

Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo
Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
Briefing Paper for indigenous organisations

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1. What are Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs)?

The concept of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) was created by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1999.

PRSPs are a national programme for poverty reduction which should contain a policy framework and agenda to confront poverty.

The premise is that PRSPs are prepared and implemented by countries seeking to benefit from concessional loans (i.e. loans with reduced repayments) from the IMF's Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF).

PRSPs are also connected to the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, which sets out how money saved through debt relief will be spent on poverty reduction.

In order to get PRGF loans and debt relief from the HIPC initiative, countries must produce a PRSP that is then approved by the World Bank and IMF. Rwanda completed its PRSP in June 2002.

PRSPs were introduced to replace Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which were supposed to stabilise national economies and open up countries to trade. However, SAPs were severely criticised for, amongst other things, exacerbating the situation of the poorest rather than helping them.

From the 1980s, SAPs became the common condition for developing countries requiring loans from the IMF and World Bank. Countries taking loans from the international financial institutions (IFIs) were forced to devalue their currency, which was supposed to make their exports cheaper and more attractive to buyers. Cash crops for the foreign market were prioritized over domestic food production. However, the result was that the market was flooded with the same cheap cash crops from many different countries, which sent prices plummeting, and brought poverty to the local producers forced to grow them.

A further measure of SAPs was that countries were forced to reduce public spending in areas such as health and education, in order to help balance their books. Along with the privatization of state enterprises (another aspect of SAPs), this led to rising infant mortality rates, plummeting school enrolment rates, and brought poverty to the populations of debtor countries.

The focus of PRSPs is supposed to be *poverty reduction*. The two most discussed aspects of PRSPs are that they are supposed to be:

- > Country-driven, i.e. prepared and implemented by the country itself, and not imposed on the country by the IFIs; and
- ➤ Partnership orientated, i.e. should include participation by everyone in the country, including civil society, civil society organisations (CSOs) and NGOs¹.

2. How do PRSPs work?

It can take countries some time to develop a PRSP, and in the meantime they are unable to benefit from the PRGF and HIPC debt relief initiative.

The World Bank and IMF therefore agreed that countries could produce an Interim PRSP (IPRSP) to allow them to continue receiving assistance or to receive interim HIPC debt relief.

¹ These are two of the PRSP's six core principles, according to the World Bank and IMF. More information can be found at the World Bank website: http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/

The IPRSP was supposed to be a brief document, outlining a 'road map' of how the country would reach the full PRSP, including the nature of participation to be taken. However, IPRSPs have become substantial documents in their own right. It is not a condition that IPRSPs be participatory themselves, which means that IPRSPs are often single-handedly produced by the government (usually the financial administration) without intra-governmental consultation, and certainly without the participation of civil society, CSOs or NGOs.

The World Bank and IMF endorse the IPRSP by way of a Joint Staff Assessment (JSA), which may also contain recommendations on the contents of the full PRSP. This part of the PRSP process is known as 'decision point'.

If the IPRSP is approved by the IFIs, the country is now eligible for interim HIPC debt relief. After the full PRSP has also been endorsed by another JSA (known as 'completion point'), the country will be eligible for PRGF and full HIPC debt relief.

By January 2003, 13 countries in Africa, 4 countries in Latin America, 2 countries in Europe and Central Asia, 1 country in Asia, and 1 country in the Middle East had presented PRSPs to the World Bank and IMF.

3. Criticisms of PRSPs

Although it is too early to say if PRSPs will be successful, a number of criticisms have already been made:

- In the rush to be eligible for debt relief, governments are not producing comprehensive PRSPs.
- Participation by civil society, CSOs and NGOs in producing PRSPs has been inconsistent.
- > PRSPs are not country-led, but are being influenced and sometimes written by donors and consultants from outside the country.
- ➤ The World Bank and IMF are exercising too much control over the content of PRSPs, through the endorsement process.
- > There is a lack of transparency about the process.
- > PRSPs are created in order to appease IFIs and get debt relief/concessional loans, rather than as a sincere commitment by governments to long-term poverty reduction.
- ➤ PRSPs are often based on research produced by the 'Bretton Woods institutions' (another name for the World Bank and IMF), rather than alternative information sources. As a result, they perpetuate the belief that market-based growth is the best and only means to achieve development, rather than possible alternatives (e.g. sustainable livelihoods; resource distribution; rights based approach)².
- ➤ PRSPs are SAPs under a different guise, because the macroeconomic policies contained within them all endorse growth through privatisation and liberalisation as the means to poverty reduction³.

3.1 Specific criticisms about participation in PRSPs include:

- Governments set the agenda when it comes to the level at which organisations and civil society can participate.
- Governments have not specifically sought the participation of civil society or excluded groups.
- In countries where civil society is weak and organisations have limited experience, they have not sought to participate themselves.

