nolan and Whelan (1996).

Poverty can also be looked at in terms of inability to participate in society (which is broader than more 'absolute' definitions confined to subsistence needs), but emphasise that what is distinctive is the 'inability to participate owing to lack of resources' (1996: 1998). The definition of poverty can also be confined to consumption or participation which is primarily determined by command over financial resources. This perception was also discovered by Townsend (1996), Veit-Wilson, 1998, 2004)

From the study, it is very important to appreciate that poverty can also be looked at in terms of denial of choices and opportunities and violation of human dignity. This slightly contradicts with the commonly known definition of poverty that defines poverty in terms of income per day or consumption per day. Poverty kills a person's self-esteem and makes a person feel incapable even if they are capable. The UN, in her definition of poverty, also agrees with this finding of looking at poverty also in terms of participation in society.

Another important observation made during the study was that, poverty means not having a school or a clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. This may either be because the facility is unavailable or that the facilities are available but individuals have no money to utilise them. Whatever the case, this situation is looked at as poverty. This finding is in line with the UN definition (1998) the definition also looks at poverty in terms of lack of social services and inability to utilise the services.

Furthermore, from the study, it was discovered that poverty is perceived as insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation. This finding also agrees with the definition by UN, June 1998 –signed by the heads of all UN agencies.

Another contribution that this study makes to knowledge is the view of looking at poverty in terms of failure to pay fees for the children. Schools may be available but there may be no funds to pay fees in the available schools. This situation of failure to pay fees for the children can also be viewed as poverty. This finding is in line with the finding by Nolan and Whelan, 1996.

Man is said to be developing if he has the capacity to exploit natural resources around him for better usage. If man cannot have capacity to exploit the environment and get the best out of the environment, then he is considered poor. If man has land, water, minerals resources and forests around him and cannot make economic value out of them he is looked at as poor. This research finding is in line with the finding by Raveaud and Salais, 2001; Veit-Wilson, 2004 who also defined poverty based on the capacity to exploit the environment.

Furthermore, the research found out that the benchmarks for the definition of poverty are not the same in the rural and urban areas. It was discovered that whereas in the urban areas people look at poverty using the hard cash, in the rural areas people look at poverty in terms of capacity to own land and some domestic animals. It does not matter how much an individual has in hard cash but provided the individual has a number of cows and other domestic animals they would be considered very rich (Gordon et al., 2000b: 91), hinted at poverty parameters in rural areas as different from that in urban areas.

The study confirms that any type of joblessness is poverty. A job is not only where one is employed by another but anything a person does to earn a living is hereby considered a job. In other words, lack of training and lack of education are also considered channels that lead to poverty. This is based on the fact that education and training gives skills that help people to make incomes that enable them to overcome poverty. It is also important to observe that the International Academy of Education (IAE) a not-for-profit scientific association that promotes educational research, its dissemination, and the implementation of its implications that focus on solving critical educational problems that lead to poverty throughout the world. This point is also related to the findings by Orazem, Glewwe & Patrinos, (2007: 5) and Fields (2000), Deaton, 1997) that discovered that there is a relationship between education and poverty.

This study also realizes that the general perception in the rural areas is that to be rich in the rural areas one needs to have land to grow crops and keep animals. While to be rich in the urban areas one does not necessarily need land and animals but rather cash at hand.

There is now a trend that many wives and many children is a cause for rural poverty. This has led to the rural populations avoiding large families and rather now focuses on small families. This reveals a downward trend on the traditional belief that wealth is defined by the number of women and children one has. It is also a downward trend to the traditional thought of looking at women and children as assets

One may also add that an individual's wealth is seen in the kind of houses that they live in. this finding agrees with the finding by the Northern Ireland Longitudinal Study Research Brief of June 2011 on House Value as an Indicator of Wealth and Predictor of Health agrees with the finding that type and value of a house is an indicator of richness.

10.2.2 Learning from the Causes of rural poverty

Agriculture is still the backbone of the Rwandan economy. It has contributed an average of about 36 per cent of total GDP between 2001 and 2008, and it employs more than 80 per cent of the population. But the sector is very fragile. Rough terrain, erosion and climatic hazards combine with geography, and the lack of modern technology to create serious constraints to agricultural development

Rural livelihoods are based on an agricultural production system that is characterised by small family farms of less than 1 hectare (ha), practising mixed farming that combines rain fed grain crops, traditional livestock-rearing and some vegetable production. Food crops account for 92 per cent of the cultivated area, and two thirds of food crops are earmarked for family consumption. A small number of farmers grow higher-value cash crops such as coffee and tea, which occupy 3 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively, of total cultivable land. The most vulnerable rural people are landless people and small-scale farmers who cultivate less than 0.2 haactares.

The rural enterprise sector offers alternative employment for a growing rural population living on increasingly scarce land. Microenterprises and small businesses have a role in construction, transport, trade and services, production of manufactured goods and processing of agricultural products, but this source of income remains largely untapped.

Modernisation of agriculture can be the main solution to eradication of poverty. In agriculture, the main programmes include the intensification of sustainable production systems in crop cultivation and animal husbandry; building the technical and organisational capacity of farmers;

promoting commodity chains and agribusiness, and strengthening the institutional framework of the sector at central and local level. Environmental and land priorities involve ecosystems the rehabilitation of degraded areas and strengthening newly established central and decentralised institutions.

Special attention will be paid to sustainable land tenure security through the planning and management of land registration and rational land use, soil and water conservation, reforestation, preservation of biological diversity and adaptation and mitigation against the impact of climate change. One of the key bottlenecks that still affects Rwanda is the high population growth which is a major challenge facing Rwanda. Slowing down population growth requires innovative measures, including the strengthening of reproductive health services and family planning and ensuring free access to information, education and contraceptive services.

The eradication of poverty in rural Rwanda will succeed if there is a deliberate effort by the government. These deliberate efforts will include; putting in place appropriate policies, ensuring that the policies are implemented, especially those that refer to agriculture that is the largest employer in Rwanda.

10.2.3 Learning from the effects of rural poverty

Poverty has a direct impact on the household size and composition. Almost in every part of the world and in every kind of culture, the poorest people have a high number of children. This is one of the factors influencing the poverty status of these households. It has been discovered through this study that the big number of children is a result of poverty. The people are poor and idle and have nothing important to do thus, they spend most of the time in sexual activity leading to producing of more children. Secondly it has also been discovered that the poor think children are wealth or source of wealth.

Similarly, composition of the household is also a result of poverty. As a result of poverty men have abandoned their wives and children and left the women to head families. This has led to the situation commonly known as female headed families. The steady rise in female-headed households and in the number of children living in female-headed households (Casper and Bianchi 2002) has important life course implications for recent cohorts of women and children. About half of all women will experience single motherhood at some point in their lifetimes

(Moffitt and Rendall 1995), and a majority of children will live in a female-headed household (Graefe and Lichter 1999).

In Rwanda, the 1994 genocide is still being blamed for poverty. People still think that the effects of the 1994 genocide is haunting them and keeping them in poverty. Other researchers have agreed with this discovery by reasoning that the genocide led to: change in the demographic structure resulting in an increased number of women headed households and minor (child headed) headed households: incidence of high traumatization, high prison population, and a large number of internally displaced persons who lack shelter. There is also increased incidence of poverty due to widespread loss of capital stock and labour, further decimation of human resources, weakened social network, and an urgent need for unity and reconciliation. Other researchers have also agreed that indeed the 1994 genocide still has a role it plays in the current poverty situation. The argument is that in the 1960s and 1970s, Rwanda's prudent financial policies, coupled with generous external aid and relatively favorable terms of trade, resulted in sustained growth in per capita income and low inflation rates. However, when world coffee prices fell sharply in the 1980s, growth fell considerably.

Compared to an annual GDP growth rate of 6.5% from 1973 to 1980, growth slowed to an average of 2.9% a year from 1980 through 1985 and was stagnant from 1986 to 1990. The crisis peaked in 1990 when the first measures of an IMF structural adjustment program were carried out. While the program was not fully implemented before the war, key measures such as two large devaluations and the removal of official prices were enacted. The consequences on salaries and purchasing power were rapid and dramatic. This crisis particularly affected the educated elite, most of who were employed in civil service or state-owned enterprises.

The 1994 genocide destroyed Rwanda's fragile economic base, severely impoverished the population, particularly women, and eroded the country's ability to attract private and external investment. However, Rwanda has made significant progress in stabilising and rehabilitating its economy. In June 1998, Rwanda signed an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility with the International Monetary Fund. Rwanda has also embarked upon an ambitious privatisation program with the World Bank.

In the immediate postwar period—mid-1994 through 1995—emergency humanitarian assistance of more than \$307.4 million was largely directed to relief efforts in Rwanda and in the refugee camps in neighboring countries where Rwandans fled during the war. In 1996, during the 5 years

of civil war that culminated into the 1994 genocide, GDP declined in 3 out of 5 years, posting a dramatic decline at more than 40% in 1994, the year of the genocide. The 9% increase in real GDP for 1995, the first postwar year, signaled the resurgence of economic activity. It is therefore understandable that the 1994 genocide is still to blame for the prevalent rural poverty.

Poverty has led to many rural inhabitants to sell off their assets like land and end they up landless. This is especially in the interest of other basic needs of the individuals and in order to survive the daily demands of life. Related to this is the fact that the government of Rwanda reported that close to 14 per cent of rural dwellers have become landless peasants living in conditions of extreme poverty.

Related to this discovery is also the research finding by microcon research (2008), on Poverty Dynamics, Violent Conflict and Convergence in Rwanda, Households that owned large land holdings (> 1 hectare) in 1990 were more likely to fall into poverty in 2000, but not households owning between 0.66 and 1 hectare in 1990. André and Platteau (1998) and Verwimp (2003) have demonstrated that land-rich households had a higher probability to fall victim to deadly violence (murder) compared to land poor households. This led to the discrimination based on poverty still is prevalent in Rwanda. The rural poor are often discriminated against. Discrimination based on ethnicity or gender directly influences economic opportunity through a complex set of institutional effects in families, schools, and work settings. At the same time, the poor are routinely targets of discrimination, frequently viewed with contempt for circumstances beyond their personal control. Greater democratic participation in the economic sphere would lead to investments that meet real human needs first, starting with the poorest of the world's poor, the one billion who live on less that \$1 a day (<http://www.psyr.org/issues/discrimination>).

In reference to the Human Rights Watch Report on Discrimination, Inequality and Poverty of 2011, despite recognition of the Millennium Declaration of the importance of human rights, equality, and non-discrimination for development, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) largely bypassed these key principles. The fundamental human rights guarantees of equality and non-discrimination are legally binding obligations and do not need instrumental justifications. That said there is a growing body of evidence that human rights-based approaches, and these key guarantees in particular, can lead to more sustainable and inclusive development results. Discrimination can both cause poverty and be a hurdle in alleviating poverty. Even in countries

where there have been significant gains toward achieving the MDGs, inequalities have grown. The MDGs have supported aggregate progress—often without acknowledging the importance of investing in the most marginalised and excluded, or giving due credit to governments and institutions which do ensure that development benefits these populations. Recognition of this shortcomings in the MDGs has brought an increasing awareness of the importance of working to reverse growing economic inequalities through the post-2015 framework, and a key element of this must be actively working to dismantle discrimination

The most frequent crime in the rural Rwanda is caused by poverty. One respondent during the study said that *“If you struggle to pay your bills and don't know where your next meal is coming from how will you survive other than stealing to get quick solution”*, some studies agree with the statement by concluding that if people fail to survive, they are most likely to commit crime to survive.

Findings from this study have agreed with findings from other new research that the personal insecurity associated with income inequality is a major reason that some rural poor and even countries, and even wealthy ones, are more religious than others. A study by an independent researcher, Dr Tom Rees (Journal of Religion and Society, Vol 11) analyses data from over 50 countries representing a wide range of religions, wealth, and social structures. It uses income inequality as a measure of how much personal insecurity people in those wealthy countries face. The finding may explain why conventional theories about the causes of religion have always fallen short. Conventional theories on why religion varies from place to place claim either that modernisation leads to loss of faith, or that states that interfere with religion actually make people disenchanted with it. However, neither of these theories can explain the differences between the wealthy and the poor countries. The new analysis shows a high correlation between personal insecurity and countries which are more religious than others. Indeed, personal insecurity is the single most important factor in predicting national variations in religiosity. Tom Rees suggests:

“This is because inequality is associated with a range of social problems that combine to make people feel insecure and in need of the comfort offered by religion,”

Poverty still has a high influence on education. Poor people often lack sufficient income to afford appropriate education. The universal primary education only offers basic literacy and numeracy

skills yet the skills cannot lead to creation of employment opportunity. The UPE therefore cannot be used to justify whether people are educated or not.

Poverty is one of the main contributors to infant mortality. People do not have access to resources that would guarantee them opportunities to access comfortable medical attention. Infant mortality rate among the rural children is very high as a result of poverty. The higher infant death rate among Rwanda's infant mortality rate; infant (per 1;000 live births) this data in Rwanda was last reported at 59.10 in 2010, according to a World Bank report published in 2012. Findings also explain that while poverty is mostly blamed for causing the deaths of babies, other issues also came into play, such as premature births, teenage motherhood, smoking, alcohol and drug abuse.

The study findings also discovered that generally Rwanda's poverty is estimated to be 44.9% nationally, with 22.1% poor in urban areas and 48.7% poor in rural areas. This is an indication that the rural poor that the researcher focused on in this study are more affected by the effects of poverty than the urban poor. However, since 2005/06, the poverty headcount has fallen by some 4% in Kigali City and by 10% or more in all other provinces, with the fall highest by far in the Northern Province. Poverty is highest in the Southern Province and lowest by far in Kigali City. The Eastern Province is the second least poor province – *the third integrated household living conditions survey by National Institute of statistics of Rwanda – 2010/11*

The poorest people from the two study villages of Nyabigoma and Kamanyana are mainly in paid agricultural work as their main job, while the better off are in paid non-farm jobs or working as self-employed in non-agricultural businesses. Small-scale farmers and their family workers are slightly more likely to be poor, in contrast to persons in the public sector who are more likely to be in the richest quintile.

10.2.4 Positive effects of rural poverty

Much as rural poverty has been found out to be so disadvantageous, the rural poor gave new information on how rural poverty has influenced their livelihood positively. This is something new to be learnt from these villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma. The positive attributes of rural poverty can be picked from the following responses which the respondents stated in the various questionnaires. Each respondent was asked to state at least only two advantages of rural

poverty in their livelihoods. Without repeating the same answers, the box below shows what respondents in Kamanyana village had to state.

Box 7: Poor People's views about the advantages of rural poverty in Kamanyana village.

"Rural poverty has made us humble Rural poverty has made us to learn how to respect people".
"To be humble and seek God. We pray so much more than the urban rich or urban poor people."
"To make family planning; to economise my income, I have now learnt to save and spend less".
"Poverty has taught me to start working hard and have my own property and my children will begin from there."
"I will not produce many children so that I can be able to send them to school."
"To be a self-entrepreneur by creating your own job. I have looked for jobs from place to place but I have failed. Let me now struggle to make my own job"

Source: Field data, 2013

The above answers all show how in some way or another, poverty in Kamanyana village, has contributed to seeking God more than ever, learning from past generational mistakes of producing very many children and aspiring to have need for self reliant.

Similarly, the positive attributes of rural poverty can be picked from the following responses which the respondents stated in the various questionnaires rural Nyabigoma. Each respondent was also asked to state at least only two advantages of rural poverty in their livelihoods. Without repeating the same answers, the box below shows what respondents of Nyabigoma village had to state.

Box 8: Poor People's views about the advantages of rural poverty in Nyabigoma village.

"That is why I do a multiple of jobs".
"To work so hard by force and to be clever in school and make sure I perform very well."
 Answer by a student who was one of the participants.
"Creation of my own job. Today I do other jobs like shoe repair, Jerrican welding or repairing of Jerricans and Saucepans. I have learnt all this because of poverty."
"Poverty has taught me to work hard for my children, take all of them to school, so that they do not lead a life of suffering like mine."
"To know that God exists."
"Poverty here in our village has taught us to increase our solidarity amongst ourselves."

Source: Field data, 2013

As seen from the above sampled answers and though they seem to be chorus answers, the rural poor seem to be doing some things positively due to the nature of the life they find themselves in.

10.2.5 Learning from the Coping strategies the rural poor have adopted to survive in rural areas

Government remains the main body that needs to lead the process for poverty reduction in the rural areas. Its within the powers of the government to ensure good governance, democratisation; national reconciliation, national political stability and security. Grassroot participation in development and decision making in an all-inclusive economic system, allows effective participation of all social and economic groups in the population and creates an economy of stakeholders. Policies to increase productivity and incomes of the poor, the measures to increase incomes focus on employment and labour productivity, agricultural modernisation provision of rural credit and financial services, and support to micro and small scale enterprises. Actions to improve the provision and accessibility to information and social services so as to improve the quality of life of the poor, The priorities include primary health care, primary education, water and sanitation, energy and housing, They also include assertive public action to address the high rate of population growth. Addressing the problems of vulnerable groups on a sustainable basis, replacing transfers with sustainable livelihoods and establishing safety nets. Strategies that the government has already put in place like the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), a document has been developed and serves as the platform for sector policy-setting in each ministry since late 2003.

The government published its PRSP in June 2002. Broadly speaking, it calls for high economic growth accompanied by measures to increase export earnings and agricultural production and diversify the economy by developing information technology and communications.

Priority is placed on education as a means of creating a competitive, highly qualified and trilingual labour force (speaking Kinyarwanda, French and English) that is responsive to the needs of the marketplace.

