



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Trócaire
Working for a just world.



FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

THE INVOLVEMENT OF CITIZENS, PARTICULARLY WOMEN, IN LOCAL AGRICULTURAL GOVERNANCE, POLICY AND BUDGET MONITORING IN RWANDA

A study from Nyamagabe, Nyaruguru, Nyanza, Gakenke and Rulindo Districts

January 2020



USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

trócaire
Working for a just world.

FINAL RESEARCH REPORT

**THE INVOLVEMENT OF CITIZENS, PARTICULARLY
WOMEN, IN LOCAL AGRICULTURAL GOVERNANCE,
POLICY AND BUDGET MONITORING IN RWANDA**

A study from Nyamagabe, Nyaruguru, Nyanza, Gakenke and Rulindo Districts

January 2020

Executive Summary

With financial support from United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Trócaire Rwanda developed a three-year project ‘Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability (EPGA) in the agricultural sector in Rwanda’. The objective of the project was to strengthen the capacity of civil society and citizens, particularly women and the youth, to participate in the formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of agricultural development policies and programmes in target Districts, in order to contribute to increased transparency, accountability and inclusiveness in public agricultural policy development.

It was from that project that this piece of research was commissioned, but it should not be construed as an evaluation of it, rather this research brings together findings from various sources (a quantitative questionnaire, focus group discussions, key informant interviews as well as an extensive literature review) to gain an understanding of how discourses of citizen participation are juxtaposed with the everyday practices of farmer participation (especially women) in decision-making at the local level in Rwanda.

Specifically, the study sought to:

1. Identify the level of citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring;
2. Identify factors contributing to (enabling) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring;
3. Identify factors hindering (blocking) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring, and;
4. Suggest, derived from field-based opinions, possible mechanisms to improve citizen participation in local agricultural governance, budget formulation and budget monitoring.

This research was commissioned due to a paucity of evidence on citizen participation in the agricultural sector and due to an undeveloped understanding of the dynamics, potentials and limitations of and for farmer participation within the processes of decision-making at local level. Citizen participation in decision-making in agricultural policies and programmes, planning and budgets allows Government to develop effective and realistic agricultural plans for which farmers feel ownership and, thereby, actively contribute to increased quality and quantity of production in agriculture.

A quantitative survey of five Districts in Rwanda (Gakenke, Nyamagabe, Nyanza, Nyaruguru and Rulindo) and several focus group discussions, as well as key informant interviews were conducted to generate robust evidence on this topic. The research was conducted from February to April 2019 but finalised between November and December 2019. The research employed a framework that analysed citizen participation across the policy cycle-design; planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, while identifying who participates and at what level, their motives, factors that determine effectiveness and results of this participation. The research argues that citizen participation can only be understood in terms of the complex local processes in which different social actors (farmers, government officials, CSOs, NGOs etc.) frame, interpret and negotiate participation.

Findings suggest that the Government of Rwanda’s decentralization programme has, in principle, facilitated immense opportunities for farmers to participate in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring decision-making processes at community and local governance levels. Such opportunities have, however not been optimally exercised. While farmer participation levels are generally high (69%, 63% and 60% for local governance, policy and budget monitoring respectively), such participation was concentrated at Cell level, and at the planning stage with farmers rating their participation as ‘medium’.

The research identified several factors that can be considered as **drivers of successful citizen participation** in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring, including:

- An effective legal and institutional framework with available meeting/participatory platforms.
- Significant benefits of participation in co-operatives, the Twigire Muhinzi programme as well as the Imihigo process.
- The positive contribution of Community Scorecard (CSC) and Survey CTO as instruments that facilitate dialogue between rights-holders and duty-bearers.
- The important role played by Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in advocating for citizen participation beyond the planning level.
- Although limited, farmer participation in the processes of agricultural modernisation, has increased their productivity, knowledge and access to markets, thereby increasing household income and standard of living.

The research also identified a number of factors **hindering citizen participation** including;

- Lack of responsiveness to citizen participation from Local and District Officials at Cell, Sector and District level.
- Low levels of capacity, limited levels of education and low income of many farmers.
- Citizens' ideas not being considered, delays in service deliveries by the local leaders and slow information flow.
- The introduction and operation of technologies, such as the Smart Nkunganire and Survey CTO, although positive, presented difficulties for some farmers who lack relevant knowledge on their use.