² 'Policies to Roll-back the State and Privatise?: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers investigated', World Development Movement, April 2001.

³ The fact that wildly different countries have produced similar PRSPs backing this approach is seen as further evidence of World Bank/IMF influence.

- > In particular, civil society, CSOs and NGOs have been excluded from the deliberation of macroeconomic policy in PRSPs.
- > Poor information flows from government, lack of time, and language barriers impede quality participation.

4. A general note on how civil society, CSOs and NGOs can participate in **PRSPs**

The World Bank has identified a 'ladder of participation' which implies four levels of potential direct involvement in PRSPs:

- Information-sharing
- Consultation
- Joint decision-making
- Initiation and control by stake-holders⁴

NGOs can participate in *information-sharing* with other organisations and wider civil society, and can use the media to great effect for this purpose. In terms of information-sharing on the part of government, the key aspect is at what stage of the PRSP this occurs - policy formulation, implementation, or after the fact?⁵

NGOs can expect to be *consulted* by government. However, there is no obligation on government to incorporate the views of others during a consultation process. Nonetheless. NGOs should ensure that they do consult with their membership, beneficiaries, other organisations and wider civil society.

Joint decision-making implies that those NGOs consulted by government will also have some say regarding to the decisions made. So far this level of participation by NGOs has not been seen in many of the PRSPs underway, while critics have pointed out that donors often have this level of participation. However, NGOs should aim to participate at this level.

Initiation and control by stakeholders is the highest level of participation that can be acquired in a PRSP, and is perhaps the ultimate goal. The control of PRSPs by the poor themselves has yet to be seen in any of the PRSPs currently being undertaken. However, NGOs could initiate and control the monitoring of policy implementation.

Participation can occur during the following stages of a PRSP:

- > Research/consultation on the nature, causes and dynamics of poverty
- > Research and analysis of institutional frameworks and national and local government budgets
- Policy formulation
- > Implementation
- Monitoring (outcomes and effectiveness of policy)
- Evaluation

5. Issues for indigenous peoples in the development of PRSPs

Specific issues that indigenous peoples should be aware of / lobby on include:

> Indigenous peoples are amongst the poorest members of society, therefore PRSPs must make specific provision for indigenous peoples if the PRS is to reach them.

⁴ McGee, R and A. Norton, 'Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Synthesis of Experience with Participatory Approaches to Policy Design, Implementation and Monitoring' (IDS Working Paper 109, 2000) ⁵ 'Influencing Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Guide', Oxfam,

- Indigenous peoples' poverty is due to the lack of secure land and resources, as well as political, economic and social marginalization PRSPs should address these issues through clear information provision, strengthening human rights, affirmative action and special support mechanisms to enable indigenous peoples to claim the rights due to all citizens.
- ➤ Indigenous peoples should lobby for participation as early as possible in development of the IPRSP / PRSP, and information disclosure according to accepted international standards, including provision of information in appropriate languages.
- ➤ Poverty assessments and other research carried out to develop PRSP and PSIAs should include indigenousness as a key variable determining poverty.
- ➤ Indigenous peoples should insist that PRSP proposals involving environment, forests, resettlement or indigenous peoples should respect the World Bank's mandatory safeguard policies, and that PRSP components funded by donors such as the World Bank, EU, UNDP etc adhere to those donors' existing policies on indigenous peoples.
- ➤ Indigenous peoples should pay special attention to proposed PRSP land reforms to ensure that these do not adversely affect indigenous people, whose land tenure is often already extremely insecure.
- ➤ Indigenous peoples should pay attention to the privatization aspects of PRSPs, which can imply charges for public services like education, healthcare, water and energy supplies.

6. Brief summary of DRC IPRSP

The Democratic Republic of Congo produced an IPRSP in March 2002⁶, and has estimated that it will produce a final PRSP by 2005. A JSA (in English only) approving the IPRSP was released in May 2002.⁷

The IPRSP contains a chapter on the profile and determinants of poverty, which recognises that the DRC suffers from a lack of reliable, up-to-date, national poverty statistics and that reliable surveys will have to be conducted to enable a better understanding of poverty in the country. Further chapters outline the process of creating the IPRSP and PRSP; the strategies and priority actions of the IPRSP; and monitoring and evaluation.

The IPRSP/PRSP strategy is based on three pillars: good governance and peace; macroeconomic stability and pro-poor growth; and community dynamics. Pillar 1 will involve post-conflict reconciliation and peace building, including promoting civilian participation in decision-making. Pillar 2 will involve stabilizing the economy, the promotion of employment and rehabilitating the country's infrastructure (transport, water supply, electricity, etc). The government will also consider promoting agriculture, livestock farming and fishing under Pillar 2, as well as extending primary education to all children. Improving healthcare systems and protecting the environment are also included under this pillar. The aim of Pillar 3 is to achieve sustainable human development through activities carried out at the community level.