Such a broad strategy will lead to the reduction of rural poverty. Agriculture still employs over 80% of the labour force in Rwanda and accounts for about 33% of GDP, these create a demand for modernising agriculture and make it more productive. The plan for modernisation of

agriculture is therefore vital if some relevant results will be expected from agriculture. Normally, the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA) is a holistic, strategic framework for eradicating poverty through multi-sectoral interventions enabling the people to improve their livelihoods in a sustainable manner. "Eradicating poverty by transforming subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture" It is an outcome-focused set of principles upon which sectoral and inter-sectoral policies and investment plans can be developed at both the central and local Government levels. Furthermore, poverty reduction strategies that focus on agriculture modernisation are the strategies that would be considered pro-poor.

Cooperatives are needed as a strategy for overcoming poverty in rural Rwanda. "Cooperatives are at work in almost every country and economic sector, providing insurance and postal services to its members, a cooperative can play a significant role in fulfilling development objectives." It is generally recognised that cooperatives respond effectively to the ever-changing needs of people. For example, in response to the effects of globalisation, people continue to choose cooperatives to address their needs. In a number of countries, people are starting new cooperative enterprises in such areas as social care and information technology.

Women and youth are also choosing the cooperative form to start enterprises of their own, thus creating new jobs and opportunities. The colonial governments promoted the formation of agricultural marketing cooperatives particularly for cash crops mainly coffee, cotton and tobacco. The Nationalist post-colonial government saw cooperatives as an important vehicle which could be harnessed to spread the benefits of development to a wide section of the Rwandan population. Currently, the cooperative movement is increasingly being promoted by international development organisations as a means for participatory development in Rwanda.

People in rural Rwanda, as a way of coping with poverty, are actually involved in multiple economic activities. An individual will be a teacher but at the same time a farmer. What is important to note here is the fact that almost all people have agriculture as their second economic activity. This is not only because agriculture provides the extra income needed but also because agriculture provides the food that they need for home consumption. If government supports agriculture then many Rwandese will benefit from this worthwhile involvement.

10.3 Models advanced from the study on uplifting the rural poor so as to enable them escape from rural poverty

This is a second section of the chapter about its contribution to existing knowledge. This section also attempts to show the contribution the study makes to new knowledge. It is noted that this study has resulted into a number of lessons learnt from the rural poor; the significant understanding of rural poverty by the rural poor, the definition and perception of rural poverty, causes of rural poverty, and effects of rural poverty and how the rural inhabitants cope with rural poverty.

Basing on all the revelations of this study by participatory approach and focus group discussions, it is now important to advance some new ideas and choices subject for consideration and application by various researchers, policy makers, government agencies, nongovernmental organisations and different stakeholders. This implies that with the right strategies the rural poor can be able to cope better with rural poverty.

The models advanced by the study on uplifting the rural poor and aid them to escape from rural poverty have been discussed in this section and are of three fold;

- (i) *Putting the bottom poor high on the agenda” and the “ours is ours as it is our own” Model*
- (ii) *Bridging social capital and cultural value Model*
- (iii) *The Mbabazize Rurality’ Atitudes Model (2013)*

The models as discussed herein have been built from what other authors have written and also based on what the researcher himself is saying in terms of contributing to new knowledge given the existing theories and models. Some revelations in this section have been presented in form of boxes so as to easily quote and base on a few suggestions and recommendations of what the rural poor feel should be done to them as their own self-initiated ideas. This avoids the commonly behaviors of policy makers who always like superimposing their own ideas (which they applied somewhere else) on to the rural poor even when they cannot be applied in that particular area.

It is the greatest hope of the researcher that this study will greatly contribute to new knowledge about the new realities and new choices for uplifting rural growth among the rural poor households. This is because, the study’s starting point was about the rural poor’s analysis.

It established in this study that the priorities of the rural poor differ by group and context. It is these differences which underscore the importance of participatory analysis by diverse groups of the rural poor so as to advance decentralized actions to fit in their priorities. This study has discovered however, that the rural poor have much in common as they pointed to more widely

applicable policies and practises on which the study was based to advance different appropriate models and theories to help the rural poor have a fulfilling livelihood once adopted. Basing on all the arguments discussed above, the following are the models that have been advanced by the study.

10.3.1 “Putting the bottom poor high on the agenda” and the “ours is ours as it is our own” Model.

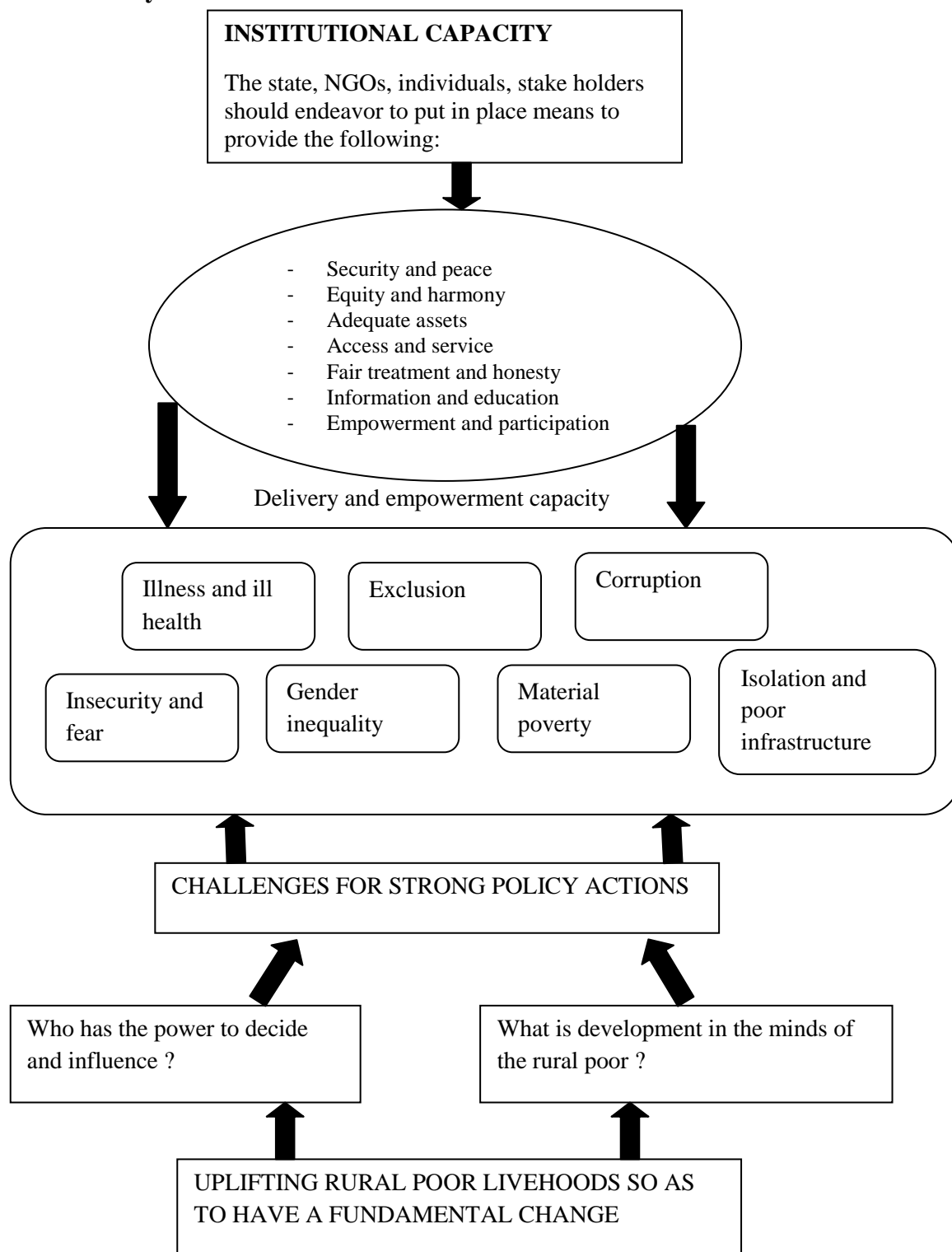
In this model, it is hoped that once the following arguments are adopted, there is likely to be higher chances of rural growth and the rural poor can have an improved lifestyle.

The various participants in both rural Kamanyana and rural Nyabigoma were asked on how they thought could be the right way to improve on their lives so as to cope with the difficulties of rural poverty and at least have an improved lifestyle. It surprising that the rural poor have some good ideas which can surely uplift their living standards in the rural areas once adopted. Their views are presented herein (in various boxes) and many of them advocate for having a possibility of the policy implementers to have the courage to first of all recognize the rural poor’s own suggestions.

This model advances the argument that in order to help the rural poor grow from rural poverty to a somehow better livelihood, the state, the policy makers, the NGO’S, the stakeholders, and individuals must first of all consider what exactly the rural poor need as a priority depending on where they are living. This is because development is relative to the minds of the rural poor and it differs a lot. So it is imperative to put the bottom poor high on the agenda as Chambers (1997), once stated, *“putting the last first.”*

The model attempts to give a voice and priority to the rural poor. It is to enable poor women and men to achieve what they perceive as a better life, achieve basic necessities and underpin efforts to transform the conditions they experience, empowering them with freedom to choose and act. The illustration below of the model shows the multiple dimensions of deprivation which also need multiple interventions on the various challenges of rurality and rural poverty.

Figure 10. 1: Developed model on how the rural poor can be helped to cope up with rural lifestyle



Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

As illustrated above, the model shows that if the responsible organization or policy makers want to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor, they must first of all understand and reflect on how to fight the two most important challenges; thus,

- (a) Who has the power to decide and influence?*
- (b) What is the meaning of development in the minds of the rural poor?*

Now, the model shows that the basic challenges of the rural poor need to be tackled with serious plans of action. These plans of action must rotate around the following areas;

- (i) Lack of material poverty should be counteracted with policies that can help the rural poor access adequate assets.*
- (ii) Isolation and poor infrastructure should be counteracted with programmes that can bring nearer services to the rural poor.*
- (iii) Exclusion should be counteracted with empowerment and participation.*
- (iv) Gender inequality should be minimized with policies that bring up equity and harmony among the rural poor.*
- (v) Illness and ill health should be solved by policies that can lead the rural poor to sensitize the rural poor with relevant information and education.*
- (vi) Corruption which is a very big scourge can be minimized by putting up programmes for commitment to honesty and fair treatment of the rural poor so as to avoid discrimination and segregation.*
- (vii) Insecurity and fear among the rural poor rotates around their other key asset which is land. So policies which can help protect the rural poor's land like giving them the right ownership to the land they have, can lead to peace of mind and security in rural areas.*

10.3.1.1 Build up of the model using reflections from the rural poor

It should be noted that all the above challenges and their respective interventions have been arrived at partly basing on the rural poor's recommendations and the study's own observations and analysis. Because this study was an in-depth inquiry into the nature and lifestyle of the rural poor's living standards using participatory methods, it has been very surprising to find that, the usually neglected poor people in deep rural areas had useful information which was partly borrowed to build up this model.

10.3.1.2 Reflections of the rural poor on Development.

The rural poor in both Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages had good ideas about the meaning of development. To many of the participants, development meant being able to have a change of lifestyle, from a bad way of life to a better way of life. Some described development as a situation of being able to have more than one meal, a situation of starting to use a mattress if you were using a mat and a situation of being able to read if you were initially illiterate.

This means that Reflecting on the experiences of rural poor men and women has driven this study to revisit the meaning of development. What is significant change, and what is good? And which changes and for whom do they matter most? Answers to these questions involve material, physical, social, psychological and spiritual dimensions. Historically many development professionals have given priority to the material aspect of people's lives. Important as this is, the rural poor's views of wellbeing, as we have seen, span wide and varied experiences and meanings. To encompass multiple dimensions of development and to make space for the rural poor' own ideas of development mean working toward wellbeing for all. The bottom poor, in all their diversity, are excluded, impotent, ignored and neglected; the bottom poor are a blind spot in development (Narayan 2000).

In these two villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma, and other places of the Northern Province of Rwanda, their numbers are seen to be increasing, they are often difficult to reach and help. They find it difficult to help themselves. They are not creditworthy. They do not have documents. They are frequently sick. They cannot afford medical treatment. They are chronically short of food. They are exceptionally vulnerable and insecure. If the poor in urban areas can hide from the police because of fear, what about in rural areas? The fear of the police in rural areas is definitely worse. They subsist or die on the fringes of society.

Therefore, a key measure of development becomes the enhanced wellbeing of those who have it least. Defined in their own terms, poor people have shown us how much a small change can mean to those who have very little. The increments in wellbeing would mean much to the poor window in Kamanyana- a full stomach, time for prayer, and a mat to sleep on. These revelations challenged this research study, to change how development should be measured. Development should be based on equity and wellbeing demands giving heavy emphasis to the bottom end of

rural poverty. This therefore argues for a reorientation of development of priorities, practice and thinking. It reinforces the case for making the wellbeing of those who are worse off the cornerstone for policy and practice.

10.3.1.3 Reflections of the rural poor on who owns power.

Differences in power between women and men and between the poor and the non-poor affect opportunities and outcomes in countless interactions. Basing on the various discussion groups in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma villages, it was noticed that the rural poor lack voice and power. They do exercise agency but in very limited spheres of influence. In describing their plight and on this aspect of lack of power, the rural poor in both villages, especially women, often expressed powerlessness vis-à-vis employers, the state and the markets; their inability to get a fair deal; their inability to take a stand against abuse, lying and being cheated; their inability to access market opportunities for their crops.

“To stand up against those on whom you and your family depend is risky and can even be a matter of life and death. At times we have police coming here to interrogate about the existence of rebels, but can’t know even what to tell them”.

-A woman in one of the discussion group of Kamanyana village

“For us here, it is the rich who come from town and tell us what to do, what to decide on which crop to grow next season, when to start preparing our gardens and where to sell our product as at times most of our products are already attached to loans and subsidies we get from the government like, fertilizers, manures. So even when our crops are about to be ready for harvesting, they give some deposit money as if we have sold to them and the balance is given back to us after selling the whole crop to them at the different cooperatives”.

-A woman of Nyabigoma village describing her plight over lack of power to determine what to grow.

In deep rural areas, the voices that count most are those of the powerful and wealthy. It is they who make, influence and implement policy. To make a difference, poor people must be able to make their voices heard in policy and have representation in decision making forums. This change in power relations and behaviour. This organisation of the poor become very important means to changing poor relations. Investing in poor people’s organizations requires shifts of mind-set and orientation among professionals and institutions. The spring examples of champions who serve that the interests of the poor show what individuals can do to ensure that the voices of the

poor are heard and acted upon. Coalitions representing poor people's organisations are needed to ensure that the voices of the poor are heard and reflected in decision making at the village level.

10.3.1.4 Reflections of the rural poor on accessing assets, services and infrastructure.

The rural poor know very well that they lack opportunities to access big loans, they know do not have material assets, and they cannot cope with various shock. They, therefore, cannot raise enough capital to start profitable ventures. In order to avoid isolation and exclusion, coupled with the lack of adequate materials to use, the rural poor in Nyabigoma and Kamanyana had the following views as put in the boxes below.

Boxe 9: Poor people's recommendation for improving Livelihood, assets and employment.

Participants from Nyabigoma Village, had many suggestions for bringing jobs into their areas including rice milling and packaging, Irish potato processing centres sorghum milling plants; and loan schemes for minibuses so that the village can be connected to urban centres more readily. They say that such changes would mean that they might; *"at least be employed as guards, cleaners or moppers."*

"I want to be helped to start business in mat making and other reed handicrafts, and for repair shops for radios, bicycles, shoes, tailoring, motorcycles."

-A woman in group A asserts her views about what she thinks can be able to help her.

" We want to form our own cooperative, our own association as widows; which will be of our own efforts protecting our own rights"

-A widowed woman speaks out from group B

"Offering easy and suitable ways of accessing a bank loan may be could have helped us in this village. I have seven children and 4 of them are now in secondary school. But I can't pay their fees using income from Irish potatoes only. Let the banks give us loans basing on social security as our mortgage. We can loans in groups and our group members can guarantee us just as they do in the Democratic Republic of Congo."

-A Woman in group C suggests to the panel members.

In this environment, the rural poor's livelihood strategies are largely in the informal economy and frequently consist of a patchwork of low-paying, risk-prone and often back-breaking work. The informal sector is cut-throat, fragmented and extremely diverse. In rural economies, poor farmers are often isolated from each other. Membership-based organizations of the poor that build solidarity among informal workers, small farmers and other producers may improve

condition for her poor. By working together, poor people's associations can obtain better prices for goods, buy in bulk, share information, and organize to influence municipal and state regulations affecting vending, public transport and so forth. Examples of people organizing themselves include, self help project groups, farmer's groups, fishermen's groups, tailor's associations, marketing cooperatives and credit associations. The rural poor offer many recommendations specific to their contexts. Many participants felt that economic opportunities have by passed them.

Boxe 10: Poor People's Recommendations for improving Places where they live.

"We don't have roads to the market especially in times when it is raining. Floods from the crater lake up there on mountain Virunga is a very big problem to us. Floods destroy our crops, floods destroy our houses and at times kill our livestock.

-A man in discussion group A

"We do not have what to give the credit sacco in terms of security. So our living is based on patience and prayer. No crop to sell, no money. Some people today have stopped digging as it takes a long time to harvest and sell crops. they have now gone for quick ventures like charcoal burning and brick making.

-Participant, in men discussion group B

"The government started the programme of Ginka Munyarwanda (giving one cow per family).It has helped us but during the dry season, there is a problem of grass and this affects the milk. They tell us to use the cow dung for bios gas for lighting our homes and cooking but the cow dung is so little to ignite the any light or any source of fuel. At least of they could offer us electricity at subsidized prices, or solar power"

-Participant from group C

"If we received government assistance in the areas of water and electricity, it would created a great deal of opportunity for water and electricity, it would have created a great deal of opportunity for us to improve our lives".