- There were instances where multiple programmes in agriculture were brought towards citizens simultaneously by different organisations/Ministries, creating conflict between agricultural workload and the need to participate in meetings etc.
- Many women farmers lack confidence, which prevents their effective (or any) participation in community gatherings and prevents them from voicing suggestions in public.
- Farmers' representatives are often silent or ill prepared at JADF and District meetings resulting in the ideas and opinions of farmers not being included in agricultural policy.
- Leadership positions tend to be held by educated men in higher income groups, with women, less educated and poorer farmers excluded from these positions.

It is clear that the concept of citizen participation held a very different meaning for local farmers compared to that of government, CSOs, NGOs and International Agencies. For example, while international discourse on citizen participation encompasses 'capacity building', and 'empowerment', local farmers translated these in a much more pragmatic and utilitarian ways in terms of day-to-day farming needs with regard to access to and use of fertilisers, seeds, irrigation schemes etc.

In order for there to be effective participation, it needs to take place 'higher up' Arnstein's ladder (Figure 2) and thus, be more than just provision of information, (e.g. on agricultural inputs).

Effective participation also needs to result in a sharing of decision-making at all stages (planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation) of the agricultural cycle. It is only by allowing communities to be truly active partners in all stages of decision-making that their share of control and power can become more equal and to ensure they participate.

Policy Recommendations

In view of these opportunities and challenges, a number of recommendations are proposed, the adoption of which will empower farmers to participate more effectively in decision-making processes in the agricultural sector in the future, if adopted:

General

1. Having farmers and farmer organisations fulfil their ascribed role, i.e. to influence agricultural policies, is an enormous challenge. For such individuals and organisations to be effective at this, it will require considerable **investment in terms of capacity building in group dynamics, leadership, financial resource management, education and training**. It will help farmers and farmer organisations to analyse and articulate policies with the view of influencing, as well as simply participating in, the implementation process.
2. Ensuring that the participation of farmers is effective **requires a multi-sector approach** where alliances are formed between different state and non-state actors, across all ministries and branches of government (legislative, executive and judiciary) and involving associations, citizen movements, CSOs, media, academia etc. A multisector approach can eventually shift the balance of power to a point where, farmers can see some successes and thereby be encouraged, leading to more meaningful participation.
3. Participation is currently more procedural, e.g. through electing local leaders, communal labour sharing and local taxation. The Government of Rwanda needs to strengthen the attainments already made in engaging citizens in community development by the **progressive incorporation of local perspectives, values and needs in National, District, and Local indicators entrenching these into National policy guidelines** and in the Law and then ensuring that the policies and laws are implemented.
4. There is need for **further research aimed at understanding the context and features of farmer participation**, identifying strategies to replace the practice of informing and sensitising citizens and instead adopt strategies to encourage open and contradictory debate on issues of national interest.
5. Consider **establishing and operationalising an independent oversight mechanism** to monitor, report, evaluate and provide independent feedback on the rights and practice of citizens' participation.

Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA)

1. **Prove the value and ease of adoption.** If farmers do not perceive that there is value in adopting a new behaviour, then they are likely to stick with the status quo. The Government of Rwanda needs to ensure that they find ways to prove the value of adopting all of the tools, policies, and practices that they provide and that are recommended in the move from subsistence to commercial farming. Active demonstration, such as through Farmer Field Schools, could be one way to do this, as well as collating evidence that shows benefits to a farmer's bottom line, or other aspects of their farm business.
2. **Management of co-operatives.** There is a need to better support and build the capacity of farming co-operatives to strengthen government engagement and active farmer participation and to exploit existing mechanisms, such as JADF. Co-operative members need to be adequately forewarned of upcoming decision-making events and consulted to collect their needs and concerns for advocacy purposes. Representatives require further capacity building and training to ensure confidence and ability to advocate for farmers. Systems need to be established to increase membership of poorer farmers and women who currently find it difficult to meet the financial obligations of co-operatives.
3. There needs to be **renewed and concerted efforts to improve women's participation** as co-operative members and leaders. Women could be encouraged to start with smaller self-help groups to build their capacity to lead, manage and have greater financial literacy and assets and then to support them to join more formal co-operatives. Co-operatives with male and female membership should provide training to small sub-groups of women to build confidence and leadership skills. The use of 'targets' for women's representation at leadership level should be continued.

Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC)

1. It is clear from the research that **local authorities need to communicate more effectively** with the farming community and explain their decisions to them. Local councils and their partners must keep citizens informed about their actions and decisions, enhancing participation and accountability.
2. Local and District authorities need a **long term and genuine commitment to engage in processes of intensive dialogue** regarding the development of policies, programmes and measures, with farmers given sufficient time and opportunity to participate and provide feedback. Processes need to be inclusive, impartial and transparent.
3. Efforts should be made **to empower community structures and enhance citizen access to information** in order to address existing gaps in access to information on citizen participation and more generally on agriculture policies. This requires revisiting some of the modalities, channels, packaging, branding, language and platforms currently used to disseminate civic information on participation.
4. **Support linkages and dialogue between key stakeholders** (local citizens, leaders and civil society) as a core driver of transparency, involvement and accountability in agricultural budgeting decisions. The involvement of farmers/citizens in budgeting, local governance and policy engagement should go beyond Cell level. A clear structure of how priorities should be set needs to be identified with a bottom-up approach preferred, as this will better capture farmers valued ideas, whilst also demonstrating that that is happening. This would increase the overall participation rate of the farmers in programmes and activities, and give farmers greater ownership of, and belief in, their participation.

Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)

1. **An integrated approach** is needed, that not only increases the participation of women in decision-making, but also integrates women into market decisions etc.
2. There is a need to **locally institutionalise participatory process of women in local governance and leadership** through regular training at Village levels. This will initiate and encourage women to become active voices in local governance decisions, especially agricultural budgeting and monitoring, and will create greater effectiveness and efficiency in agriculture, hence increasing ownership and sustainability of local governance decisions.
3. **Promote the reduction of women's workload and engage men in domestic tasks** to promote equitable division of labor in the household. This can be done through including messages in all agriculture training activities, through highlighting positive deviants in all farmer field schools and other farmer training programs. This will allow women more time for participation at community meetings etc.
4. **Focus on implementation and practice.** Even the best-developed principles must be accompanied by capacity-development activities to enable compliance.

Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINCOFIN), Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)

1. There is a need to **invest in adult literacy programmes** to enable, especially women, to engage more effectively in democratic processes and positions, such as leadership and elections. This would also increase their awareness of, and ability to access, rights over land ownership etc.
2. There is need to develop an appropriate mechanism to encourage local citizens, especially women, to become more confident thereby enabling them to participate actively in regular local meetings and give their perceptions on the ways forward. **Applying participatory visual materials/virtual reality (VR) tools/Radio**, such as score cards and VR tools, can improve the level and nature of citizen participation in policy processes. The ultimate target would be to increase the number of women that participate in all levels of governance, budget and monitoring of programs.
3. There is need to have **beneficiaries more meaningfully involved in the budget making processes**, this from identification of priorities, through the allocation of resources to the implementation processes. This could involve working directly to foster better participation in decision-making. Low education levels results in an inability to interpret budget related information thereby limiting the ability of beneficiaries to meaningfully participate in planning and monitoring of agricultural related budgets. There should be planned workshops/ Training in order to equip farmers with tangible budgeting knowledge.

Civil Society, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)/ Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

1. The **continued support from the CSOs and NGOs** towards citizens should be further encouraged, especially the advocacy aspect. CSOs, NGOs and other partners at District level, have played an important role in the engagement of farmers in agriculture policies at the community level, this through provision of support to different agriculture associations/co-operatives and programmes aimed at agriculture growth. This support needs to be continued and expanded towards farmers who are not, as yet, part of associations/co-operatives.
2. **Conduct advocacy /confidence building** training and workshops for women to increase women's participation.
3. Provide training and capacity building for farmers on budget monitoring and **provide mentorship/coaching services**.

Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI) and Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA)

1. MINALOC, MINAGRI, and RCA should **ensure that farmers have real power to influence decision-making in the 'spaces' available** to them. There is a need to review the design of all existing citizen participation channels in order to emphasise citizen-centred planning and budgeting for local decision-making processes. There is a need to promote open dialogue at all community meetings and to expand the suggestion box idea to allow for confidential feedback and thereby empowers the most vulnerable, and least confident/powerful in the community to have a voice. There is a need to provide training on participatory approaches to facilitate genuine citizen participation in government decisions in any capacity-building intervention intended for government officials (including agronomists, FFS etc.), stakeholders, and farmers and there is a need to prioritize inclusive and gender-transformative outcomes in agricultural development strategies.