There appears to have been little civil society participation in the IPRSP, although the government claims that the document was widely disseminated amongst NGOs, INGOs and civil society partners⁸. The JSA notes:

The government has relatively little experience in either the design or implementation of development programs. The capacity for effective service delivery rests almost entirely with nongovernmental groups that have evolved in response to perceived community needs and the notable gaps left by the collapse of the state.

The IPRSP does not specifically mention the Batwa, and any references to 'vulnerable people' appear to imply widows, orphans, demobilised soldiers and the elderly.

⁸ P.16, para. 67.

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⁶ 'Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper', Democratic Republic of Congo, Kinshasa, March 2002.

⁷ 'Democratic Republic of the Congo: Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – Joint Staff Assessment', International Monetary Fund and International Development Association, May 24, 2002, p.2.

Finally, the IPRSP notes that there are a number of constraints and risks to implementing the poverty reduction strategy, and that the restoration of peace is the base on which all other stategies must be based. Bearing in mind the current situation in DRC it is not clear if the country will be able to follow the proposed PRSP timetable, which foresees achieving peace and good governance during 2000-2002, and bridging the gap between stabilization and the relaunching of pro-poor and sustainable growth during the period 2002-2005 through a series of planned actions aimed at mitigating the effects of the war. Because of continuing insecurity in many parts of the country it is likely that the PRSP process will be delayed, however clearer information could be sought from the Ministry of Planning and Commerce which appears to be overseeing the PRSP.

7. Aspects of Rwanda's PRSP9

7.1 Development of the PRSP

The PRSP is the country's strategy for development and planning for the next 10 years, and is set within the overall vision of Rwanda's development, which is set out in Vision 2020. The Government of Rwanda (GoR) intends to update the PRSP every two years, with annual updates that reflect evolving circumstances. Much of the development activity carried out by the GoR over the next 10 years will be dictated by the PRSP.

The GoR organised a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) as their attempt to generate an accurate profile and diagnosis of what poverty is in the country, to evaluate the policies proposed in the IPRSP and to start a long term process whereby poor people would generate and implement their own solutions to poverty. There were three aspects to the PPA: the National Poverty Assessment (NPA); the Butare Pilot of *ubudehe mu kurwanya ubukene* (Community Action Planning); and the Policy Relevance Test (PRT). Other surveys were also carried out and the data used in the PRSP. None of these surveys explicitly collected data on Batwa, therefore the position of this group of people within Rwanda's overall poverty profile is currently unknown.

Development of the Rwandan PRSP took place on the first two 'rungs' of the World Bank's ladder of participation. Drafts of the PRSP document were produced in English, the language spoken by the fewest people in Rwanda. The final PRSP document of June 2002 did not appear until some months later. A Kinyarwandan version is still not available. Consultation about the PRSP was done at an advanced stage in the completion of the PRSP process through government presentations and workshops, without most civil society organisations having access to PRSP documents, and without being able to question the basic economic premises underlying the PRSP.

Most commentators remark on the low capacity of Rwandan civil society to analyse and comment on government policy, therefore for effective civil society input, training and capacity building would be needed, including exchange visits to other countries with a more effective civil society. The Rwandan PRSP is meant to be an iterative process, with review after 2 years, so there should be future opportunities for civil society to comment in a more informed way based on experiences to date.

Decision point on the Rwandan PRSP was reached in December 2000 and is expected to reach completion point by September 2003¹⁰. The debt relief package approved under the enhanced HIPC initiative for Rwanda is worth US\$810 million¹¹ over the coming years. Under

⁹ 'The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper', National Poverty Reduction Programme, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, June 2002.

^{10 &#}x27;Rwanda PRSP Update – February-March 2003', Tom Crowley, Trocaire, Kigali, 11 April 2003.

^{11 &#}x27;Rwanda to receive US\$810 million in debt service relief: The World Bank and IMF support debt relief for Rwanda under the enhanced HIPC initiative', The World Bank Group, News Release No: 2001/192/S, 22/12/2000 (http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/news/)

the forerunner to the PRGF, known as the ESAF (the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility), Rwanda had drawn loans of US\$67 million by October 2001¹²

The PRSP identifies the following microeconomic structural problems:

- > Low agricultural productivity
- > Low human resource development
- > Limited employment opportunities
- > High population density and growth
- > High transport costs
- > Environmental degradation

The GoR believes that the failure to address these problems has led to the following:

- A very weak export base
- > Vulnerability to external price shocks
- > A narrow revenue base
- > Low, measured private investment