-A lame man in group D suggests his view on emancipation

Source: Focus group discussions

While much has been learned about microcredit lending systems, they still do not reach many poor people. Access to credit can be difficult due to collateral requirements, rigid repayment schedules, loan amounts that are too small, and corruption among lenders. Shopkeepers and money lenders, despite their high interest rates, are greatly valued for giving loans for consumption, not for having bothersome procedures, and for allowing payments to be made in kind, including in labour. Poor people often point out that they lack access to capital to start new business ventures. There is a need for venture capital funds for the rural poor.

The rural poor people are frequently disadvantaged in where they live and work and in access to basic services. Often they are geographically isolated in remote rural areas, with roads, transport, telecommunications, lightings, access to information and markets that are inadequate or lacking altogether. Schools, clinics and hospitals are far away and of low quality. Shelter, water, sanitation and fuel are inadequate and unsafe. Many farm families seek livelihoods on marginal lands. Most of them are insecure in their tenure of land and the plots on which they live. And they are exposed to environmental hazards, such as floods, droughts, fires, pollution and epidemics.

These conditions exacerbate rural poverty. It takes the rural poor longer than others, and often very much more energy, to fetch water, wash, find and collect fuel, maintain their shelter, get to market to buy and sell, get information, gain access to government offices, contact friends and relatives, get information, and gain access to governments. Conversely, reliable, convenient and accessible infrastructure reduces time and energy required. Those who benefit are likely to be disproportionately female because of gender responsibilities of running households and, increasingly, meeting household expenses as well. That is why many rural participants concentrated on suggesting a need of improving their physical environment.

10.3.1.5 Reflections of the rural poor on accessing Health services, information, and empowerment

The rural poor have in common the problems of ill-health, hunger and weakness. These greatly lead to “time poverty” as discussed earlier on in this study. The body is a poor person’s main asset. Yet it is those who most need strong bodies for work who are most exposed to sickness and accidents and least able obtain or afford treatment. Illness, injury and death stand out as causes of “time poverty.” Physical incapacities include hunger, weakness, illness, exhaustion and disabilities, and they exacerbate poverty of time and energy. Other incapacities, are lack of information, education, literacy and skills, on the positive side, wellbeing includes health, strength, education and skills, all of which empower people.

In addition to information dissemination through mass media, poor people’s connectivity to each other and to sources of information can be greatly enhanced through access to communication and information technology. Rural information technology centres, cellular telephones and

internet access can change poor people's negotiating power even while deep structural inequities exist.

Box 11: Poor People's recommendations for Health Services, Education and Empowerment

"We go in hospitals, we don't get any doctor. We sit from morning up to evening with no food to eat, and even come back without seeing any doctor. Some people in our village who go to hospital after selling their goats decide to visit private clinics; but in private clinics, I have been told that you pay 5000 Rwanda francs as consultation fee."

-A discussion group of men and women, in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

"It would better if the Government could provide these clinics to rural areas and also allow us to use our traditional healers as doctors in these clinics"

-Discussion group, in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

"Since many of us are farmers, let the government provide us with farmers health insurance, health examination free of charge for poor and elderly people, health care and free family planning services. People also express a need for more sufficient stocks at community health stations."

-A participant in Goup D in Kamanyana village

"Most men in this village have no jobs and get a lot of worries. So to avoid that, men spend most of their time in hidden village corners taking village local brews like ikigage. Should men go home early, they end up beating their wives and children. There is need of sensitising our men to stop beating their wives."

-A participant in Goup C in Nyabigoma village

"Most of our problems in this village can be solved by ourselves. If we could have our own person to be trained and posted back here to work as an agronomist and veterinary doctors, we could catch up with the rest of the villages."

-Discussion group, in Kamanyana and Nyabigoma

"It is good for us to be left free to air out our own views on radio and television programmes. But then you will never see the rural poor on radio discussing our problems and solutions."

-A participant in Goup B in Kamanyana village

Source: Focus group discussions

10.3.1.5 Reflections of the rural poor's achievement to a fundamental Institutional change

In order to have a complete social metamorphosis, the biggest challenge should be on the mindset shifts of the rural poor. The mindset shifts discussed here include all those situations which have led to having great deals of bias of the poor people, living deep in isolated rural areas. It is the study's obligation to point out these areas of total bias, thus;

(i) *Professionals not reaching the real isolated areas.*

(ii) *Mistreatment and not listening to the voices of the poor.*

The first area of mind set shift is directed at the elites like researchers, government policy implementers, development practitioners and all other categories of stakeholders associated with rural community development. It is these groups of individuals who should begin by changing all the negative thinking they have about the rural poor. They make fake reports with impressive figures aimed at attracting attention to their funders and also aimed at executing accountability obligations. This is what was called rural development, tourism as mentioned earlier in this study. When it comes to the real situation on the ground, it is often surprising that they don't know some of the villages they have mentioned in their reports because they did not reach there. Many professionals just move to the trading centres and stay there for very few hours, rush back to town and take up a palatial guest house and start writing reports about the rural people. This research recommends, therefore, that it would be better for the intending parties who wants to uplift rural lifestyle, they need to get some time and stay with the real isolated poor people.

The second area of concern which requires a complete shift in mindset is that of mistreating the rural poor. It was reported by various participants in this study that, officials from the district, hospital officials, bank officials and agricultural extension officials are all not receptive. This implies that the rural poor are always not motivated to visit these institutions for any service they require. The officials on the other hand are all biased with the thinking that the rural poor do not understand; they are dirty and insensitive to new ideas. Poor people are often badly treated by officials, by services providers, particularly those of the state, and by traders, with behaviour that is crushing, cruel, humiliating, taunting, angering and frustrating. Corrupt and bad behaviour comes in many guises, even in the extreme forms of violence, imprisonment and extortion. Pervasively poor people report rudeness, arrogance, insensitivity and lack of respect from those in authority. Together these deter poor people from contact with outsiders and in seeking services. Institutional design efforts must include defining the character, qualities and the behavior desired of all those who are affiliated with the institutions.

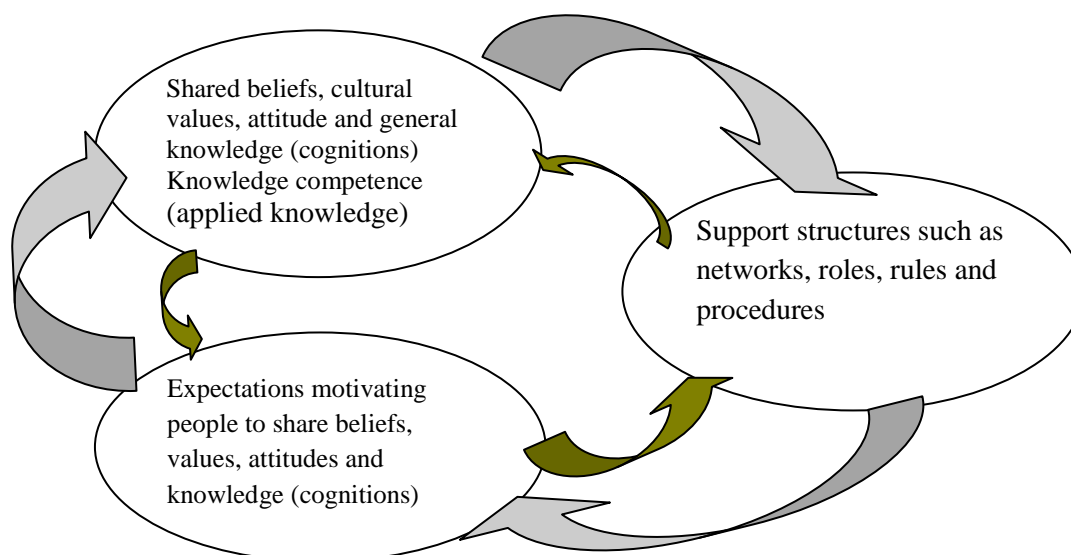
What the poor people want are staff who are accessible, who listen, and who are patient, polite, sensitive and committed. They indicate the huge difference it means to be treated with respect, not to be kept waiting longer than others and not to be looked down on because of old clothes

and a shabby appearance. A little additional cost, the wellbeing of poor people can be dramatically improved by changes in service providers' attitudes and behavior. An attitude of service, respect and caring even when help is not available is profoundly appreciated (Narayan, 2002)

10.3.2 *Bonding and bridging social capital and cultural value model*

Social capital is a cultural interface that can promote development. The concept of social capital has become increasingly central in development literature (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The strength of social capital as a construct for understanding development lies in its interpersonal or inter-group character. This is also the character that qualifies it to be treated as an interface. In this study, social capital is taken as the coming together of compatible institutions.

Figure 10. 2: Conceptual definition of social capital



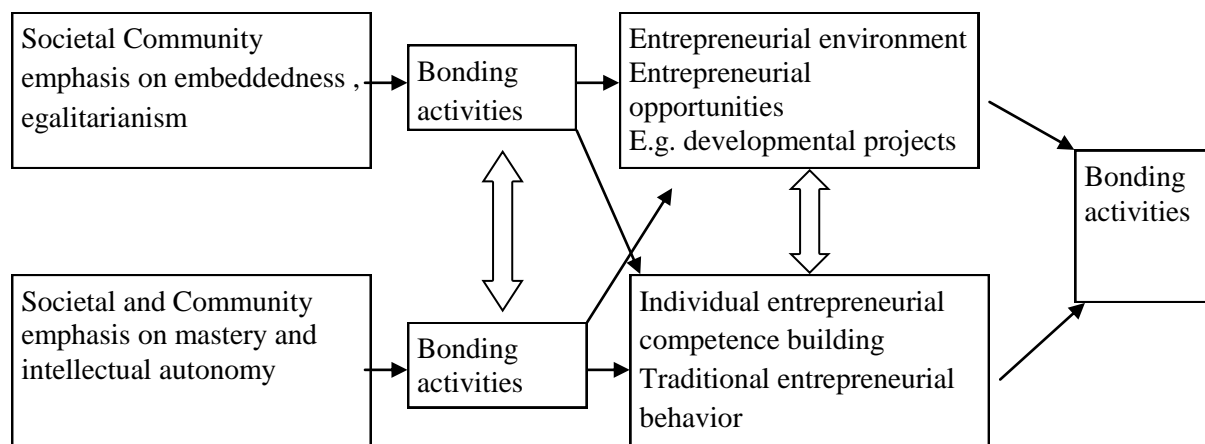
Source: *Munene. J.C et al (2005) Escaping from Behavioural poverty in Uganda*

Putnam, et al (1993) identify two mechanisms of social, namely bonding and bridging refers to the activity of connecting an identifiable actor such as networks, communities and individuals to other actors. Through bridging activities, groups and communities obtain skills, information, and other resources they need to overcome their own shortage of resources, shortages that prevent them from developing and progressing in the directions they desire (Temki& Rohe, 1998). Bridging can link networks in the same community. It is even more critical, however, for linking networks that are more distant and therefore have little contact (Granovetter, 1973). Bonding

refers to the commitments individuals or groups make to one another, commitments that lead to voluntarily helping acquaintances or the community. Bonding is grounded in trust and reciprocity. On the other hand, different cultural value orientation underline rationalism of the two mechanism of social capital. Cultural embeddedness can serve as the grounding for bonding expressed in close attachment to other members of one's community. In societies whose culture emphasise, embeddedness values (for instance forgiving, security, social order, reciprocation of favours), solidarity with others in the community, trust and tolerance of in-group members are normal states of affairs. It is crucial for people to get along smoothly and to maintain stable relationships within their group.

The figure below indicates the role social capital plays in development. It also proposes that bonding and bridging mechanisms are both grounded in cultural values. This study draws upon the seven cultural values orientation in the Schwartz (1999, 2004) model.

Figure 10. 3: Culture, social and development



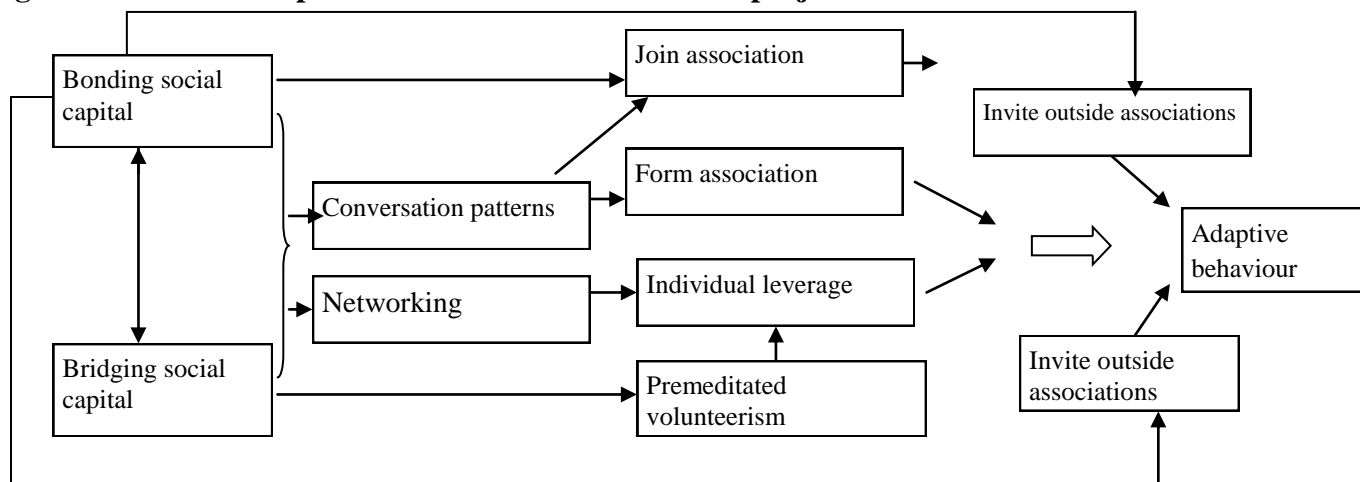
Source: Source: *Munene. J.C et al (2005) Escaping from Behavioural poverty in Uganda.*

Other cultural values may also underline and affect the development of social capital, the figure indicates that bonding and bridging must come together in order to create the environment necessary for projects to be set up well and for individuals to take advantage of these projects.

As seen from the above figure, culture plays a very important role in the development of rural areas. Marris (1968) describes how extended families in North Africa are parasites on the entrepreneur, thereby preventing entrepreneurship. Many poor rural entrepreneurs who come with

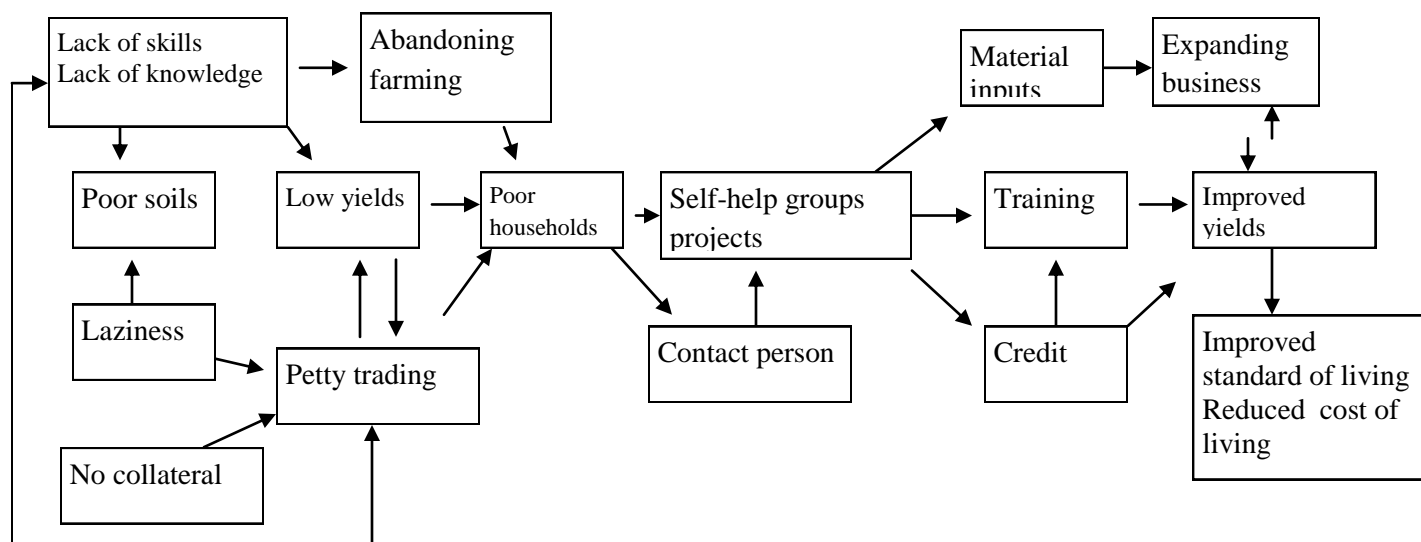
some small idea of setting up a business, they are faced with this kind of problem and the businesses don't last long before they close.

Figure 10. 4: Social capital causal-event network in the projects.



Source: Munene. J.C et al (2005) *Escaping from Behavioural poverty in Uganda*

Figure 10. 5: Event –Causal Network from Narratives



Source: Munene. J.C et al (2005) *Escaping from Behavioural poverty in Uganda*

10.3.3 The Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes, Aptitudes and Altitudes Model (2013)

The Mbabazize Rurality' attitudes model (2013) is promulgated from the rural poverty experiential learning by Mbabazi Mbabazize, (*the main researcher in this study*), which he passed through during his long stay with the poorest of the rural poor in the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma of Rwanda's Northern province, Burera district and Musanze district respectively. This study involved its research assistants in rural poverty immersions and participatory appraisals. This provided opportunities from open ended learning from the rural poor people who took part on behalf of hundreds of others who live like them.