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the input of several people and organisations. We are deeply grateful to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for providing financial support to make this study possible.

We extend our appreciation to the Trócaire team and implementation partners, Rwanda Development Organization (RDO), Union des Coopératives Agricoles Intégrées (UNICOOPAGI) and the Episcopal Justice and Peace Commission (CEJP) staff for the technical input, mobilisation and guidance provided.

This appreciation is also extended to all of our respondents (from the Districts of Gakenke, Nyamagabe, Nyanza, Nyaruguru and Rulindo) who generously availed their time, cooperation, and

comprehensive inputs without which this study would not have been so greatly enriched. We extend special thanks to the Key Informants including the District Mayors, Executive Secretaries at District and Sector levels, District and Sector Agronomists, Village Leaders, Village Agricultural Committee (VAC) members, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Rwanda Agricultural Board (RAB officials) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI). We appreciated the support and collaboration provided by all stakeholders.

The opinions expressed in this report are solely those of Trócaire Rwanda, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions or policies of their donors.

Note: All photos are the property of Trócaire and permission was sought and granted by participants. Front cover photo: A group of community committee members with the rest of community in Mata sector, Nyamabuye Cell, during feedback meeting after building a Kitchen Garden.

Abbreviations /Acronyms

BFP	: Budget Framework Paper
CAADP	: Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CI	: Confidence Interval
CSO	: Civil Society Organizations
DEFF	: Design Effect
EDPRS	: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
EICV	: Enquête Intégrale sur les Conditions de Vie des ménages
FGD	: Focus Group Discussion
IDI	: In depth Interview
IRDP	: Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace
KII	: Key Informant Interview
MDA	: Ministry, Department and Agency
MIGEPROF	: Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion
MINAGRI	: Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources
MINALOC	: Ministry of Local Government
MINECOFIN	: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MTEF	: Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NAR	: Never Again Rwanda
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organizations
NISR	: National Institute of Statistics
NST	: National Strategy for Transformation
PSF	: Private Sector Federation
PSU	: Primary Sampling Unit
RGB	: Rwanda Governance Board
RNEC	: Rwanda National Ethics Committee
SEDO	: Social and Economic Development Officer

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	i		
Policy Recommendations.....	iii		
Acknowledgements	vii		
Abbreviations /Acronyms	viii		
1. Introduction	1		
1.1. Background and Context	1		
1.2. Overall Objectives	4		
1.3. Rationale for the Survey	4		
1.4. Scope of the Survey	5		
1.4. Definition of Key Terms	6		
2. Background to the Study.....	7		
2.1. Current agriculture status in Rwanda	7		
2.2. Discursive Approaches to Citizen Participation	9		
2.3. Citizen Participation in Rwanda	11		
3. Approach and methodology	16		
3.1. Study Design and Methods	16		
3.1.1. Study design	16		
3.1.2. Sample Frame and Size.....	16		
3.2. Description of Instruments and Techniques of Data Collection	17		
3.2.1. Desk Review.....	17		
3.2.2. Questionnaire.....	17		
3.2.3. Key Informants’ Interviews	17		
3.2.4. Focus Group Discussions.....	17		
3.2.5. Data Processing and Analysis	18		
3.2.6. Ethical Consideration and Data Protection	18		
3.3. Limitations of the Study	19		
4. Findings and Discussion	20		
4.1. Socio-Demographic Results	21		
4.1.1. Description of the location of farmers and their gender.....	21		
4.1.2. Farmers’ educational level by gender	22		
4.1.3. Distribution of farmers’ age by gender and marital status.....	23		
4.1.4. Farmers’ household size by District	24		
4.1.5. Distribution of farmers per government assigned Ubudehe Category in comparison with farmers’ self-defined Ubudehe Categorisation	24		
4.1.6. Distribution of farmers’ economic status	26		
4.2. The Levels, Types and Development stages of Citizen Participation in Local Agricultural Governance, Policy Engagement and Budget Monitoring	28		
4.2.1. The percentage of farmers that had previously participated in local governance, policy and budget monitoring in agriculture by District	28		
4.2.2. The level at which farmers were most likely to participate in local governance, policy and budget monitoring in agriculture	31		
4.2.3. The level at which farmers most frequently engage in decision-making.....	31		
4.2.4. The development stages farmers participated in by District.....	34		
4.2.5. The types of local governance decisions and engagement mechanisms in which farmers have participated.....	36		
4.3. A Focus on Budget Monitoring	38		
4.3.1. Farmers’ ability to be involved, and views considered in budget monitoring decisions in local associations and agriculture policy	39		
4.3.2. Farmers views that were proposed and subsequently taken into consideration for budget monitoring	40		
4.3.3. Farmers concerns for their household in regard to budget monitoring.....	42		
4.3.4. Mechanisms that enable participation in budget monitoring	43		
4.4. Leadership and Accountability	44		
4.4.1. The number and nature of leadership positions held by farmers.....	44		
4.4.2. Leadership positions held compared to level of income and education	45		
4.4.3. Farmers’ ability to hold people to account who mismanage resources in local agricultural co-			