Through the PPA and other consultations, the GoR has defined a list of criteria for expenditure, a revised list of priorities and a detailed expenditure programme, which includes information as to how the money saved through debt relief will be allocated. The GoR has identified six priority areas for action, ranked by importance:

- Rural development and agriculture transformation
- > Human development
- Economic infrastructure
- Governance
- > Private sector development
- > Institutional capacity-building

The PRS has a sectoral approach (based on the six priority areas mentioned above), and also identifies the following cross-cutting issues: technology; gender; environment; imidugudu (planned settlement or villagization), HIV/AIDS, employment, capacity-building and inequality.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give a detailed outline of the full PRSP contents. Instead, we highlight below some of the main areas that may be of interest to indigenous organisations.

7.2 Ubudehe

The Butare pilot of Community Action Planning (known for short as Ubudehe) was deemed a success so the programme is being rolled out throughout every cellule in the country¹³.

Ubudehe involves providing every cellule with \$1000 to carry out a project designed, monitored and implemented by the community themselves. The process starts with the community drawing a social map of their community, they then classify households into social classes, identify their development problems and prioritise them, and select the most significant problem to be addressed by the community project. Community members select two groups of people - one to implement the project and the other to monitor it. Once the project has been endorsed by a technician from the District level (who will also have been involved at earlier stages), the funding is released.

¹² 'IMF Completes Review under Rwanda's PRGF Arrangement and Aproves US\$12 Million Disbursement', International Monetary Fund, New Brief No. 01/101, 10/10/2001 (http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/nb/2001/nb01101.htm)

13 'Ubudehe mu kurwanya ubukene: Ubudehe to Fight Poverty', Government of Rwanda, National Poverty Reduction

Programme and Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs.

7.3 Characteristics and analysis of poverty

The GoR defines poverty as follows:

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
- Do not have enough land, income or other resources to satisfy their basic needs and as a result live in precarious conditions; basic needs include food, clothing, medical costs, children's schooling etc.
- Are unable to look after themselves
- Their household has a total level of expenditure of less than 64,000 Rwf per equivalent adult in 2000 prices, or if their food expenditures fall below 45,000 Rwf per equivalent per annum.¹⁴

The GoR has identified 6 categories of Rwandan household:

- Umutindi nyakajya (those in abject poverty)
- Umutindi (the very poor)
- Umukene (the poor)
- > Umukene wifashije (the resourceful poor)
- Umukunge (the food rich)
- Umukire (the money rich)

At a household level, other important criteria for poverty are:

- Land owned
- > Household size
- Characteristics of head of household (i.e. households headed by widows, children, the elderly and the handicapped are deemed likely to be poor)

The PRSP goes into some detail about the characteristics and analysis of poverty in Rwanda (Chapter 2), and we recommend that indigenous organisationscompare these findings with the information it has on Batwa communities, to see if there are specific aspects of Batwa poverty that have not been picked up by the PRSP poverty assessments. This information should be fed back to the PRS process, to inform future revisions of the PRSP.

7.4 Sector Plans

Full details of these are in Chapter 4 of the French PRSP.

7.4.1 Agriculture and Land Tenure

The PRSP has identified economic growth as being essential to poverty reduction, and has identified agriculture and rural development as the engine for growth in the medium term. The GoR foresees agricultural growth through international trade, which will in turn create a demand for non-agricultural goods and services. Goods/crops identified for growth are banana, fruit and vegetables, livestock, potatoes, tea and coffee. These will be the areas receiving most government support.

Over time the GoR intends to diversify into the following areas:

- > Agro-processing, e.g. fruit juice
- Garment export
- > Commercial and ICT services
- > Tourism
- > Mining, e.g. tantalite
- > Skills export

¹⁴ GoR Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, op. cit., pp.10-11.

The overall agriculture strategy is to modernize and intensify small-scale agriculture and livestock, including extension, credit, and support to marketing. Currently few Batwa are experienced farmers, and are unlikely to benefit directly from these programmes, unless Batwa organisations ensure that the associations they support are linked into the PRSP agriculture initiatives. Initially the most interesting entry points for Batwa into the agriculture sector strategy are likely to be:

- Seed and planting material multiplication at a local level is being developed.
- In some cases, seed will be subsidised; for instance, seedlings for improved varieties of coffee.
- On farm demonstration plots and a system of farmer-to- farmer extension is being developed, and links with and between farmers' groups, will be encouraged
- The increases in fertiliser will be supported by appropriate seasonal credit (discussed below). A fertiliser subsidy is not thought to be necessary but the question will be kept under review.
- The introduction of improved livestock will emphasise breeds suited to mixed farming in Rwanda.
- The Banques Populaires are being recapitalised and encouraged to develop mechanisms to finance farmers' groups with seasonal and marketing credit
- Absorbtion of unemployed (paid in cash or with food) through in an intensive programme of rural public works, including road building, reforestation, terracing and marsh management.