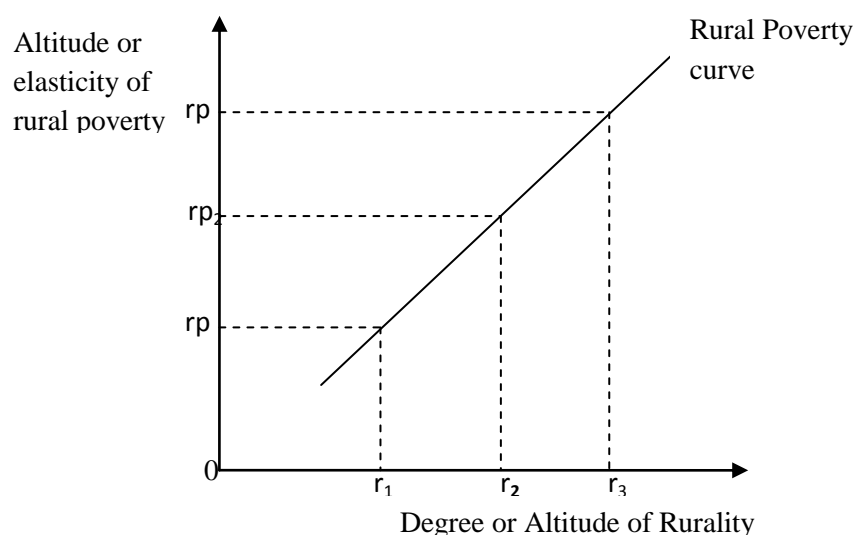
This study eventually brought up a potential of having a direct experiential learning by listening to the voices of the poor as they cry out for change and hope. The demands and ways for having hope and change command a lot of commitment. It is from this commitment and experiential learning from the rural dwellers, that new knowledge here-in explained is being forwarded to contribute to existing knowledge as put forward by this new model; *the Rurality attitudes model*.

The *Rurality attitudes model* attempts to explain the vision, courage and will which this study managed to lead the researcher to as many participants who wondered and feared whether anything they said would make a difference in their lives.

The *Rurality attitudes model* is built from the idea that it's our attitude not aptitude that determines our altitude of poverty, riches and success. The beginning point in this theory is about the attitude, role of fear and worries as being majorly responsible for poverty mostly common with the rural people. As the study's key theme was about the need to discover more about the relationship between rurality and rural poverty, it is straight on the wall that, the more the rural people migrate further and further in deep rural areas, the more the degree or altitude of rural poverty.

This means that, the deeper the village, the higher the degree of rural poverty. If the place is so far away from the main trading or urban centres, the more the altitude of rural poverty. The graph illustrated below shows this relationship of rurality and rural poverty.

Figure 10. 6: The Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes model. A graphical exposition of rurality and rural poverty



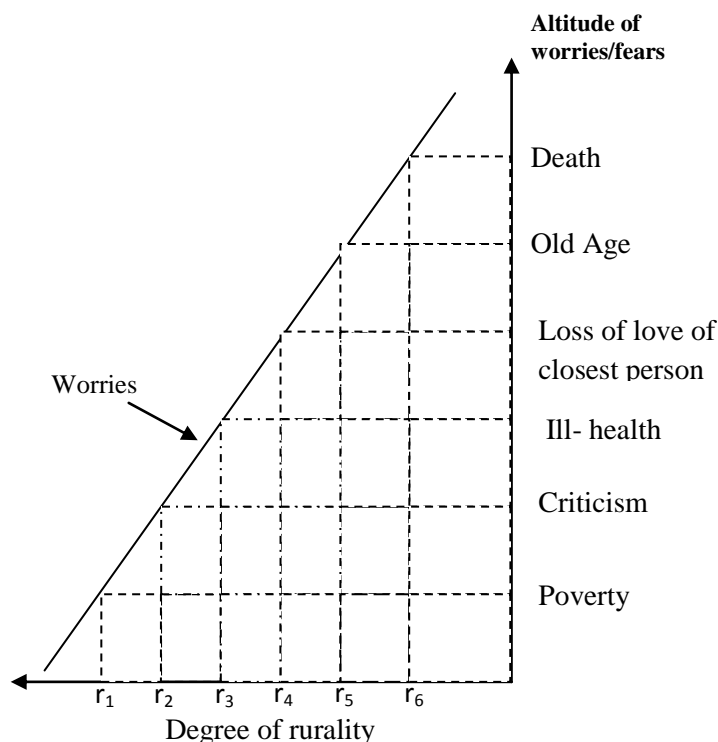
Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

The altitude of rurality and rural poverty can be superimposed on the altitude of the basic fears of the rural poor. Basing on the findings of this study, it was found out that, the rural poor have got common fears in both the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma. The basic fears include poverty itself, ill health, non-recognition and criticism, loss of relatives, old age, and death. These fears occupy much of their worries and predetermine their future so much. This is partly why the rural poor, keep on shifting from one village to another distant village in search of arable land for cultivation.

The rural poor are mostly always worried of the little pieces of land they own and their minds are always preoccupied with what land they will be able to leave to their children in case they were to die. Even the children and grandchildren of the rural poor are also brought up with that type of attitude and this passes on from generation to generation.

If these basic worries and fears of the rural poor people are illustrated on a graph against the altitude or extent of rurality, this is what can be exposed.

Figure 10. 7: The Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes Model. A graphical exposition of rural fears and the degree or altitude of rurality



Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

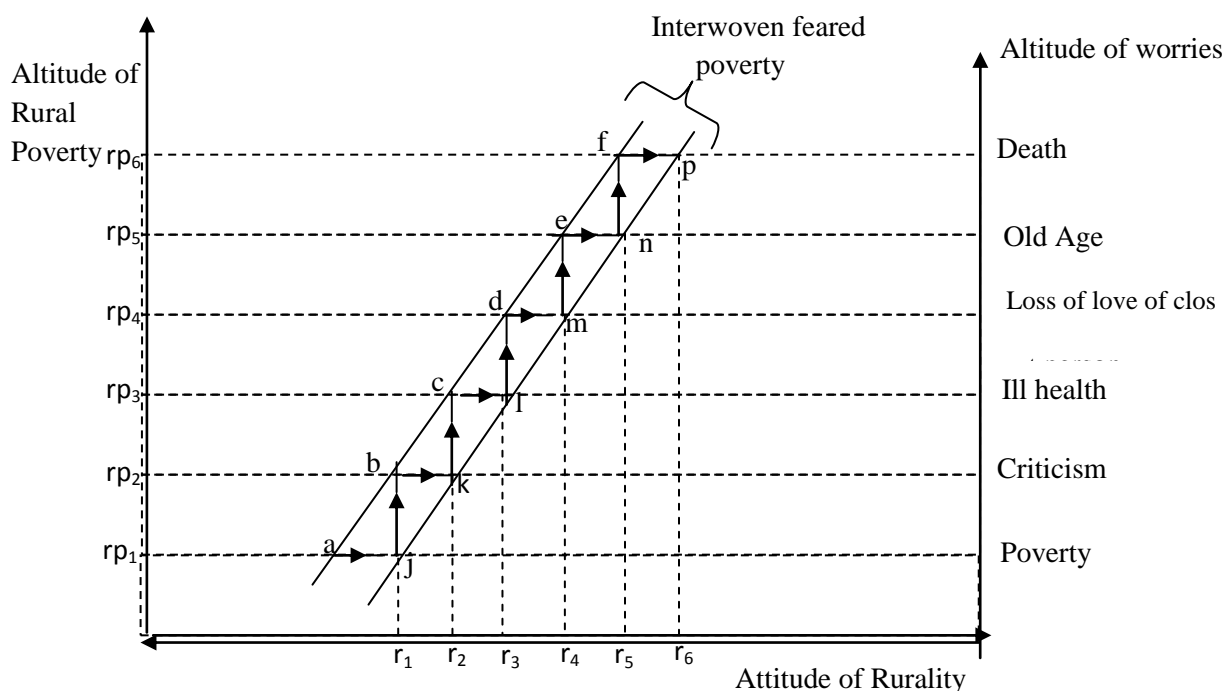
And then if the above curve is **flipped** and **superimposed** on the rural poverty curve, we find that the “*worries curve*” will be having almost the same slope with the “*rural poverty curve*” along the same rising axed angles as shown below.

The curve below shows that, as the rural poor tries to rise from any difficulty like the ones on the right hand side of the curve (poverty, criticism, old age and ill health), he or she is brought back to square one, for example, if the rural poor tries to rise from poverty, the fear of attitude and criticism will hold him or her back to be on the same axis again and again.

We flip and superimpose because this lets us see, in one graph, how rurality, rural poverty, fear of worries and attitudes affect one another. As long as the altitude of rurality (place effect) remains high, rural poverty will always increase. The increase of rural poverty from rp_1 , rp_2 ,..... to rp_6 , leads to the same level of increase in rurality from r_1 , r_2 ,.....to r_6 as shown above.

If place of an area does not develop or change in terms of complete institutional (infrastructure) capacity then rurality and rural poverty will always grow simultaneously together or go hand in hand.

Figure 10. 8: The Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes Model: Showing interwoven feared poverty



Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

The curve marked “a” to “f” represents the rural poverty curve while the curve marked “j” to “p” represents the feared worries curve. This implies that the fears and worries are the major causes of rural poverty and they go hand in hand as they hold to each other even when an individual attempts to escape from one fear by rising higher, the successive worry will hold him or her as long as that person is living in the rural areas.

As illustrated above, we see that the altitudes of worries and fears of the rural poor are more or less synonymous with the altitude or degree of rural poverty and rurality. When we start moving from the left hand side of the above graph horizontally, the fears of the rural poor seem to be reducing but then the degree or altitude of rurality is increasing and interwoven with the altitude or degree of rural poverty. For example, at point K, the fear of poverty is at the base of the rural

poor's lifestyle and moving along the curve marked *worries*; points *k,l,m,n, p,q* are synonymous with higher increases in the degree of rural poverty. This means that as the fears of the rural poor increase by changing from criticism to ill-health and then to old age and death, so does the chance that the individual starts living like a typical rural person with all the traits of ruralism. This is what was referred to as rurality in this study.

So rurality itself is living a kind of life which is so fearful, traditional, so primitive and with no hope for the future. A mere fact that someone in the village is fearing to reach (old age, death, ill-health and criticism) before preparing something which he or she will leave to his or her children and grandchildren, this will force him to look for a new arable land, deep in the village far away from urban centers. These fears and worries preoccupy the minds of the rural poor and their attitudes drastically change to always start thinking in a rural way. This study termed it as “**rural reasoning**” or they acquire a faculty of “*rural thinking*” all the time. On the fear of criticism, exclusion and isolation, the rural poor tend to move deeper and deeper in the villages so as to avoid criticisms and non-recognition. Even in church or social functions like weddings and other related marriage ceremonies, the rural poor in both the villages of Kamanyana and Nyabigoma, were observed by this study as always fearing to take front seats as they have an attitude that the front sits are always reserved for the urban rich or urban poor.

It is this kind of attitude which is partly responsible for the rigid mindsets of the rural poor people. The center of these worries is interconnected with an interwoven related situation (a gap) from points *k,l,m,n,o,p,q* along worries as superimposed to the other opposite points of *a,b,c,d,e,f,g*; the interwoven gaps are the ones which have been referred to as the “*Mbabazize Rurality Attitudes and Aptitudes' curve*” or the interwoven feared poverty curve. Therefore, in most cases, it is the attitude and not the aptitude that determines our altitude of success; our altitude of escaping from rural poverty to live a fulfilling livelihood.

The *Mbabazize Rurality Attitudes Model* is laying a foundation of great importance of new knowledge to existing knowledge by exposing the reasons as to why- someone cannot understand why rural poor people or urban poor people appear to be “lucky” while others of equal or greater ability, training, experience, and brain capacity, seem destined to ride with misfortune.

Nevertheless, as stated earlier in this thesis, even a well-known verse in the book of Ecclesiastes (KJV, Bible) gives a natural critique that whether one is hard working or lazy and living in a

rural area, he or she may one day be well off due to attitude, chance, luck, time and fate. The verse by King Solomon states that;

“I returned and saw under the sun that the race is not swift nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill, but time and chance happens to them all.”

The highly celebrated Icon, George Orwell (1946) moderated the above version into modern English with a neutral critique; that,

“Objective considerations of contemporary phenomena compel the conclusion that success or failure in competitive activities exhibits no tendency to be commensurate with innate capacity, but that a considerable element of the unpredictable be taken into account.”

This statement may be explained by the fact that every human being has the ability to completely control his own mind and admit only impulses of his own choice. This is all rotating around our attitude and not aptitudes.

Building from his classic 1937 theory on the basic fears of life, Napoleon Hill (1937) in his book, *“Think and grow rich”*, also supports this argument of the same six most haunting ghosts of fear among human beings: fear of poverty, fear of criticism, fear of ill-health, fear of loss of love, fear of old age and the fear of death. The basic haunting ghosts of fear which have many people not to be well-off, not to be successful and remain in poverty, according to Napoleon Hill are illustrated in form of a pyramid as shown below;



Source: Napoleon Hill (1937), *Think and Grow Rich*

The fear of poverty

According to Napoleon Hill (1937), there can be no compromise between poverty and riches (financial, spiritual, mental and material estates); the two roads that can lead to material riches travel in opposite directions. One who wants riches, must refuse to accept any circumstance that

leads towards poverty. The starting point that leads to riches or well-being is desire and attitude. The fear of poverty destroys ones chances of achievement in any undertaking. It paralyses the faculty of reason, destroys the faculty of imagination, kills off self-reliance and discourages initiatives.

The fear of criticism

This fear has effects which are fatal to personal achievement, mainly because this fear destroys individual initiatives, discourages the use of imagination and ambition. It leads to mental and physical laziness, lack of self-assertion, slowness in reaching decisions and being too easily influenced.

The fear of ill-health, old age and death

These three fears are almost related and do influence man's daily life at once. One fear leads closely to the other as they all lead to thinking of the "*terrible worlds*" which man does not know. In rural areas, the rural poor have been brought up and taught discomforting stories about health, old age and death. They have lots of imaginations that affect their daily thinking. And in general, man fears ill health because of the terrible picture which has been planted in his mind of what may happen if death should overtake him. Man fears it because of the economic toll which it may claim on his future off springs when he or she is away. The fear of death brings up all the terrible pictures about poverty especially when men start getting worried of who will be able to look after them in old age. This partly explains why men marry young ladies in their old age and resume producing children. According to Napoleon Hill, the fear of death, ill health and loss of love of someone, is more prevalent among the aged, but sometimes, the youthful are victims of it. It is therefore clear that the fear of death is closely associated with the fear of poverty, where one's death would leave loved ones poverty stricken. At the same time, the fear of death is caused by illness and the consequent breaking down of physical body resistance.

Other major causes of the fear of death are: ill-health, poverty, and disappointment over love, lack of occupation and religious fanaticism. In urban areas, lack of occupation can easily lead to the fear of death and early death.

For example, when civil servants or Professors retire early, there are high chances of early death due to lack of occupation which can make their minds busy. In 2011, the renowned premier league Manager of Manchester United football club; Sir Alex Ferguson was to retire at the age of 69 years, but he ended up postponing his retirement for fear of early death (www.telegraph.co.uk Sport › Football › Teams › Manchester United Apr 5, 2011).

When he was put in a tight corner by journalists as to why he had postponed his retirement, he answered that he felt that should he retire early, he will have nothing to do, be bored in life and die early just as his father who died only after one year in retirement. He said that he had seen this happen to his own father dying as soon as he had retired. Ferguson maintained that his health would be the central factor in any decision on his managerial future.

“My father retired on his 65th birthday and one year later, he was dead,” “The worst thing you can do is put on your slippers. People say things like, ‘I’ve worked for 45 years, I have the right to rest’. Not at all, you have to keep yourself active and in good shape. First of all, it will be my health which determines my situation. I will continue as long as I have the energy that I have enjoyed throughout my life.

Ferguson, who was to turn 70 in December, 2011, completely confirms this assertion in the current times.

10.3.3.1: Fighting rural poverty: An exposition and recommendation by The Mbabazize Rurality Attitudes Model.