operatives	46
4.5. A focus on Women	47
4.5.1. The level and nature of participation by women	48
4.5.2. Improvement needed for women’s active participation in agricultural activities.....	49
5. Factors that contribute positively (enablers) and challenges (blockers) to Citizen Participation in Local Governance, Policy Engagement and Budget Monitoring	52
5.1. OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, POLICY ENGAGEMENT AND BUDGET MONITORING	54
5.2. Factors that hinder (block) citizen participation in local governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring	56
6. Conclusions	58
7. Recommendations	59
7.1. General	59
7.2. Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA)	60
7.3. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC)	60
7.4. Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)	61
7.5. Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINCOFIN), Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)	61
7.6. Civil Society, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)/ Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).....	62
7.7. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI) and Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA).....	62

8. References	63
Appendix 1: Research Tools	66
1.2. Research Tool 5a. Questionnaire	66
Section 1: General Information	66
Section 2: Economic Activity	67
Section 3: Income Status	68
1.2. Research Tool 4b. Key informants interview guide	71
1.3. Research tool 4c. Focus group discussion interview guide	71

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Districts where research took place.....	5
Figure 2: Arnstein’s ladder of participation.....	9
Figure 3: A group of participants in an accountability meeting in Nyaruguru district on December 31st, 2018.....	19
Figure 4: Farmers’ educational level by gender.....	22
Figure 5: Distribution of farmers’ age by gender.....	23
Figure 6: Distribution of farmers’ marital status by gender.....	23
Figure 7: Distribution of farmers’ household size by District.....	24
Figure 8: Distribution of farmers’ Ubudehe Categorisation.....	25
Figure 9: Distribution of farmers whose source of income comes from agriculture by gender.....	26
Figure 10: Distribution of farmers’ annual income and gender.....	26
Figure 11: Annual income from agriculture by District.....	27
Figure 12 Josephine in her vegetable garden.....	27
Figure 13: Proportion of farmers who participated.....	28
Figure 14: Level of participation by District.....	31
Figure 15: Socio-political levels at which farmers most frequently engage in decision-making.....	32
Figure 16: The planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages at which citizens became involved.....	34
Figure 17: Community committee members during a refresher training on Policy, Budget monitoring and Advocacy (Gatare sector, Nyamagabe district) on December 28 th , 2018.....	37
Figure 18: Farmers’ ability to be involved with budget decisions.....	39
Figure 19: Farmers ability to be involved in budget monitoring at local Agric. Assoc.....	39
Figure 20: Are views considered with making agricultural budgeting decisions?.....	40
Figure 21: The percentage of farmers who held leadership positions in their local agricultural associations.....	44
Figure 22: The nature and percentage of the leadership positions held.....	44
Figure 23: The level of education of those in leadership positions.....	45
Figure 24: Income of those in leadership positions.....	45
Figure 25: The perceived ability by gender of farmers to hold those who mismanage funds accountable in local agricultural co-operatives.....	46
Figure 26 : The degree of participation by women in agriculture governance, policy and budget monitoring.....	48
Figure 27 : The socio-political level at which men and women participate.....	48
Figure 28 : The nature of improvements needed to encourage women’s participation.....	49
Figure 29: Conceptual breakdown of the meaning of Self Confidence, Training and Advocacy.....	50
Figure 30 A farmer (Beatrice) entering data into the online reporting platform.....	51