7.4.2 Closely linked to this issue is the Land Policy and Land Law

The land policy and law are currently being discussed by the Cabinet. It is not clear when they will be adopted by parliament and brought into force, and it is unlikely that there will be further public consultation. The law and policy identifies the major land problems in Rwanda, including high population density, soil erosion, pressure on forests and natural resources, and the inconsistency between the two legal systems of land tenure – customary and written title. They then set out the main aims of the the policy and how the government hopes to achieve them.

Relevance to Batwa:

- The land policy is based on the assumption that small parcels of land are not viable, yet clearly families are surviving from them, through sophisticated intercropping systems and careful exploitation of subtle variations in microclimate and soil type.
- Preliminary estimates are that 88-98% of Batwa communities lack agricultural land and so will be excluded anyway from the land titling process. National landlessness is 11.5% (PRSP June 2002). What mechanisms are being proposed to enable landless people gain access to land?
- Many Batwa communities were deprived of their customary lands in Rwanda's forests, through economic development projects, e.g. Gishwati; or conservation projects, e.g. Volcanos and Nyungwe National Parks. The land policy makes no provision for restitution or compensation for these land losses, which have penalized the Batwa disproportionally.
- The land policy promotes land consolidation, which will adversely impact on Batwa whose land, if they have any, is usually in very small plots.
- The policy contains a provision to return land to the state if it is not adequately used. This could impact on those few Batwa who have land (e.g. through gifts from the former Kings) but are not experienced farmers. The role of Batwa NGOs and support organizations should be to assist Batwa with land to farm and so maintain their ownership.
- Many Batwa women are in common-law marriages are are thus unable to benefit from the new law assuring women's inheritance of land and property, which only applies to couples who are legally married.
- The policy aims to create one legal system of land tenure, and to impose compulsory land registration/titling, which will have to be paid for by the applicant. How will Batwa

be assisted to pay for registering their land? The policy does not go into detail about how conflicting land claims will be decided, which could be another area for Batwa NGO advocacy.

7.4.3 Health

Relevance to Batwa:

- The decentralisation of primary health care
- Mutuelles will be introduced more widely in 2002, building on the lessons of the most successful schemes. Sensitisation, start-up support, and management training will be needed. The role of HIV/AIDS sufferers also needs to be carefully assessed.
- Animateurs will provide guidance to families on when and how to access medical services. The provision of medical services by the animateurs is under consideration.
- The vaccination programme will continue to be supported, with the objective of achieving universal coverage.
- A programme is envisaged for 2002 to subsidise the provision of mosquito nets in rural areas at rates that the rural poor can afford
- As part of the HIV/AIDS strategy, groups at particularly high risk of HIV infection will be targeted for sensitisation, for instance young men and women, truck drivers, soldiers and other public servants who travel frequently, and women who depend on prostitution for their livelihoods.
- Condoms will be made available throughout the country over the next few years.
- Communities will be encouraged to take local environmental actions to discourage mosquitoes.
- The Government will ensure the availability of reproductive health services at the district level.

The PRSP does not say whether health care costs will be reduced or eradicated for poor people. Batwa NGOs could demand more information on what the GoR envisages re: health care costs, and advocate for their reduction or removal, if necessary.

7.4.4 Education

The Education sector plan is currently moving the fastest. GoR emphasis is on education for all – including primary education, literacy and lifelong skills – and universal primary education by 2010.

Primary

- The curriculum will be evaluated and reviewed in an effort to reduce the drop-out and repetition rates, so that the GoR can achieve UPE (Universal Primary Education) by 2010, leading to EFA by 2015.
- The quality of primary education will be improved by increasing the supply of textbooks and by providing funds for schools to buy non-wage inputs. The plan is to provide books in six subjects for one in three pupils every year, leading to one book per pupil, if the books last three years.
- Enrolment in primary education will be increased by addressing the specific constraints in particular communities.
- In poor communities, a significant proportion of children may not be able to pay fees. As a result the purchase of basic supplies and the maintenance of buildings becomes very difficult, contributing to the poor state of repair of many schools, and the reduction of teacher and pupil motivation. Channelling some modest funds directly to poor schools would reduce these problems.

Secondary

- The Government will increase expenditure on books and laboratory equipment, as well as on the construction and equipment of classrooms.
- Children from the poorest backgrounds will be given greater access to public secondary schools.
- The education of girls in science and technology will be emphasised.

Adult Literacy

- Better coordination with NGOs and other partners responsible for literacy and education.
- Increased funding will be provided mainly for pedagogical materials to support the national programme of popular education.
- Primary school teachers will be trained for adult education, starting in 2003.