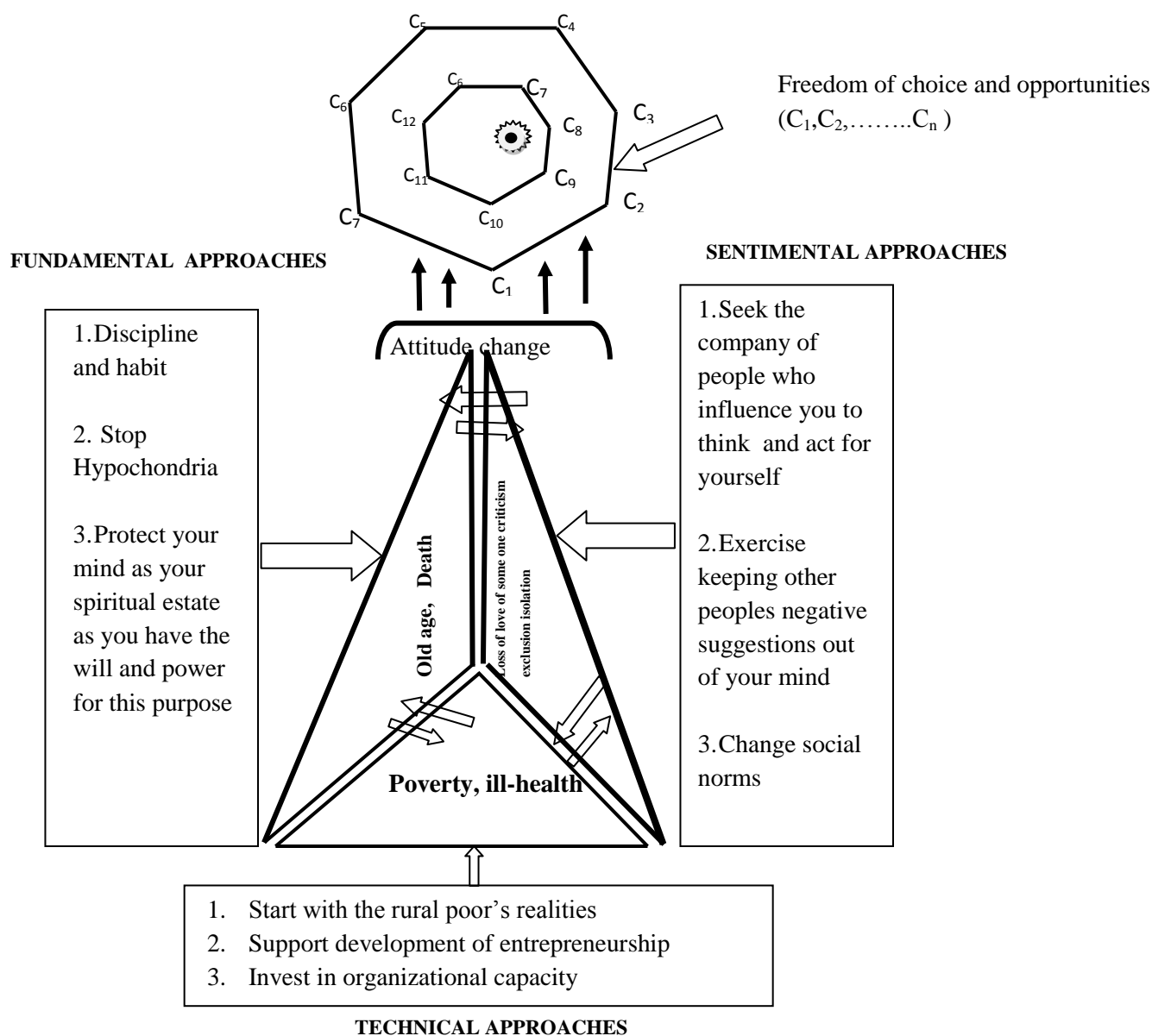
From the discussions above, it is imperative that this study puts across the best suitable recommendations which were arrived at basing on the research findings on the livelihoods, attitudes and fears of the rural people as were discussed in chapter five, six and eight. This study came up with options of fighting rural poverty as far as the role of attitude and aptitudes are concerned as per this model which if adopted, the rural poor can have a wide range of choices and opportunities. This model identified three forms of analytical tools that can be applied on the six basic fears (*poverty, ill health, old age, death, loss of love and criticism*) of the rural people.

The analytical tools are in three fold;

- (i) *Fundamental approaches to tackle the fear of poverty and ill health.*
- (ii) *Technical approaches to tackle the fear of old age and death.*
- (iv) *Sentiment approaches to tackle the fear of loss of love of someone and the fear of criticism.*

These approaches are targeted on the fears of poverty which were grouped into two on a pyramid of worries as illustrated on the figure below.

Figure 10. 9: Fighting rural poverty: An exposition and recommendation by The Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes Model.



Source : *The Mbabazize rurality attitudes model (2013)*

As illustrated above, the first step is to seek the technical approaches which should involve extending the following services to the rural poor.

Technical approaches include:

- *Starting up with the rural poor realities like health protection and poverty diagnosis.*

- *Investing in the organisational capacity of the rural poor like implementing community driven approaches and partnership with civil society groups.*
- *Supporting the development of rural entrepreneurs like enabling them to them the agricultural loans based on social security.*

The fundamental approaches would involve the following aspects:

- *Self-evaluation on discipline and habit.*
- *Stopping hypochondria. Hypochondria is a medical term for imaginary disease. The habit of talking of illness, concentrating the mind upon diseases must stop.*
- *The greatest of all remedies for the fear of death is having a burning desire for achievement, backed by the useful service to others. Retirement is as deadly as it leads to idleness of the mind and quick death. If possible man should always delay retirement especially if it is likely to lead him to redundancy.*
- *Protecting the mind as important spiritual estates since everybody has the will power for this purpose*

The sentimental approaches include the following:

- *Seeking the company of people who influence you to think and act for yourself.*
- *Changing social norms. Like changing the mindset, power of the personal combined with the power of the institutional action.*
- *Keeping your minds closed against all people who discourage you all the way like pessimists, relatives, society.*

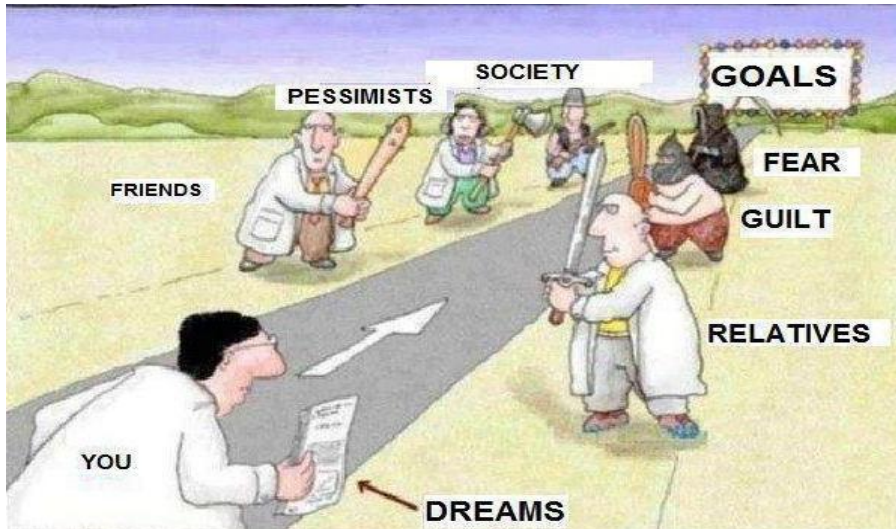
In the rural society, when it comes to institutional change, attitude change and mindset change, serious actions and commitment are paramount. A norm is a shared expectation of behavior that connotes what is considered desirable and appropriate (Marshall 1994)

The rural poor's interactions with society like landlords, traders, local government officials at village level, the police, health workers and family members are governed by the social norms but not the laws of the land. These social norms dictate who has what value in each interaction and this is the root cause of the fear of criticism, love disappointment, exclusion and isolation.

Therefore changed social norms can lead to sustained change in behaviour. Change in social norms means changing mindsets, combining the power of the individual and the power of the institution, and facing up to pervasive gender inequalities.

Below is an artistic impression of what attitude and determination can be able to lead someone to achieve his goals and be able to succeed in life and escape from rural poverty as caused by the influence of fear, guilt, relatives, friends, pessimists and society.

Figure 10. 10: Artistic Impression of Attitude and Aptitude as the major blockades to succeed



Source: *Researchers own impression (2013)*

As seen from the above figure, attitude of one's self plays a very important role in achieving his or her goals. It is one's attitude that can be able to give him or her inside power to achieve the goals ahead. Whereas along the way someone aspiring to achieve more dreams is blocked by such blockades like, relatives, guilt, pessimists, friends, society and the role of inside fear, it is important to note that if one's attitude is oriented to counteracting the various blockades along the way, there is nothing else that can stop someone from fulfilling his or her goals.

To note however also is that as shown from the above artistic diagram, inborn fear among the human race is the greatest blockade as it is even in bold black on the right edge of one's path towards a goal. Marris(1968) describes how extended families in North Africa are parasites on the entrepreneur, thereby preventing entrepreneurship. Many rural poor entrepreneurs who come with some small idea of setting up a business are faced with this kind of problem and their businesses do not last long before they close.

10.3.3.2 The importance of Attitude: An Algebraic exposition of the Mbabazize Rurality' Attitudes Model.

If; A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
 Is equal to;
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
 Then,

$$H+A+R+D+W+O+R+K ;$$

$$8+1+18+4+23+15+18+11=98\%$$

$$K+N+O+W+L+E+D+G+E ;$$

$$11+14+15+23+12+5+4+7+5=96\%$$

$$L+O+V+E;$$

$$12+15+22+5 = 54\%$$

$$L+U+C+K ;$$

$$12+21+3+11 =47\%$$

Interestingly, none of these makes 100%. Then what makes 100%???

Is it EDUCATION? NO!!! EMPLOYMENT, BUSINEESS, INHERITANCE, BEING BORN EARLY? NO!!!!

It is ATTITUDE: Attitude can make 100%

$$A+T+T+I+T+U+D+E;$$

$$1+20+20+9+20+21+4+5 = 100\%$$

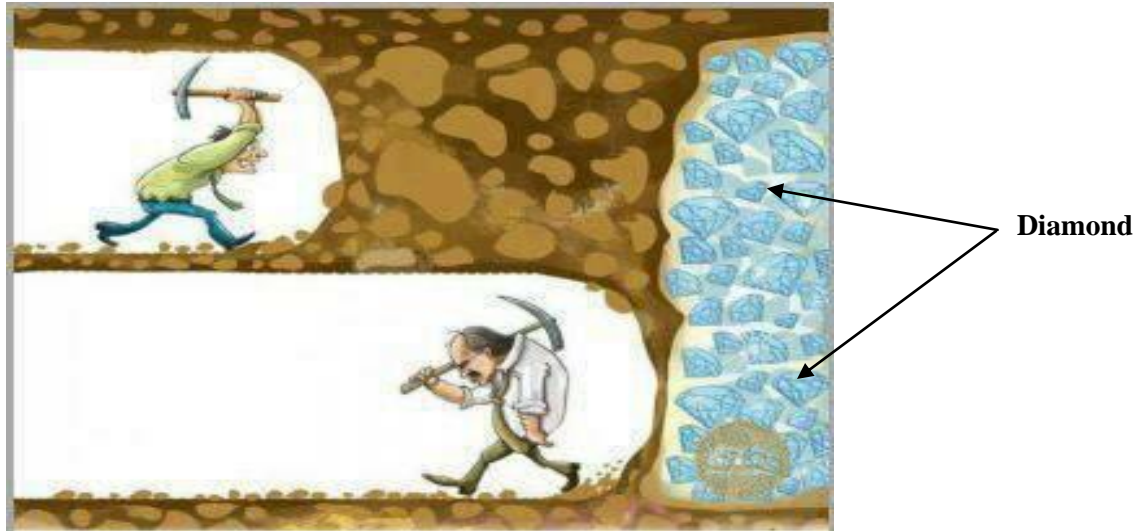
Therefore our very own ATTITUDE towards Life primarily determines how successful we can ever be. It is our attitude not aptitude that determines our altitude.

10.3.3.3 AH... There is no Diamond (riches) here.

The below figure shows how one never knows how close he or she is, so never give up on your dreams. The man in the first part of the chart shows that he is determined to dig diamond and he is using all his energy to succeed and get the usually desired diamond for riches in a life time.

But with time, it seems he lost the attitude and determination to continue digging. He ends up giving up without knowing that he was so close to getting it and become rich. He gave up and declared it in his minds that, ah there is no diamond “riches” here; and yet surely, he was about to fall into the real reaches had he not given up.

Figure 10. 11: Showing how close one may be but ends up giving up his dreams



Source : Researchers own impression (2013)

10.4 Conclusion of the Model

Calvin Coolidge, the 30th President of the US once commented thus “nothing in this world can take the place of persistence. Talent will not; nothing is more common than unsuccessful people with talent. Genius will not; unrewarded genius is almost a proverb. The slogan “*press on*” has solved and always will solve the problems of the human race. Connected to Calvin’s view is the fact that the common denominator of human beings is the desire and will to be successful, be rich or a little well off and move away from poor standards of living.

Amidst all these life struggles to reach the top, the puzzle remains – how and why do some people realise their dreams and others fail? Some attribute success to luck, others think it is education, yet a cross-section believe it is hard work, another school of thought believes it is working smart that leads to success, and being well off! It is from this puzzle of life to successfulness that this model was developed. Human pathologists believe that although there is no one sure way to success, there are a number of traits that all successful people possess. These are; the first factor that will determine success is what one thinks about most of the time. It is believed that all successful people think about what they want to achieve most of time. This is the biggest difference between successful people and ordinary ones. So it is imperative to narrow ones energies in life and focus on what one want to achieve.

The second critical success factor is to know what you want. Successful people know exactly what they want in life and work towards it. The third critical success factor that will determine ones success is the passion and desire. Without the passion one will never create the burning desire that will push him or her into taking massive and consistent actions.

Successful people are willing to do whatever it takes because they have the burning desire and passion to keep them going. Taking action is another critical success factor that will determine one's success. If one is not trying anything, it is hard to achieve anything, you need to take action to produce the results you want in your life –do what you can, with what you have, and with where you are, success never comes automatically. Another, critical success factor is the knowledge base. You must commit to constant learning and never ending self-improvement. One must spend an hour to read any related book in his or her field to acquire and expand his or her knowledge base. One stops growing, the moment he or she stop reading and leaning!

The company of people you keep also determines what and who you become; the old saying that iron sharpens iron holds a lot of water in this regard. Keep away from the people who belittle your ambitions and tell you it is impossible. Samuel Glover (1987) once lamented “*the world would stop if things were run by men who say, it can't happen*”.

Richard Nixon- the former US President once mused that “*A man is not finished when he is defeated. He is finished when he quits.*”

Nobody and nothing should keep you down unless you decide not to rise again. Margret Thatcher understood the essence of resilience and persistence in life when she said that you may have to fight a battle more than once to win it! Similarly, successful people believe there are no hopeless situations; it is only people who grow hopeless about situations. The book of Proverbs (29:18) tells us that where there is no vision people perish; if you are to succeed you must bear a vision of your life.

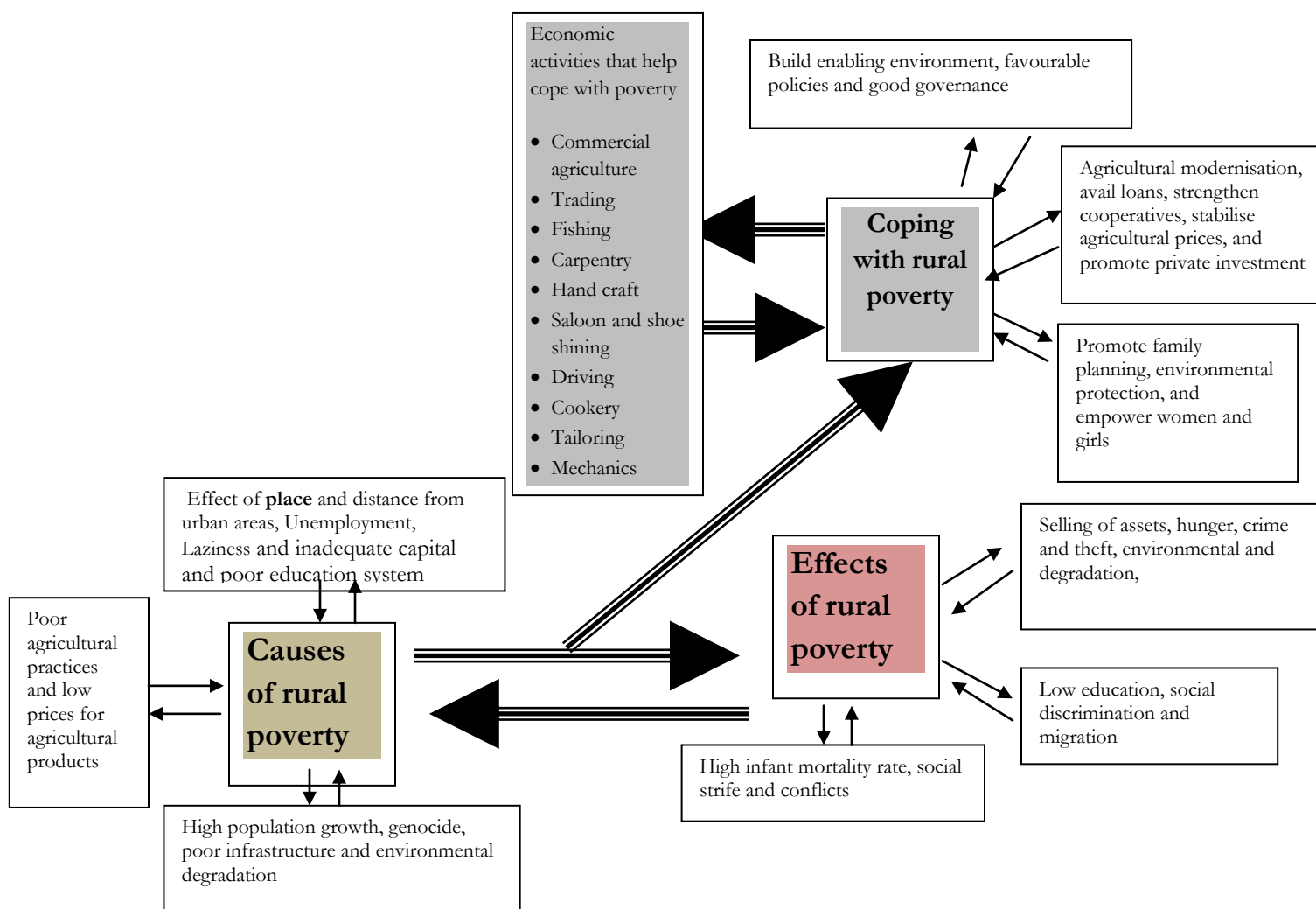
CHAPTER ELEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

11.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of the study and gives general conclusions to the study. In this chapter the researcher focuses on all the findings of the study and development of general conclusions.

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a quick understanding about what the whole study was about, and the conclusions reached. It is worth noting that the whole study was based on the following theoretical frame work.

Figure 10. 12: Summary of the Theoretical Framework of the Study



Source: *Researcher's own impression (2013)*

The figure above shows a summary of the framework that examines the relationship between rurality and rural poverty. The causes of rural poverty and the effects of rural poverty have been the key variables of the study. We realise that there may be no effects of poverty if there are no causes of poverty. The coping strategies in the figure look at how to overcome causes of rural poverty so that the effects of rural poverty will not arise. It is also worthy, noting that there are several causes of poverty which include; unemployment, laziness of the poor, inadequate capital, poor education system, high population growth, the genocide (like the one of 1994), poor infrastructure, environmental degradation, poor agricultural practices and low prices for agricultural products.