LIST OF TABLE

Table 1: Sampling of Farmers	17
Table 2: Farmers by place and gender.....	21
Table 3: The types of decisions farmers had participated in.	36
Table 4: Farmers opinions and requests	40
Table 5: Farmers opinions and requests.....	42
Table 6: Mechanisms that enable farmer participation in budget monitoring	43
Table 7: Improvements needed to ensure women’s participation in agricultural decision-making.	49

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and Context

Agriculture is a key sector of the Rwandan economy and has been growing in the post-genocide reconstruction era. It employs over 70% of the population and contributes 31% to GDP (NISR, 2018) with over 50 % of the total surface of the country, arable land. The rural population consists of 78 % subsistence farming families with an average land-holding size of 0.59 ha (Fifth Integrated Household Living Survey EICV 5 2018).

According to the World Bank (2015), growth in agricultural production and commercialisation of agriculture accounted for 45% of poverty reduction between 2001 and 2011 and consequently, further progress in poverty reduction must continue to come largely from the agricultural sector.

As a result of its high population density, and with such small land-holdings, Rwanda has traditionally focused primarily on subsistence agriculture. Rwanda's Vision 2020¹ and Vision 2050² aims to replace subsistence farming by a fully monetised, commercial agricultural sector, and move towards a knowledge-based society, with a vibrant class of entrepreneurs (MINECOFIN 2016).

Vision 2050 further stresses the importance of agro-processing and technology-intensive agriculture with a commercial focus. It is hoped this industry growth will further increase household incomes and reduce poverty by up to 50 % in the next two decades.

A study by International Alert (2018) showed, however, that despite the growth in agricultural production, the majority of the population still rely on subsistence agriculture and the poverty rate remains at 39.1%. This means that food and nutrition security remain critical for the country's

development, especially with a stunting rate³ of 38% and in particular, for households headed by women (UNICEF 2019).

Rwanda's Vision 2050 complies with international policies frameworks for agriculture transformation, including the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP). In the CAADP, African leaders agreed to allocate a minimum of 10% of the annual budget towards agriculture development. Even though this percentage has not been fully realised in Rwanda, there has been significant agriculture transformation over the past 10 years⁴, especially in rural areas.

In the East African region, support for agricultural development is demonstrated by the formulation of the Agriculture and Rural Development Strategy for the East African Community⁵.

Furthermore, private sector involvement in agriculture development has been viewed as an important aspect in its transformation and in this regard, an important platform, known as 'Grow Africa', has been created to bring together investors and governments to promote private investment in African Agriculture.

Grow Africa is a country-led process that seeks to strengthen investors' interests in agriculture by building increased trust and shared commitment accomplished by sharing information, lessons and best practices drawn from existing and successful projects, as well as by engaging stakeholders, including smallholder farmers, whilst also addressing key issues such as gender inclusion, land tenure, climate change and resource management. Rwanda is among the first countries selected by Grow Africa (World Economic Forum 2019).

1. Rwanda's Agriculture development is also based on the Agriculture strategy, in Vision 2020 and the National Strategy for Transformation 1.

2. Vision 2050, launched in 2016 aspires Rwanda to reach upper middle income by 2035, with a per capita income of US\$4,035, and that Rwanda would become a high-income nation with a per capita income of US\$12,476 in 2050.

3. Stunting is the impaired growth and development that children experience from poor nutrition, repeated infection, and inadequate psychosocial stimulation. Children are defined as stunted if their height-for-age is more than two standard deviations below the WHO Child Growth Standards median (WHO 2016).

4. Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation 2018-24.

5. Malabo Biennial Report, 2017.

For the agricultural sector to reach its full potential it must be sustainable, but it currently faces a range of challenges in achieving sustainability in Rwanda, including: population growth⁶, high levels of soil erosion, low levels of soil fertility, low productivity levels for both crops and livestock due to low input use, poor production techniques and inefficient farming practices (due to difficult terrain), a shortage of irrigation schemes, water pollution, climate change and the difficulty farmers have with accessing loans from financial institutions.