Girls' education

- Promote gender sensitive campaigns and community-based discussions to highlight the benefits of educating girls.
- Improve the learning environment by providing necessary structures like dormitories, toilets, etc.
- Introduce a scholarship programme for girls from very poor families.

The GoR presently has not envisaged free schooling. This could be a specific entry point for Batwa advocacy, particularly if Batwa organizations ally themselves with other organizations to lobby for free schooling for all, as has recently been introduced by the new Kenyan Government.

7.4.5 Water, Housing, Energy

Relevant to Batwa:

- Implement a programme for rehabilitating the rural water supply within the next 3 years, and strengthening community management of water supply.
- Consider charges for water users
- Distribution of roofing and water harvesting kits, as well as the construction of houses, will be undertaken in 2002 or 2003, at the latest. Communities will implement this programme, with guidance from the Government and assistance from other organisations, where necessary.
- A programme of rural electrification for economic activities, not for household consumption at this stage.
- Possibly subsidy of improved stoves and other forms of low-cost energy, provision of info on Solar cells, dryers and water heaters

The main objectives of the housing and settlement sector are to rehouse those families that live in extremely poor conditions, often under plastic sheeting, and to develop the process of *imidugudu*. The GoR has decided to design smaller *imidugudu* sites than before to try to avoid previous problems, and claims that the *imidugudu* planning will be participatory and that relocation of people to *imidugudus* will be voluntary. It also claims that *imidugudus* will be developed into sustainable communities to avoid the segregation of particular groups of vulnerable people. This is clearly another sector where Batwa NGO advocacy could be organised.

7.4.6 Tourism and crafts

Relevance to Batwa:

- Preparation of a strategy for the tourist sector in 2002 which will cover protection and management of the national parks, the development of a legal framework and promotion of the country's image for visitors and investors.
- Support services for crafts through CAPMER. Establishment of a legal framework and a national support network are envisaged.

7.4.7 Human Rights and Gacaca

- The NHRC (National Human Rights Commission) will continue its work to promote and protect human rights in Rwanda, in close collaboration with human rights NGOs.
- The NHRC will be involved in the monitoring of decentralisation and gacaca as well as other Government policies with respect to human rights.
- Mechanisms for police to be accountable to the local communities will be strengthened.

 Laws that discriminate against women or other groups will be replaced, starting in 2002.

7.5 Monitoring and evaluation of poverty

The PRSP contains a chapter dedicated to this subject alone. It states that:

Rwanda's strategy for poverty reduction contains two principal objectives (i) to reduce by half the proportion of the population living below the poverty line by 2015, and (ii) to reduce by three quarters the infant and maternal mortality rates for the same period. ¹⁵

The *Poverty Observatoire* will coordinate the monitoring system and disseminate its findings. Larger surveys will be repeated every five years, but performance indicators will be monitored every year. There is the commitment to providing information in a manner that is accessible to communities.

The progress and impact of the PRSP will be analysed using defined indicators. Each year, a report on the poverty situation will be prepared based on the research carried out in the country. The information produced will be available in documentation centres, decentralised administration offices and in other appropriate structures.

Participatory poverty research and assessments will continue, including the *ubudehe mu kurwanya ubukene* exercise to define national priorities and policy options and generate greater participation in community development. The GoR intends to create an independent monitoring institution, which would use Citizen's Report Cards to provide vital feedback.

7.6 Specific mention of Batwa in PRSP

As mentioned above, the PRSP has not included an analysis of Batwa poverty, or proposed specific mechanisms to address Batwa poverty. The only specific mention of Batwa in the PRSP comes in a section titled 'Social capital to support vulnerable groups' 16. This section acknowledges that Batwa may be excluded from community-led development projects, but does not propose any specific mechanisms to redress this:

... many of the key actions to support vulnerable groups have to be undertaken by communities with local leadership. The development of social capital, by community-managed activities, is important in order to generate the sense of solidarity. Some groups, particularly the Batwa, may be unable to participate fully in community activities, and there is a risk that their needs will be overlooked. Also, some communities consist largely of vulnerable groups, and these communities need special support.'

MINALOC will no longer deal with projects for vulnerable groups directly. It is responsible for disbursing funds to the Provinces and consequently to the Districts which are then responsible for allocating funds amongst associations. Individual projects must be under the umbrella of an association so as to ensure better management of the project and its funds. At the local level, associations have to coordinate with the NGOs that are carrying out vulnerable group projects in their area to limit duplication and resource wastage.