These causes of poverty lead to selling of assets, hunger, crime and theft, environmental degradation, low education, social discrimination, migration, high infant mortality rate, social strife and conflicts. It can be explained that these effects of poverty are a result of the causes of poverty already looked at above. Note that these are directly related to the causes of poverty.

The figure above further shows that the poor are coping with rural poverty. The strategies include; building an enabling political and economical environment, formulation of favorable policies that support of poverty eradication, good governance, agricultural modernisation, availability of loans, strengthening of cooperatives, stabilisation of agricultural prices, promotion of private investment, promotion of family planning, environmental protection, and empowering women and girls.

In coping with rural poverty, the poor have some economic activities that they can engage in. These include; Commercial agriculture, trading, fishing, carpentry, handcraft, salon and shoe shining, driving, cookery, tailoring, mechanics, local brewing, witchcraft, practising traditional medicine, and bee keeping. Basing on the fact that the rural poor are deep in the rural areas yet entangled in poverty, these economic activities end up being practised even when the rural poor do not wish to practice them. In one way or another, these related rural strategies have helped the rural poor have a fulfilling livelihood in their won localities.

According to the Poverty-Conservation Linkages by Dilys Roe and Joanna Elliott (2005), Poverty reduction is one of the international imperatives of the new millennium y stressed by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development. Most recently, it was echoed at the 2005 UN World Summit. The poverty

reduction ambitions that have been articulated, while often simply restating development goals that have been set (and missed) over the last 30 years, are unusual in that they now have an unprecedented level of international commitment. As a consequence, all sectors of society are urged to contribute to their achievement. Conservation agencies find themselves among the many organisations struggling to determine how their work could – or indeed whether it should – fit into this international effort. They also observed a relationship between the causes of poverty and effects of poverty. They noted that there would be no effects of poverty without causes of poverty. The relationship between the causes and effects of poverty was also observed by the research for social and economic development organisation. They note that several issues like hunger, illness and thirst are both causes and effects of poverty - for instance: not having water means you are poor, but being poor also means you cannot afford water or food. <http://www.poverties.org/effects-of-poverty.html#sthash.LIWULHtP.dpbs>.

11.2 Summary of arguments

On the purpose of establishing how the rural inhabitants perceived and defined poverty, it was concluded that the rural inhabitants from both Nyabigoma and Kamanyana had a correct understanding and perceptions on poverty. Some rural respondents viewed poverty in the same way the international community viewed it. The rural poor inhabitants understand that if they do not have access to all basic needs they are described as poor.

The perceptions of the rural poor were clearly in line with the perception of the UN on poverty which states that: “Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and cloth a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation” (UN Statement, June 1998 –signed by the heads of all UN agencies)

On the causes of poverty, it can be concluded that all the respondents and the rural inhabitants appreciate that the main cause of rural poverty is laziness and people not working hard to combat poverty and poor lifestyles or poor habit in line with their attitude to life. Many people fail in life not because of lack of ability or brains or even courage but simply because they have never

organised all their energies around a goal (Elbert Hubbard 1904). Respondents agree that if they work hard, they would be able to overcome poverty by overcoming the causes of poverty.

On the effects of poverty, it can be concluded that, failure to deal with the causes of rural poverty can lead to extreme poverty and the effects of poverty will come in. The renowned South African Archbishop, Desmond Tutu (1999) argued that if we hope to have peace, we must first of all commit ourselves to defeat poverty in our communities. Respondents understand that certain situations are attributed to rural poverty and can best be defined as effects of rural poverty. It can also be concluded that, the, effects of rural poverty can be avoided if the right strategies are designed to overcome poverty.

On the coping strategies it can be concluded that the rural poor are actively working hard and trying to overcome poverty. The rural poor have developed and adopted different strategies including multi-tasking to cope with poverty. It can further be concluded that with the support of other stakeholders like the government and NGOs, the rural poor will have the opportunity of overcoming poverty. If the government can invest in agriculture which is the highest employer and is also an economic activity that all the respondents are engaged in, directly or indirectly, then through agriculture, the rural poor can be able to cope with poverty.

11.3 Conclusions

The researcher, basing on the study findings, concludes that if rural poverty is to be reduced, the following stakeholders have to work hand in hand.

It is within the means of Government to engage in massive work towards modernising agriculture. From the study, we clearly see that agriculture employs over 80% of the entire Rwandan population and so modernising it would be the best option towards eradication of rural poverty.

More so, it is important to create credit opportunities. The available opportunities are selective and carry high interest rates that do not favour the rural poor. Providing loans or credit to help the rural poor will, as a result, increase investment and will help the rural poor to eradicate their own poverty.

It is also important to encourage the rural poor to participate in developmental projects such that they earn more and provide the basic necessities for themselves and their families.

The government also should sensitise the rural inhabitants on family planning and contraceptive use. This will help the rural poor have manageable families. As a result the low incomes by the

rural poor will be sustainable. Sexuality education among the youth will further instill the spirit of small families into the youth when they are still young.

According to studies, the current percentage of women using modern contraceptives increased from 10% in 2006 to 27% (mini DHS 2007/8) exceeding the target of 25% in 2008. This was further increased to 45.1% in 2009/10 against the target of 32%. The percentage of children fully immunized increased from 75% in 2006 to 80.4% (HMIS 2008), slightly exceeding the 2008 target of 80% and this has benefitted from all health facilities carrying out outreach services for immunization. In 2009/10, this further improved to 90.4% against a target of 85%. On the indicator measuring the percentage of children using Long Lasting Insecticide Treated Nets (LLITN) , significant progress was made, however, the target of 65% was not fully realized with the mini-DHS (2007/8) reporting a score of 60% from a baseline of 16% in 2006. The target for this indicator was largely achieved in 2009/10, with an outcome of 79% of children fully immunized against a target of 70%. The percentage of assisted births in an accredited facility exceeded the target of 35% with a performance of 62.8% (HMIS 2008) coming from a baseline of 28.2% (2006). This was already above the EDPRS target for 2012. The percentage of assisted births in an accredited facility further increased to more than 66.2%.

The utilisation rate of primary health care services also increased from 70% to 86% in advance of the 75% target that was set for 2008. This utilization rate moved from 86% to 95 % in advance of the 80% target that was set for 2009/10. The target for per capita allocation to Performance-Based Financing (PBF) was not met fully with a realization of \$1.40 compared to a target of \$1.45 in 2008 and a baseline of \$1.2 in 2006. The target has been missed again in 2009/10 with an allocation of \$1.65 compared to a target of \$1.85. With regard to fighting HIV/AIDS, while there is no data yet available on condom utilization by youth (15-24 years), respectively 96.5% of children and 95.5% of adults are still alive 12 months after start of treatment compared to respective targets of 89% and 86% for 2009/10.

Government also needs to establish an effective agricultural, infrastructure (energy, transport, and market and price stabilization). There is also need for private sector development as well as environment and natural resources management. If such investments focus on the rural population then poverty in the rural areas will be handled effectively.

The private sector also needs to be promoted and supported to progress. This is on the basis that Rwanda was declared as the World's top reformer of business regulation in doing business in 2010, becoming the first sub-Saharan country to hold this position. The country has made the big strides in becoming business friendly by introducing favourable reforms: Rwanda made it easier to start a business, register property, protect investors, trade across borders, and access credit. This resulted in Rwanda moving up from position 141 to the 67th position out of 183 countries on the Doing Business rankings.

In the more recent Doing Business report 2011, Rwanda's position has further improved to 58th. As a consequence, the target of ranking in doing business has been exceeded. The World Economic Forum's recently released Global Competitiveness Report ranked Rwanda as the 6th most competitive market in sub-Saharan Africa, and among the world's best on indicators such as female participation in the labour force, staff training, and legal rights. These reforms need not only focus on the urban population but also need to address the needs of the rural population.

There is also need to build appropriate infrastructure in the rural Rwanda. The villages like Nyabigoma and Kamanyana need to benefit from infrastructure like power production which has generally increased and stabilised since the severe power shortages in 2004 and total installed capacity has increased from 45 MW in 2006 to 74.5MW in 2008 and 56MW generation capacity, exceeding the 2008 target of 50MW. The rural population would have capacity to free themselves from poverty had the government tried to extend such infrastructure to them as well.

There is need to promote environment conservation and encourage initiatives like tree planting to help address the enormous environmental problems that the rural poor have attributed poverty to. Currently, the surface land area covered by forest and agro-forest increased from 20, 2% to 21% (plantation of 31.327.410 trees on 19 579 ha) against a target of 21.4% for 2009/10 and the area of land protected to maintain biological diversity exceeded the target of 8.4% by an actual performance of 8.5% in 2008 and achieves exactly the target of 8.8% in 2009/10. These successes should be promoted further especially in the rural areas.

Water resources should also be a priority by the government. In fact water is important in the development of the agricultural sector, especially for irrigation and human consumption. The available water resources should comply with the water standards. Studies have shown that the

percentage of water resources complying with water quality standards was attained at 30%. Good quality of water means that people will stay in good health and effectively do their work of producing goods and services.

Availability of land is also another factor that needs to be closely looked at if rural poverty will be addressed. Several poor rural inhabitants do not even have access to land where they can grow their crops and raise their animals. Although they may want to produce products for the market, inability of land disrupts their efforts. The rural poor need to be given loans to buy land or should be given land by the government. The government had targets in 2008 but they were not met. The targets which were not met in 2008 both relate to land; the percentage of area of privately owned land held under written title was 1.26% compared to a target of 3% and the proportion of issued land titles owned by Women was 0.02% compared to a target of 2%. One of them, on percentage of privately owned land held under written title was exceeded in 2009/10 as it reached 19.3% against a target of 10%. The other has not been measured.

Limited land hinders people's efforts towards poverty alleviation. Education needs to also focus on entrepreneurship and vocational education. This educational approach enables learners to have quick access and creation of jobs. The kind of education that leads to job seeking that currently is implemented does not lead to quick access to jobs and economic independence of individuals.

Furthermore in relation to the above, there is deliberate need to mobilise and secure funds for the creation of farmer field schools and village saving and loan associations as a local solution to local problems of poverty. There is also need to conduct massive capacity building and employment promotions for rural dwellers. Non-farm jobs need to be created for the rural poor that have no access to land and that cannot even concentrate on settled agriculture. Vocational skills need to be promoted in a bid to address unemployment for the rural poor that have no access to land.

The main objective of this study was to show rural poverty, deep causes that contributed to the inefficiency of strategies and actions in poverty alleviation, and also to suggest possible solutions. In Rwanda, the rural poverty issue remains a big problem. Strategies and actions to

alleviate poverty are not new, but are presented under various aspects according to historical periods, approaches and used resources.

The outcomes of this research led us to the conclusion that Rwanda's development process has stagnated for a long time and left the majority of rural households in precarious living conditions. All identified factors in this research favouring and/or hampering the country's rural development are closely interlinked. Their combination explains the current development level especially the rural inhabitants.

The economy cannot be separated from the political context because the capacity to ensure a sustainable peace, the protection of goods and people in accordance with the principles of equity and credibility of the mediation system and conflicts management are important foundations to promote confidence, in order to attract investors that could focus on rural poverty. We therefore acknowledged that Rwanda's economic failure was a consequence of the past political environment that characterised the country at many levels on the one hand, and structural, conjectural and intrinsic constraints as well as intrinsic capability to change and/or transformation on the other.

The contribution of this study is to ensure that policies and committed actions are better rethought, more appropriate, integrated and sustainable. Our suggestions also invite development agents at all levels to better understand and master the political, social and economic context in which the rural inhabitants work. They should also change their perception on a population considered to be vulnerable and beneficiary. A well trained and supervised population within a stable political and macroeconomic environment would be able to carry out its own development. Poorly-coordinated development facilitators bring about negative consequences and distortions in the development process. Harmonised approaches based on relevant and coherent actions are better. Though humanitarian and assistance actions are necessary in some circumstances and for some specific groups, they should also plan exit strategies and sustainable self-sufficiency development actions. Otherwise, they contribute to the intensification of dependence syndrome and the proliferation of passivity and chronic poverty that have been bequeathed from generation to generation.

This research showed us that we have to use the most pragmatic approaches, concrete and operational action to face the rural poverty issue. That is why we shall need competent structures at all levels (planning, research, standardisation, management, coordination, follow-up, evaluation) and mobilise all possible resources including workforce, savings and solidarity mechanisms.

The success of these strategies will require efficient implication and efficient participation of all stakeholders, that is the government, political parties, religious organisations, entrepreneurs, NGOs, international development stakeholders, private economic operators, researchers and academics.

11.4. Suggestions for further research

The study revealed the perceptions of the rural inhabitants on poverty, causes of rural poverty, effects of rural poverty and coping strategies. There is however need to study the most appropriate poverty alleviation strategies in rural areas. For example: Should the best strategy be government led or private sector led?

There is an overall report that Rwanda is growing at the highest rate. For example: In the 2010/11 fiscal year, the GDP per head was at Rwf 308,000 or US\$ 541 at the nominal exchange rate of Rwf 569 to 1 US dollar. The GDP estimates calculated at constant 2006 prices show that in 2012/13 the GDP was 6.2% higher in real terms than it was in 2011/12 (NISR 2013, BNR 2012, MINECOFIN 2013).

This follows an increase of 9.8% from 2007/08 to 2008/09. This growth rate is mainly attributed to growth of 5.9% in agriculture (mainly driven by a 7% increase in the food crop production), and 7.6% for services (in which public administration grew by 10% and business services by 13%). The industry sector registered a modest growth of 0.6% as the sector that was most affected by the global recession and the domestic liquidity crunch.

Further study needs to investigate if this growth is having an impact on the rural areas: or is the growth only focused on the urban areas? The rural areas seem not to have the same access to services like the urban areas why is this so? Therefore an independent study needs to be conducted to ascertain this.

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Published on : 24 November 2013 - 5:00am

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: WORK PLAN

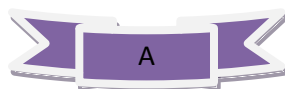
Activity	PERIOD												Expected Output
	YEAR 1				YEAR 2				YEAR 3				
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	
Preparation of Synapse presentation													Admission
Attendance of PhD Seminars at Nkumba													PhD, Research
													methods
Proposal writing													Proposal
Proposal Submission & presentation													Proposal approval
Conduct pilot study & Assistants training.													Quality control
Revise the Instruments													Reliable tools
Data collection & editing													Data collected
Data tallying , coding & analysis													Data analyzed
Thesis writing													1st draft
Thesis writing (revised)													2nd draft
Thesis writing (revised)													3rd Draft
Final Thesis (revised) & submission													Thesis submitted
Final examination													Graduation

Key

Q1=First Quarter of the year

Q2=First Quarter of the year

Q3=First Quarter of the year



APPENDIX 2: BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR PhD RESEARCH

No.	Item	Quantity	Unit cost	Total
1	Nkumba University expenses		Shillings	Shillings
	Tuition	3 years	4,200,000	12,600,000
	Fuel to the University	3 years	500,000	1,500,000
2	Stationery			
	Reams of A4.duplicate papers	12	13,000	156,000
	Pens	12	500	6,000
	Pencils	12	300	4,800
	Rubbers	06	300	1,800
	Rulers	06	500	3,000
	Notebooks	12	1000	12,000
	Flash disks-2GB(Sonny)	05	50,000	250,000
	Binding ,(spiral)	06	10,000	60,000
	Binding, Hard cover	06	50,000	300,000
	Markers	12	1000	12,000
	Internet charges	3 years	480,000	1,440,000
3	Labour/ remunerations			
	4 Research Assistants @200,000/= per month	6 months	1,600,000	4,800,000
	Editor (one)		500,000	500,000
	Secretary		300,000	300,000
4	Transport			
	Fuel (5 litres per day) = litres360	6 months	2900	2,088,000
	Transport for assistants 2000/= @ day	6 months	192,000	1,152,000
	Umbrellas	06		60,000
	Car routine service	6	65,000	390,000
5	Lunch			
	Principle Researcher 5000/= per day	6 months	120,000	720,000
	Research Assistants 3000/=per day	6 months	288,000	1,728,000
	Grand Total			28,083,600

APPENDIX 3: ETHICAL LETTERS FOR AUTHORISATION**Re: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH WITHIN YOUR INSTITUTION**

This is to introduce to you our student (researcher):, whose details have been indicated in the attached “Ethics Research Approval Form” for your kind assistance and approval.

It is important to note that, Nkumba University lays a lot of ethical emphasis in any of the research assignments whether being conducted within its premises or outside. It is therefore with this background that, both the student and the supervisor have signed the attached “Ethics Research Approval Form” to be presented to your institution, so as to ensure confidentiality, security and that the vulnerable subjects, if any, are not unduly distressed or suspicious during the data collection exercise and execution of the proposed research.

The participants in this research shall, inter alia, include but not be limited to, for example, students, academicians, private and public sector personnel, friends and acquaintances both within and outside the University. It will therefore be conducted in various private and public places e. g. University premises, Schools, Hospitals, Residential, Security areas and others, as it shall be deemed fit and accessible to the researcher in conformity with the external parties.

Yours Sincerely,

.....

ASSOC.PROF. ANDREW. P YIGA (PhD)

SUPERVISOR

.....

Dr. E. KAFEERO

SUPERVISOR



Nkumba University

ETHICS RESEARCH APPROVAL FORM

Student's Registration Number: **Index Number:**

Student's Name:

Supervisor's Name:

Date Ethics Form submitted:

Proposed Starting Date of the Project:

Research Topic:

.....
.....

Purpose of the Research:

.....
.....