There are, however, also many concomitant solutions and initiatives promoting sustainable agriculture in Rwanda. As Geissel, and Newton, (2012) suggested, not all the burden lies with government, as citizens, civil society and community organisations, as well as the media and the private sector, must all take responsibility for monitoring government efforts.

The Government of Rwanda has long recognised citizen participation as one of the main components of ensuring good governance. Article 45 of the Constitution stipulates ‘All citizens have the right to participate in the governance of the country, whether directly or through representatives, in accordance with the law’.

Within the agricultural sector specifically, MINALOC (2013) confirms that, participation of citizens in local governance and policy monitoring in agriculture enables them to give their own ideas in problem solving, priority setting, planning, and budgeting. They also state that it is through the delivery of programmes that local government becomes accountable to those citizens that participate in orienting the shape of their communities.

They stress the importance of citizens using existing legal frameworks and policy tools to ensure their participation. It is their belief that if citizen participation is low, it is an indication that they are not partners with their local governments.

International and local NGOs have also recognised the importance of citizen participation in agriculture decision-making with International Alert (2018:7) stating:

6. In a country that is already densely populated, this threatens the position of agriculture as the backbone of the economy.

‘Citizen participation is very beneficial and worth investing in...the main advantage is increased farmers’ ownership over agriculture programmes. Moreover, farmers’ involvement in the process allows government to set good and realistic plans, which are effectively implemented by farmers through collective actions. As a result, farmers’ livelihoods are improved.’

Numerous reports and statistics have lauded the success of the government in getting citizens to participate. The Rwandan Governance Scorecard (2019) reported citizen participation and inclusiveness at 73%. Citizen satisfaction with holding leaders to account was 75.8% and participation in decision-making 63.9%. There has, however, also been criticism.

For example, USAID’s 2019 Country Roadmap scored civil society capacity in Rwanda at a below average 0.37⁷, and RGB’s Citizen Report Card⁸ (2018) scored citizen satisfaction with the agricultural sector at 49.4%. UNDP (2017) states that the method of decision-making, especially with regard to formulation of public policy, remains dominated by a ‘top-down’ approach and that civil society and citizens, especially women and youth, do not engage effectively in decision-making processes, especially those related to the agriculture sector.

A number of authors have also noted a strong centralism in the implementation of certain policies and programmes at local level⁹, these include: Newbury (2011) on the Umuganda villagisation programme, Ansom and Rostagno (2012) on rural development initiatives, Gaynor (2015, 2016) on Ubudehe and Umuganda, Never again Rwanda (2017) on the Imihigo process and Huggins (2017) on agricultural co-operatives.

7. Civil society and media effectiveness measure the range of actions and mechanism that citizens, civil society organisations and an independent media can use to hold the government accountable. The mechanism includes using informal tools such as social mobilisation and investigative journalism. Scores range from 0-1 with the least to most advanced globally for low and middle-income countries
8. A Citizen Report Card or CRC is a participatory social audit tool based on user feedback on public service delivery. CRC is a tool that engages citizens in assessing the quality of public services such as health, education, public transportation and other public distribution systems. It is a collective reflection of citizens’ feedback on the performance of a service provider formed by their experience of actually having used a particular service for a period of time (Lakshmisha 2018).
9. Not all studies cited are in the field of agriculture

These reports raise questions on the role of local communities within the decentralisation process and their findings will be discussed in more detail in Chapter two.

In 2017, cognisant of the need to strengthen farmers' participation in decision-making, Trócaire¹⁰ developed a three-year project 'Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability (EPGA) in the agricultural sector in Rwanda'.

The objective of the project was to strengthen the capacity of civil society and citizens, particularly women and the youth, to participate in the formulation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of agricultural development policies and programmes in target Districts, in order to contribute to increased transparency, accountability and inclusiveness in public agricultural policy development¹¹.