By divesting itself of projects, MINALOC will focus on policy formulation and the setting up of funds for various vulnerable groups 17

Batwa organisations should track the implementation of this decentralization process and community-led development projects to ensure that vulnerable groups, such as the Batwa, are not left out of the process. Observations and conclusions should be fed back to the PRS managers. Batwa organisations should also monitor the development of MINALOCs funds for vulnerable groups, and ensure that communities and Batwa organizations will be able to access these funds easily.

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¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.85.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.72, point 4.5. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.73, para. 250.

8. Non-governmental feedback on the Rwanda PRSP

A recent study by Christian Aid made the following observations about the quality of participation in Rwanda's PRSP¹⁸:

- The GoR made a strong effort to hear ordinary people's views through the National Poverty Assessment.
- The GoR tried to include the most excluded groups, e.g. through the focus groups in the Policy Relevance Test, but few people in rural areas participated.
- INGOs, national NGOs, trade unions and some churches participated in the process. But religious organisations, rurally-based NGOs, peasants' associations and the informal sector were not fully involved.
- Rwandan CSOs tend to focus on short-term solutions to immediate service-delivery problems. Their limited experience with strategic dialogue gives them a more limited capacity to engage with the government in the PRS process. A history of centralised, authoritarian governance in Rwanda has helped to shape a citizen-state relationship in which citizens are not likely to believe they have a right to participate in public decision-making.
- The GoR has little direct experience with participatory policy-making.
- The GoR's expectation of civil society participation was based on consultation, rather than joint decision-making.
- Rwandan civil society assisted government in collecting better information about poverty and responded to draft documents, but they did not challenge the government's strategies by proposing alternatives. Rwandan CSOs appear to have expected consultation, rather than joint decision-making.
- There was a high commitment on the part of the GoR to people's participation during the initial analysis phase, and little effort to ensure participation during the policy formulation stage.
- CSOs reported that agendas and documents were not disseminated before the meetings [with the authorities], preventing them from preparing properly.
- Lack of time characterised the participatory process.
- Some groups were excluded from the debate because information and documents were not available in appropriate languages.

9. Possible entry points for indigenous organisations in Rwanda's PRSP

The following points are suggestions for indigenous organisations's possible intervention in Rwanda's PRSP. The choice of actions will depend on indigenous organisations's own strategic priorities and available resources.

¹⁸ 'Quality Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: Experiences from Malawi, Bolivia and Rwanda', Christian Aid, August 2002. This paper is based on research carried out before the completion of the Final PRSP in June 2002.

It could be thought that because the PRSP is already underway, the greatest opportunity to participate in policy formulation has now passed. However, as discussed above, as an organic process the PRSP is supposed to be constantly monitored and evaluated, which implies an ongoing consideration/analysis of policy as much as impact.

In addition to the general actions to influence a PRSP outlined above, indigenous organisations may like to consider carrying out all or some of the actions detailed below. Some activities are more resource-intensive than others, which should be taken into consideration when choosing an approach¹⁹.

The first step would be an examination of the PRSP document itself in order to familiarise indigenous organisations with the overall poverty reduction strategy that is to be pursued in the country. This way, indigenous organisations can also identify those aspects of the PRSP which may most affect the Batwa in Rwanda and how best indigenous organisations and the Batwa can participate (some areas have been highlighted in the section above). Unfortunately the PRSP is not yet available in Kinyarwanda - indigenous organisations could encourage the GoR to translate the document.

In terms of policy influence, we would suggest that indigenous organisations consider selecting 3-5 priority areas, in line with its own strategic priorities, and carry out targeted research in these. For example, it may be that indigenous organisations would like the government to reconsider imposing charges for water and education. indigenous organisations could try to ensure that Batwa communities and families are being targetted by health animateurs, and the proposed focus on girls' education.

The GoR has decided that pro-poor market growth is the best means of achieving in-country development, and hopes that the PRSP's focus on agricultural growth will lead to growth in non-agricultural sectors, thereby benefiting Rwanda's economy and population as a whole. There are, however, other theories about how best to achieve development, such as sustainable livelihoods, resource redistribution, or mainstreaming a human rights approach. The PRSP does not mention human rights or these other development approaches. indigenous organisations may feel that these theories would work better in Rwanda and so could encourage the GoR to follow these.

indigenous organisations can consider the characteristics of poverty outlined in Chapter 2 of the PRSP and whether these accurately reflect the situation of the Batwa in Rwanda.

indigenous organisations should take the opportunity to attend meetings, form coalitions and alliances with civil society/NGOs/CSOs, and lobby the country offices of the World Bank, IMF and other international financial institutions, donors such as DfID, and government/civil service members.

It is a good idea to contact other organisations that have been monitoring the PRSP in Rwanda, such as Christian Aid, ActionAid and Trocaire, and see if there are common areas of interest for future activities.