Brief Description of the Methods, Procedures and Strategies to be used :

a) Methods

- i. Interviews
- ii. Questionnaires
- iii. Documentary review
- iv. Observation

b) Procedures

- i. Key informants will be identified
- ii. Inform the respondents in advance about the time, venue and date of the interview
- iii. Distribute the questionnaires to identified informants
- iv. Inform those involved in activities and tasks to be observed
- v. Inform the Institutions Administrators about the research to allow access relevant information from different stakeholders.

c) Strategies

- i. To select a representative sample of respondents, observers and interviewees involved in
- ii. To use the methods noted above, namely: interviews, questionnaires, documentary review and observation.

Benefits of the Research: This research is important and its findings will be beneficial to the following stake holders:

- i. administrators



- ii. Government policy makers
- iii. Academicians
- iv. Public

Certification by the Researcher and Supervisor

Researcher

I certify that, I am a student of Nkumba University and will behave in a professional manner and adhere to the high ethical standards and abide by the regulations, terms and conditions set by your organization while carrying out my research activities connected with external stakeholders (individuals, groups, organizations and others) and Nkumba University.

Researcher's Signature..... **Date**.....

Supervisor

I certify that our student (researcher) shall behave in a professional manner and adhere to the high ethical standards and abide by the regulations, terms and conditions set by our and your organization while carrying out his/her research activities.

Supervisor's Signature **Date:**.....

Supervisor's Signature **Date:**.....



APPENDIX 4: ORAL SOLICITATION STATEMENT**WRITTEN STATEMENT IDENTIFYING RESEARCHER AND
ORAL SOLICITATION OF RESPONDENTS**

Hello, my name is *Peter Mbabazi* and I am a doctoral student at Nkumba University where I am currently working on a research project that is studying RURALITY AND RURAL POVERTY INNORTHERN PROVINCE OF RWANDA. This research project is being conducted under the direction of Associate Professor Dr. Andrew P. Yiga and Dr. E. Kafeero who are my advisors and supervisors at the university.

The purpose of this study is to help us better understand what it means to be poor as a rural household and what it takes to live in such lifestyle in rural areas.

Your participation in this study is voluntary; I would prefer to interview you in your gardens, home or your place of source of income (activity). I will ask you questions about how you and your family are affected by a limited income, what you think are the main causes of rural poverty and a description of your day to day lifestyle

This interview is voluntary and once we begin you may still decide not to answer some of the questions or you may decide to stop before we are done. The real identities of those who participate in the study will be concealed during the study and the names and places will be changed by the researcher in the final report to protect the identity of the participants in the study.

I hope that this study will be able to provide our local leaders (*abayobozi*), government and legislative leaders with the kinds of information that can help them make informed decisions about the rural poverty. Do you have any other questions about the study? Are you willing to help us by being interviewed?

APPENDIX 5: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Study objectives: You have been randomly selected to participate in a study that aims at UNDERSTANDING RURAL POVERTY IN RWANDA'S NORTHERN PROVINCE. The study will involve an interview in which your views about RURAL POVERTY will be sought.

Confidentiality: Your views in the interview will be held strictly confidential and will not be divulged to anybody. All interviews will take place in a private setting, no reference will be made in oral or written reports, which could link you to any information collected and your name will not appear anywhere. Only the researchers will have access to the information and all records of views shared will be stored in a locked place under the researcher's control. Audio-taping may be used for certain portions of the interview. However, prior to the tape-recorder being used, you will be informed appropriately and your approval sought.

Risks and benefits: No risks are anticipated as a result of taking part in this exercise. You will be asked questions about your background such as age, education and marital status. Should you have questions at any time about the procedures being used, you are encouraged to ask the interviewer.

Participation

Your participation in this exercise is voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or participate in any activity. If you feel uncomfortable participating in this exercise, you may withdraw at any time without penalty. If you agree to participate in this project please sign and tear the consent slip below and return it to the interviewer before you start.

Consent

I have read and understood the above information and all questions pertaining to this project have been answered to my satisfaction. I also understand that by signing and returning this consent form. I have agreed to participate in this study voluntarily.

.....

Name and signature Date



APPENDIX 6: QUESTIONNAIRE**UBUSHAKASHATSI (RESEARCH) BWA KAMINUZA****(UNIVERSITY RESEARCH)****TOPIC: RURALITY AND RURALPOVERTY: WHAT IT MEANS TO BE POOR**

In quest of understanding more about rural poverty and an adaptable rural growth among rural poor households in Rwanda: A case study of two selected villages in Rwanda's Northern Province.

Dear Respondent,

You are one of the few chosen to participate in conducting this survey on the topic shown above. The survey is for a basic research to fulfil partial requirement of the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Development Economics of Nkumba University. I therefore request you to spare a few minutes of your busy schedules to fill in this questionnaire to enable me accomplish this task. Your honest and sincere responses are highly appreciated and shall have confidential treatment. I thank you for your cooperation

Yours truly,

Peter Mbabazi

.....

Introduction. This questionnaire contains five parts; the first part contains questions on the bio data of the respondents and some general questions. The second part contains questions on the first objective of the study, the third part contains questions on the second objective of the study, the fourth part contains questions on the third objective of the study and the fifth part contains questions on the fourth objective of the study. These questions are both open and closed, on the closed questions please Tick or Circle the appropriate answer according to your opinion. In the open questions please use the space provided to express your opinions.

PART I

1. Name of the respondent.

Occupation of the respondent

.....

.....

Sex:.....

Age:



2. What is your highest educational level?*(a) Primary level; 5 years in primary, 7 years in primary**(b) Secondary level**(c) Diploma**(d) Bachelor's Degree**Others please specify*

3. State the main income generating activities you do here in the village beginning with the most activity you do daily,,,,

4. Name of village as permanent resident. Name of village as temporary resident**(1). Kamanya. (2). Nyabigoma.****SECTION A: Respondents' perception of Rural Poverty in the villages of Rwanda's Northern Province**

(1). To what extent do you agree with the following definitions and perceptions about Rural Poverty	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement
There has been only one definition of Poverty by all Government Sectors and non Government Sectors; Poverty is looked at in terms of income of people per year. (Poverty Line 1 US Dollar per day)						
Poverty in Urban areas is not the type of Poverty in rural areas; For us in the village, we base our poverty on ones capacity to own land and some domestic animals						
In rural areas, we think poverty is when someone is lacking money to pay fees for our children in higher institutions of learning and secondary school						
The definition of poverty should be based only on the social well being of an individual or a group in society in terms of housing, clothing, health, feeding and education						
The percentage of Rural Poverty in Rwanda has been based only on the capacity of a person group of persons to exploit the environment around him/her						

(2). In your own view, how would you define poverty found in the villages?.....**(3).** Who is poor, and who is rich according to your view here in this village?.....

(4).To what extent do you perceive a person who is averagely well off (or better off) and one who is badly off at village level and semi- urban level	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement
Those with high income from Employment opportunities (Gov't, NGO, Company, self-employment, Business firm on, small scale) are well off rural areas						
To be well off , in rural areas, at least you need to have land where to cultivate your crops and keep some animals						
To be well off, in rural areas, you should have many wives and many children. Those with many children are okay						
You need to have a good house , semi permernent						
Those households who have a motorcycle at least , a house are better off						
Those leaseholds with relatives in urban areas, are better off as they can run to them for financial help and sickness leave in case of problems						

Do you have have any other comment about the above views?.....

(5) What do you value most in your life as for as the following components of assets are concerned at village level	Percentage Response				
	Very very important	Very important	Neutral	Not Important	Somehow important
Land which is fertile					
Good source of income					
House					
Children					
More than wife					
Animals , Chicken					
Rich Relatives in urban areas for rescue					
Good Governance, good leaders					
Being in good health + Good terms with God					

(6) Does having a low income make you any different from other people who have more money and resources?	Yes	No	Neutral	Total

(7) Do you ever feel that is nothing that you can do about your situation? Do you ever feel that your situation is hopeless	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement

(8) What about if given an opportunity or choice to do something about it despite your level of education , Do you feel that you can do something about it and make an improvement	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement

SECTION B: Causes of Rural Poverty

	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement
(1)To what extent do you agree that rural Poverty has been as a result of the following major Factors						
Lack of employment opportunities , No source of capital to Establish a Business						
The poor are responsible for being poor /Bad habits, personal Deficiency model. Laziness, no ambition. etc						
Some people in villages are poor as a result of accidents-Individual accidents model , No luck hence poor fate						
Rural Poverty is rampant because of the widely known 1994 Genocide in Rwanda						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of the way our society is socially and culturally organized as rooted from colonization days						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of Religious influences						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is a result of having low prices for Agricultural products (fluctuation of Agricultural prices)						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as result of the way poverty education policies have been implemented in the times of past Governments and after the war policies to halt poverty were not rural based hence rural poverty persisted to increase						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is a result of poor Governance and corruption						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is a result of Diseases						

Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of environmental conditions we inherited like having no land						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is as a result of high population growing (High no of children)						
Rural Poverty in Rwanda is a result of our village being far away from Major urban centers (Distance of place effect theory)						
2. Despite of two factors that may be responsible of Rural poverty in Rwanda's rural areas, do you think that you really work hard enough to get away from this situation?						
3. Do you believe really that poor people in rural areas try their best to work hard and exploit every choice and opportunity available to reduce their poor lifestyle						

SECTION C: EFFECTS OF RURAL POVERTY

	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement
(1) To what extent do you agree that the following effects are as a result of Rural Poverty in various villages of Rwanda						
High number of children hence a high population in Rwanda is as a result of rural poverty						
Conflicts such as the 1994 Genocide						
Minimum education of low education in rural areas, children's education is low because of rural Poverty despite the existence of U.P.E						
More debts, pledge Assets and selling of assets						
Hunger- people eating one meal per day						
No good clothes and dirty clothes no money and no money to wash our clothes						
Can't participate in Social functions and give our views we are not invited hence we are not valued						
Crime and theft						
Betrayal of one's religious beliefs						
Degradation of the environment as we search for a way of survival						
High death rates like that of pregnant women and young Babies (Infant mortality)						
Domestic fights (Quarrels and Divorce)						
Rural urban Migration especially the youth leaving villages going to urban areas						
Rural to Rural Migration. Especially the men and women at ages of 40+ shifting from one rural area to another deeper rural area in search of arable land of cultivation						

Probing questions to be given during focus group discussions and face to face interviews**1. Probes on causes of Poverty and impacts of Poverty**

- What are some of the things that prevent you from making enough money and living a comfortable life?.....
- What keeps you from finding a better job ?.....

2. How much would you need in terms of Rwanda francs per day to live an adequate life?.....

Rwanda francs	SINGLE	Single	Married	Married
	Men	Women	Men	Women
200Frw				
500Frw				
1000Frw				
1500Frw				
2000Frw				

3. What is the Level of your income per month (from your salaried job, Agriculture (farming) or any other activity you do.

INCOME LEVEL (RWANDA FRANC)
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4. State the source of that income stated above**SECTION D: Coping strategies (How do the Rural poor cope with Poverty and How should they cope up?)**

Probing question (in Focus group discussions and interview)

Probe 1: What are some of the things you do to manage on limited income**Probe 2:** Which methods of Agriculture do you practice despite the rural poverty.....**Probe 3:** What do you think needs to be done to help you and many others like you in your situation

.....

.....

.....

.....

	Percentage Response					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Agreement
4. Do you agree the following could help you in fighting Rural Poverty						
Educating our children						
Accessing soft loans						
Agriculture being modernizes e.g. land consolidation						
Government agencies						
Assistance from NGOs						

Girinka Munyarwanda (one Cow per family)						
Strengthening of cooperatives						
Protection of environment						
Producing few children + family planning methods						
Stabilizing prices of our agricultural products						
Good Governance						
Gender main streaming; Rural women learning to adopt to starting doing jobs that were originally thought to be done by men only as men's roles only and vice versa						

5. Which of the following do you do mostly as a way of coping up with life in rural areas so as to survive?	Percentage Response			
	Permanent Live hood	Do it as a second source of income	Planning to start doing it	Don't do any of those
Fishing				
Driving				
Carpentry				
Shoe making /Saloon/Barbing				
Basket , Mats , Chair , Weaving				
Tailoring				
Mobile restaurant of snacks like chapatti , Mandazi,				
Mechanics				
Hunting				
Making local brew eg Ikigage for Alchohol				
Mining				
Farming (Any sort of agric. Activity)				
Witch craft				
Private salaried job				
Civil service or Government job				
Trading e.g. shop. Sell of second hand clothes				
OTHERS				

(6) Which of the following reasons is the major reason as to why you are engaged in doing a multiple of jobs so as to cope with rural life style?

Rank the highest in the range of A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H OR 1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,8;

1 for H, 2 for G, 3 for F, 4 for E, 5 for D, 6 for C, 7 for B, 8 for A as scores respectively.

Reason	MEN		WOMEN	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Because of low incomes				
Because of too much Poverty				
Because of Just Lost a job				
Because of No Job (unemployed)				
Because of Rising prices of Basic necessities				
Because of No easy Access to credit				
Because of Poor Asset Base (No land)				
Because of Need of Getting money for food				
Because of Family needs e.g. Many Children to feed at home				
Because of need to pay fees for my children				
Because of need to get Married (am looking for funds to marry)				
OTHERS (if any, state.....)				
.....				

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

THANK YOU VERY MUCH



PHOTO PLATES 1: Local brew commonly known as IKIGAGE

Young men at work trying to forge a livelihood surviving strategy by preparing a local brew for sale in Nyabigoma village. This type of activity is very common in both the two villages. The raw materials needed are bananas and sorghum. So most of the rural people in these villages prefer to cultivate sorghum as it has ready market. To note however is that this has brought a conflict of interest with the government's strict policies on crop intensification program (CIP).

The CIP program is designed to promote other cash crops for sale and at the same time guarantee food security. The villagers say that, the crops the government wants them to grow like maize, beans and rice is not all that profitable to them in terms of quick income as compared to sorghum they have been used to for decades which they plant and it is used for the local brew (IKIGAGE or URWAGVU).

PHOTO PLATES 2: Bee keeping and bee hives in rural areas

The rural poor in the two villages of the study have a tendency of making traditional bee hives from local materials of Bamboo trees and hang them up in the trees. Some villagers place the hives near rivers so as to help the bees with nearby source of water and nectar from the wild flowers around.

To note however is that, this study discovered that bees are dying due to the use of fertilizers and other sprayings on the farmer's crops. The Rwandan government promotes the use of integrated soil fertility management system which requires the use of fertilizers. This has drastically affected the wild bee in hunt of nectar.

PHOTO PLATES 3: Agricultural farming systems on various hills



In the above pictures, it is clearly seen that the farmers in both the two villages do cultivate on top of hills as Rwanda is a country which is very hilly with a thousand hills as in the words of Pope John Paul.

After harvesting, the rural poor must struggle to carry their produce on their heads, bicycles, wheel-barrows and other locally made forms of transport like the “*Ikipiringoso*”.

PHOTO PLATES 4: The researcher gets time to visit the local market days in various villages.



PHOTO PLATES 5: The real rural economic activities in villages

The above are the most outstanding economic activities in rural areas. Things like learning how to repair bicycles, and how to repair jerry-cans used to fetch water, repairing gumboots of farmers was reported to be one of the best income generating activities in these villages. In the other pictures above, the villagers who are knowledgeable in bicycle repair and others are busy at work. This also implies that there are very many people who are using and depending on bicycles as a form of transport. And yet, this also means that bicycle repair is acting as a form of economic activity to supplement on their income from agriculture.

PHOTO PLATES 6: Locally form of transport used by young men, called (IGICUGUTU) IGIPIRINGISI

PHOTO PLATES 7. Forms of transport in rural areas

The rural poor have always adapted to using cheap means of transporting their products to the market. In the study areas where this study was carried out, they use bicycles and other forms of transport made locally from trees. These in Kinyarwanda are known as the *IGICUGUTU* or *IGIPRINGISO*. The photos above show how a young boy is trying to take sugarcane to the market for sale using his IGIPRINGISO. The researcher is in a jacket admiring the form of transport the boy is using.





PHOTO PLATES 8: ABOVE; The rural poor devise their own means in transporting the sick to the nearest trading centre where they can get a vehicle or motorcycle to the nearest clinic or Hospital

The other next Photo plate shows how the rural poor have devised means of processing certain kinds of food. In this photo, the women come with their utensils from home to pound cassava leaves which is a delicacy in the Northern province of Rwanda. The final product from the cassava leaves is commonly known as “*Sombe*” in Congo DRC and Rwanda.

The leaves are pounded and what is got is cooked mixed with beef or Groundnut paste. In most cases, the processing is near the market because as these rural poor women carry the cassava leaves to the nearest trading centre or nearest market, they can easily sell the pounded leaves or even sell the unpounded leaves.

APPENDIX 7: CROSSTABS**Notes**

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TABLE 12.2 CASE PROCESSING SUMMARY

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Do you agree educating our children would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Accessing soft loans would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Modernised agriculture would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Government agencies would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Assistance from NGO's would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Girinka munyarwanda would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Strengthening of cooperatives would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Protection of the environment would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
producing few or family planning would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Stabilising prices of our agric products would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Good governance would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
Gender main streaming.....would help fight poverty? * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Do you do fishing on..... * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
driving? * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Carpentry * the village of respondent	65	95.6%	3	4.4%	68	100.0%
shoe making/saloon/barbing * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%

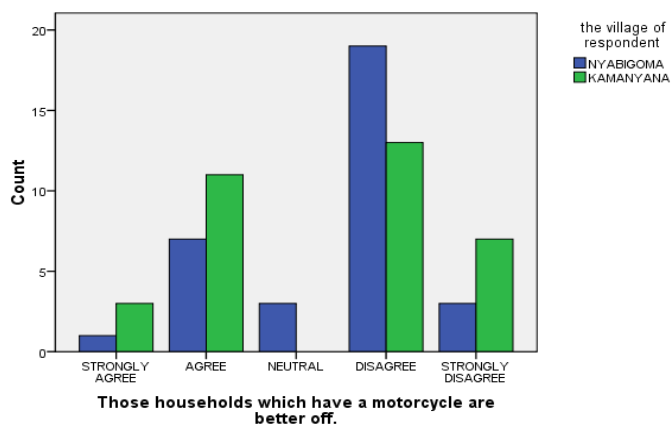
Baskets/mats/chairs and weaving * the village of respondent	65	95.6%	3	4.4%	68	100.0%
tailoring * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
mobile restaurant of chappat.... * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
Mechanics * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
hunting * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Making local brew like ikigage * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
Mining * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
sell general things * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
Witch craft * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Private salaried job * the village of respondent	64	94.1%	4	5.9%	68	100.0%
Civil servant * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
Sell of second hand shoes/things * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
others eg bee keeping * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
Specify any other eg digging/agriculture * the village of respondent	66	97.1%	2	2.9%	68	100.0%
poultry eg chicken * the village of respondent	67	98.5%	1	1.5%	68	100.0%
Livestock eg sheep, goats * the village of respondent	65	95.6%	3	4.4%	68	100.0%
because of low income-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
High poverty-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
Just lost a job-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
No job (Unemployed)-M * the village of respondent	31	45.6%	37	54.4%	68	100.0%
Rising prices for basic items-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
No access to credit-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
Poor assets base (no land)-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
To get money for food-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
Family needs eg more children to feed at home-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%
To pay fees for my children-M * the village of respondent	32	47.1%	36	52.9%	68	100.0%

To get marriage funds-M * the village of respondent	31	45.6%	37	54.4%	68	100.0%
others specify-M * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%
because of low income-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
High poverty-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
Just lost a job-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
No job (Unemployed)-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
Rising prices for basic items-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
No access to credit-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
Poor assets base (no land)-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
To get money for food-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
Family needs eg more children to feed at home-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
To pay fees for my children-W * the village of respondent	36	52.9%	32	47.1%	68	100.0%
To get marriage funds-W * the village of respondent	33	48.5%	35	51.5%	68	100.0%
others specify-W * the village of respondent	68	100.0%	0	.0%	68	100.0%

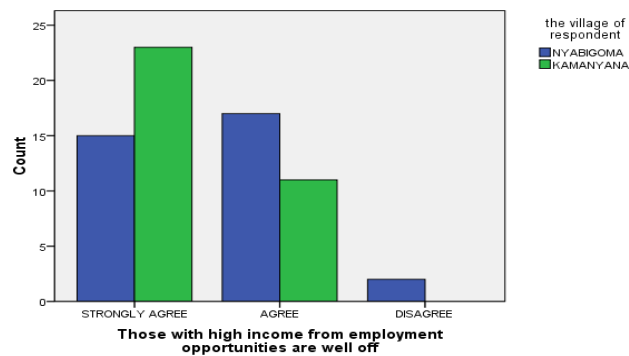
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APPENDIX 8: GRAPHICS

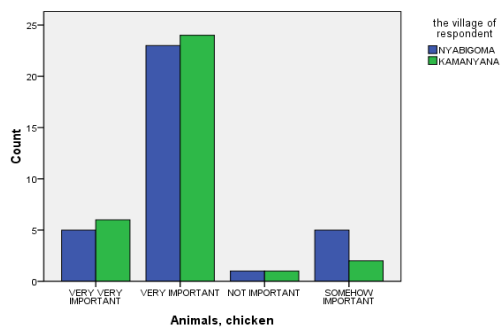
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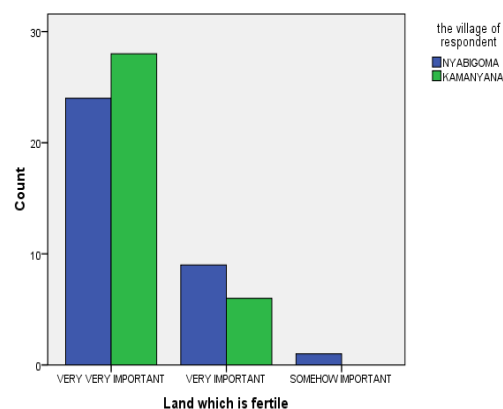
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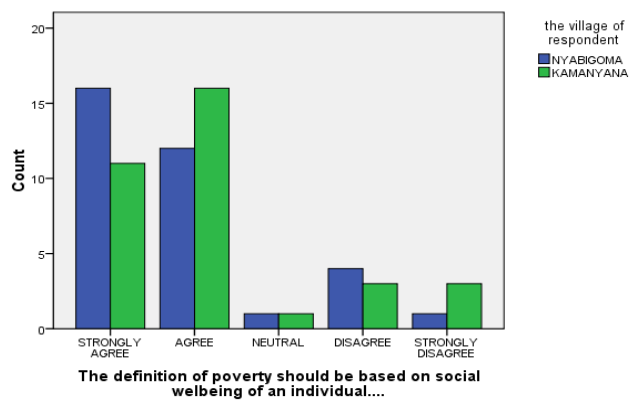
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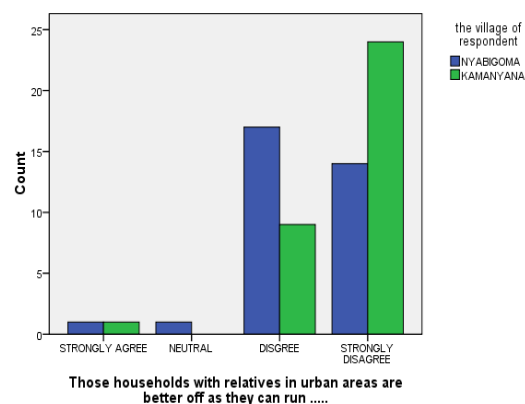
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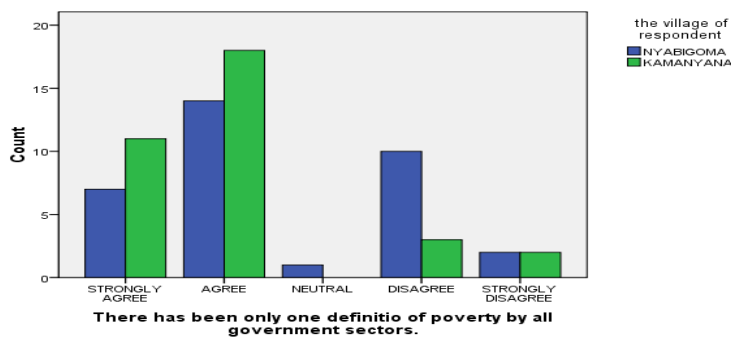
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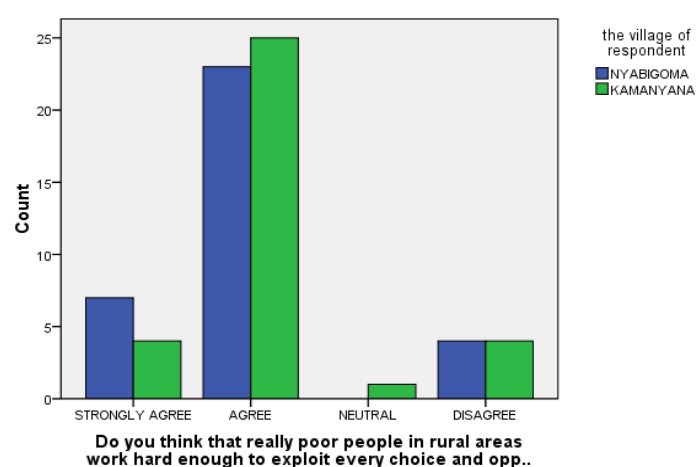
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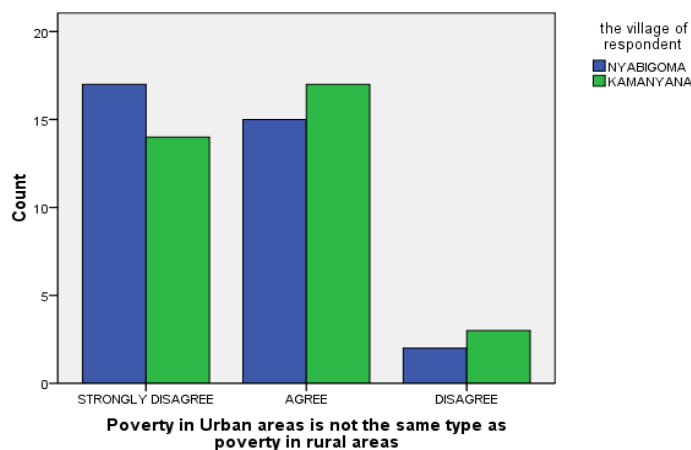
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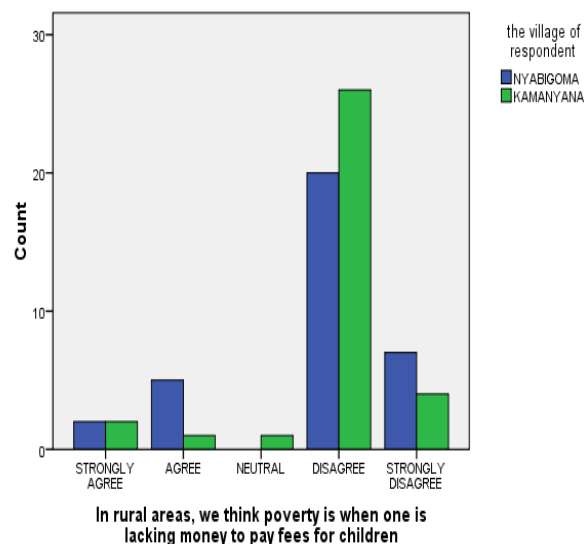
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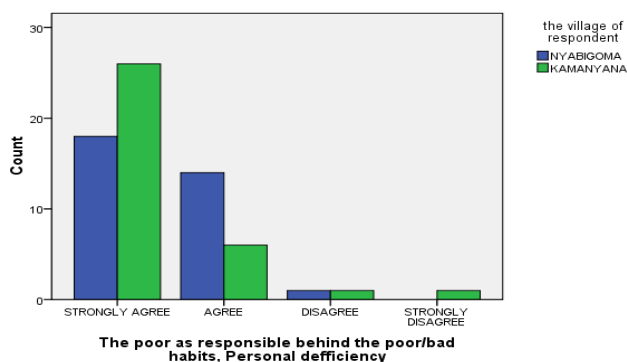
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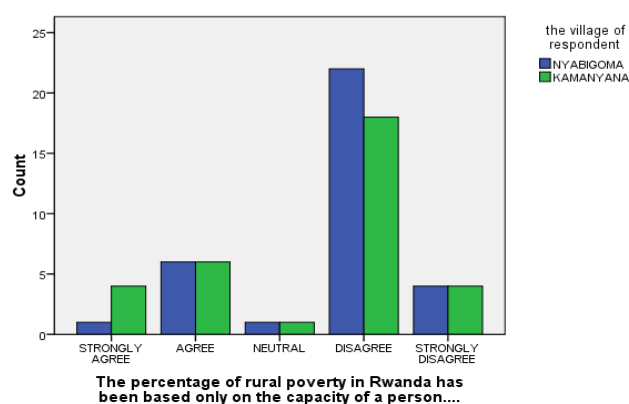
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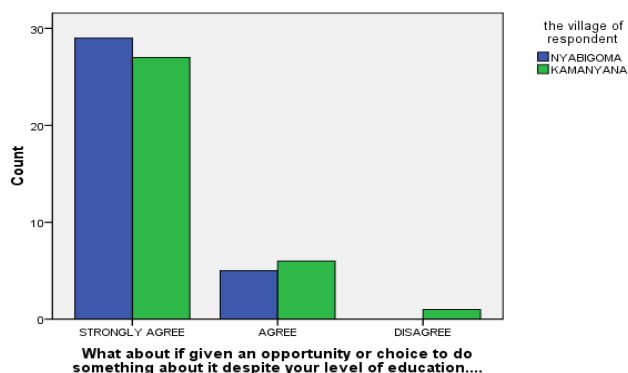
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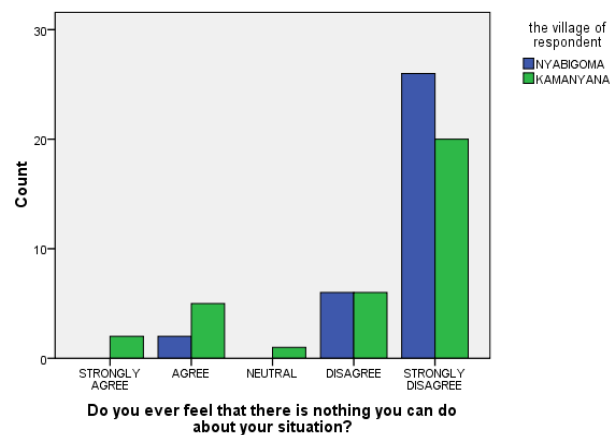
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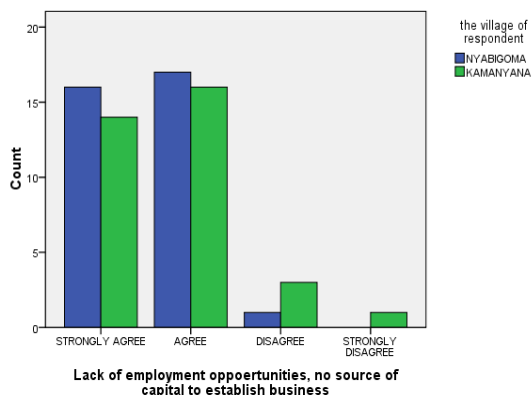
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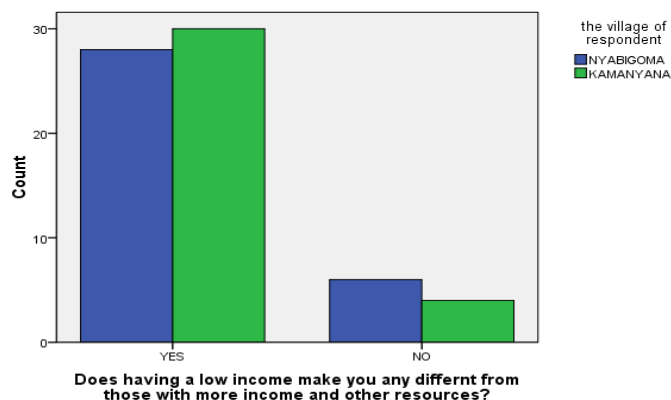
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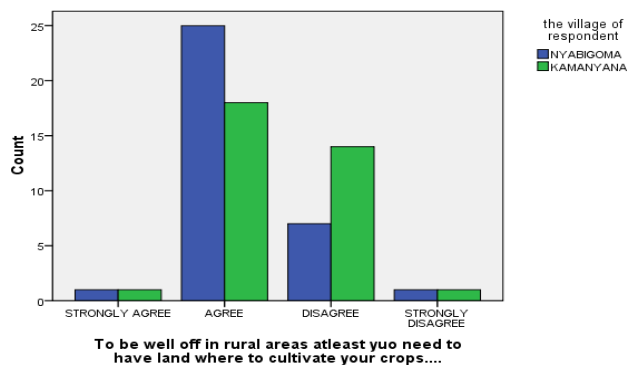
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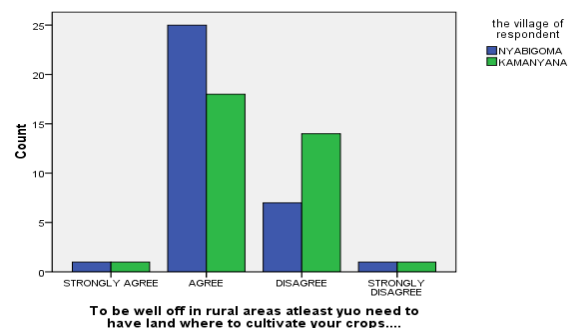
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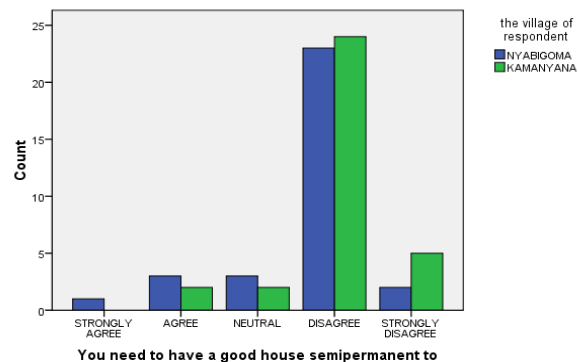
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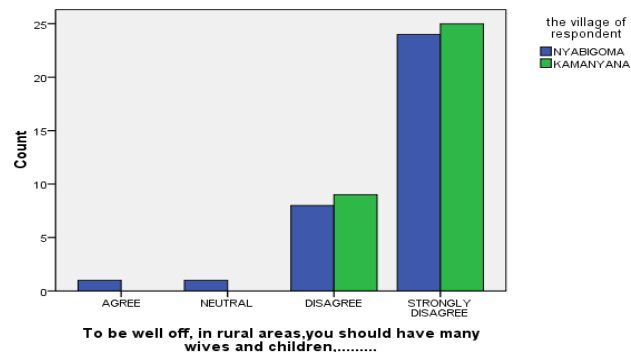
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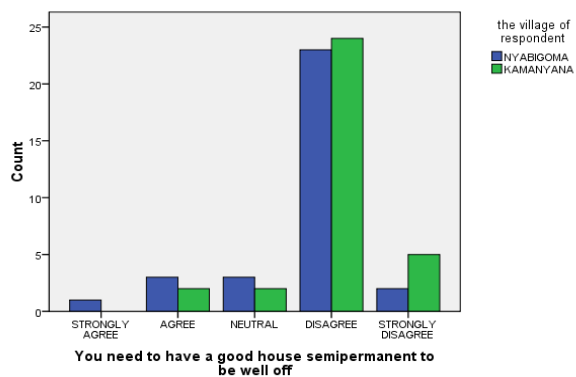
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