In terms of monitoring and evaluation, there are several activities indigenous organisations could decide to undertake. indigenous organisations has the distinct advantage of its network of *antennes* and *animateurs*, who could collect statistical data on Batwa communities, and ensure that official data collectors are reaching Batwa communities. indigenous organisations could follow up an initial agreement by the PRS team that indigenous organisations's antennes could be included in PRS teams, and receive training in how to help communities develop *Ubudehe* projects.

indigenous organisations should consider contacting the Poverty Observatoire to discuss the possibility of the antennes collecting data for use in the PRSP. Even if the Observatoire declines information supplied, indigenous organisations staff can still use the data to monitor

¹⁹ By 'resource-intensive', we mean the financial cost and also the time-cost of indigenous organisations staff.

PRSP impact, and gather its own poverty information to feed into government policy development.

indigenous organisations should consider monitoring the actions proposed in the PRSP to ensure that they are reaching the Batwa, in particular, the *ubudehe*, which is intended to be the grassroots community-led part of the PRSP. indigenous organisations could easily crosscheck the community maps produced by the *ubudehe* process to ensure that Batwa households known to indigenous organisations were included on the maps.

The PRSP outlines many ways in which the GoR will intentionally and specifically target the poor, for example in the provision of free primary education, subsidising the cost of seeds and stoves. indigenous organisations could consider monitoring whether these goals are targeting the Batwa, and evaluate their actual impact (or not, as the case may be).

indigenous organisations could also continue monitoring the land policy and land law and its implementation, as this is one of the key issues for Batwa – lack of land is a major contributor of Batwa poverty and severely limits Batwa communities ability to develop sustainable livelihoods.

As well as ensuring that the GoR's activities reach Batwa communities, indigenous organisations should consider monitoring how the Government is using its budget to implement the different sector strategies of the PRSP and whether the PRSP is is achieving its expected outcomes. For example, if certain budget lines that would benefit Batwa are not being spent, indigenous organisations could press for the government to explain why. Budget information can be very difficult to get, however.

The GoR aims to decentralise much of its poverty reduction work, which may provide indigenous organisations staff with opportunities to participate at the district and provincial level rather than central government. However, it is also recommended that indigenous organisations try to forge and maintain links with central government staff, including staff in the Poverty Observatoire, the National Poverty Reduction Programme and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.

Throughout its programme of policy influencing, monitoring and evaluation, indigenous organisations should continue canvassing its beneficiaries and membership to ensure that the ideas and needs of Batwa civil society are being fed into the country's poverty reduction process. indigenous organisations can also be a vital source of information for Batwa communities, to keep them informed about the process.

10. Useful documentation/reading list

Available in French only, where indicated

General

'Blinding with Science or Encouraging Debate? How World Bank Analysis Determines PRSP Policies', Alex Wilks and Fabien Lefrancois (Bretton Woods Project, 2002)

'Policies to Roll-back the State and Privatise?: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers investigated', World Development Movement, April 2001

'Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Synthesis of Experience with Participatory Approaches to Policy Design, Implementation and Monitoring', Rosemary McGee and Andy Norton (IDS Working Paper 109, 2000)

'Influencing Poverty Reduction Strategies: A Guide', Oxfam – En français.

'The ABC of the PRSP: An introduction to the new Bank and Fund Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers', Angela Wood (Bretton Woods Project, April 2000)

'The Potential of Using Sustainable Livelioods Approaches in PRSPs', ODI Working Paper 148

'Reducing Poverty: Is the World Bank strategy working?', Panos, August 2002

Rwanda's PRSP

'PRSP Institutionalisation Study:Final Report Chapter 8, Institutionalising the PRSP approach in Rwanda', Fred Golooba Mutebi, Simon Stone and Neil Thin, Oxford Policy Management, Oxford, UK. Submitted to the Strategic Partnership with Africa, 14 Sept 2001 (http://www.odi.org.uk/pppg/publications/papers_reports/spa/ins08.html)

'The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper', National Poverty Reduction Programme, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, June 2002 – En français

'Ignoring the experts: Poor people's exclusion from poverty reduction strategies', Christian Aid policy briefing, October 2001

'Quality Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategies: Experiences from Malawi, Bolivia and Rwanda' (Christian Aid, August 2002)

'PRSP – Joint Staff Assessment', International Development Association and the International Monetary Fund, July 18, 2002

'Ubudehe mu kurwanya ubukene: Ubudehe to Fight Poverty', GoR National Poverty Reduction Programme and Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs

'Draft – Assessing Participation in PRSPs', IDS, October 2001 (Annex 3)

DRC's PRSP

'Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper', Democratic Republic of Congo, Kinshasa, March 2002 – En français

'Democratic Republic of the Congo: Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper – Joint Staff Assessment', International Monetary Fund and International Development Association, May 24, 2002,