10. Funded by USAID - The project named "Enhancing participatory governance and accountability of local leaders and public institutions towards citizens, particularly women and youth" in Rwanda is part of USAID's focus area of strengthening participation & accountability and is implemented with three partner organisations; Rwanda Development Organization (RDO), Union des Coopératives Agricoles Intégrées (UNICOOPAGI) and the Episcopal Justice and Peace Commission (CEJP)

11. Specifically, to Partner staff and CSOs to actively engage in agriculture policy dialogue, budget monitoring, and advocacy. It intends to better link the national agriculture budget to the population's priorities, needs and rights through informed analysis and contributions to budget proposals, monitoring and tracking public revenues and expenditures, and supporting citizens' budget literacy. The activity will achieve the following objectives: Raise awareness and enhance the knowledge of citizens, especially women and youth, on agriculture policies, programs and their related budgets in order to equip them with skills to be able to hold local leaders accountable; Increase the capacity of civil society organizations in policy advocacy and budget analysis in general, and those related to agriculture in particular, and; Increase the will and capacity of local leaders to better engage with citizens and civil society organizations through training and community and national dialogues so that they are better placed to act on priority needs of citizens, especially women and youth, and civil society.

It was from that project that this piece of research was commissioned, but it should not be construed as an evaluation of it, rather this research brings together findings from various sources (a quantitative questionnaire, focus group discussions, key informant interviews as well as an extensive literature review) to gain an understanding of how discourses of citizen participation are juxtaposed with the everyday practices of (especially women) farmer participation in decision-making at the local level in Rwanda.

The research argues that citizen participation can only be understood in terms of the complex local processes in which different social actors (farmers, government officials, CSOs, NGOs etc.) frame, interpret and negotiate participation. At first glance, it may appear that discourses¹² on citizen participation 'belong' to the Government of Rwandan, along with some powerful institutions such as the World Bank, UNDP etc. It is, however, individuals, communities and their representatives that use, manipulate and transform their participation in decision-making processes.

It is only through an examination of current practice, as well as of those factors that contribute to (enable) and/or hinder (block) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, agricultural policy engagement and agricultural budget monitoring in Rwanda, that the nature and level of participation can be understood.

This research also recommends intervention strategies on existing processes and policies that may strengthen, especially women's, participation. Finally, this research hopes to offer an additional inclusive, nuanced and flexible understanding of what has become an increasingly complex and subtle set of processes.

12. The word discourse in this research refers not only to the ways of language but also to social actions.

1.2. Overall Objectives

The overall objective of the study was ‘To identify the level of involvement of the citizens, particularly women, in local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring’.

More specifically, the study sought to:

2. Identify the level of citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring;
3. Identify factors contributing to (enabling) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring;
4. Identify factors hindering (blocking) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring, and;
5. Suggest, derived from field-based opinions, possible mechanisms to improve citizen participation in local agricultural governance, budget formulation and budget monitoring.

1.3. Rationale for the Survey

This research was commissioned due to a paucity of evidence on citizen participation in the agricultural sector¹³ and due to an undeveloped understanding of the dynamics, potentials and limitations of and for farmer participation within the processes of decision-making at local level. The study comes at a time when the agricultural sector in Rwanda is also facing difficulties in reaching the Vision 2020 targets of modernising agriculture, with the sector still heavily relying on subsistence farming.

Trocaire’s mid-term evaluation (2019:30) on the ‘Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability’ project gave further importance to the need for research in this area with findings that showed:

1. *‘Limited involvement of citizens in the development of agricultural policies and programmes, as well as in the development of the District budgets;*
2. *Limited participation of farmers in agricultural planning processes;*
3. *Limited information on District Development Plans (DDPs) due to limited feedback from the elected councillors, and;*
4. *Limited capacities of farmers to claim their rights from duty bearers.’*

Citizen participation in decision-making in agricultural policies and programmes, planning and budgets allows Government to develop effective and realistic agricultural plans for which farmers feel ownership and, thereby, actively contribute to increased quality and quantity of production in agriculture.

This study is important because it helps to generate better evidence and understanding on citizen participation and on the factors that contribute to and impede the rights of, especially women, farmers to participate.

13. Framing is about interpretation and giving meaning. Frames determine what counts as a fact and what arguments are taken as relevant and compelling (Craig and Porter, 1997).

1.4. Scope of the Survey

The survey was undertaken in five Districts, namely: Nyaruguru, Nyamagabe and Nyanza in Southern Province, and Rulindo and Gakenke in Northern Province. These are all predominantly rural Districts, with Nyaruguru currently ranked as the poorest in the country and with the highest proportion of households attempting to live off <0.5 ha of land, whilst Rulindo is in the top third most wealthy Districts (EICV 4 2017).

Trocaire - USAID Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability

Districts of Intervention

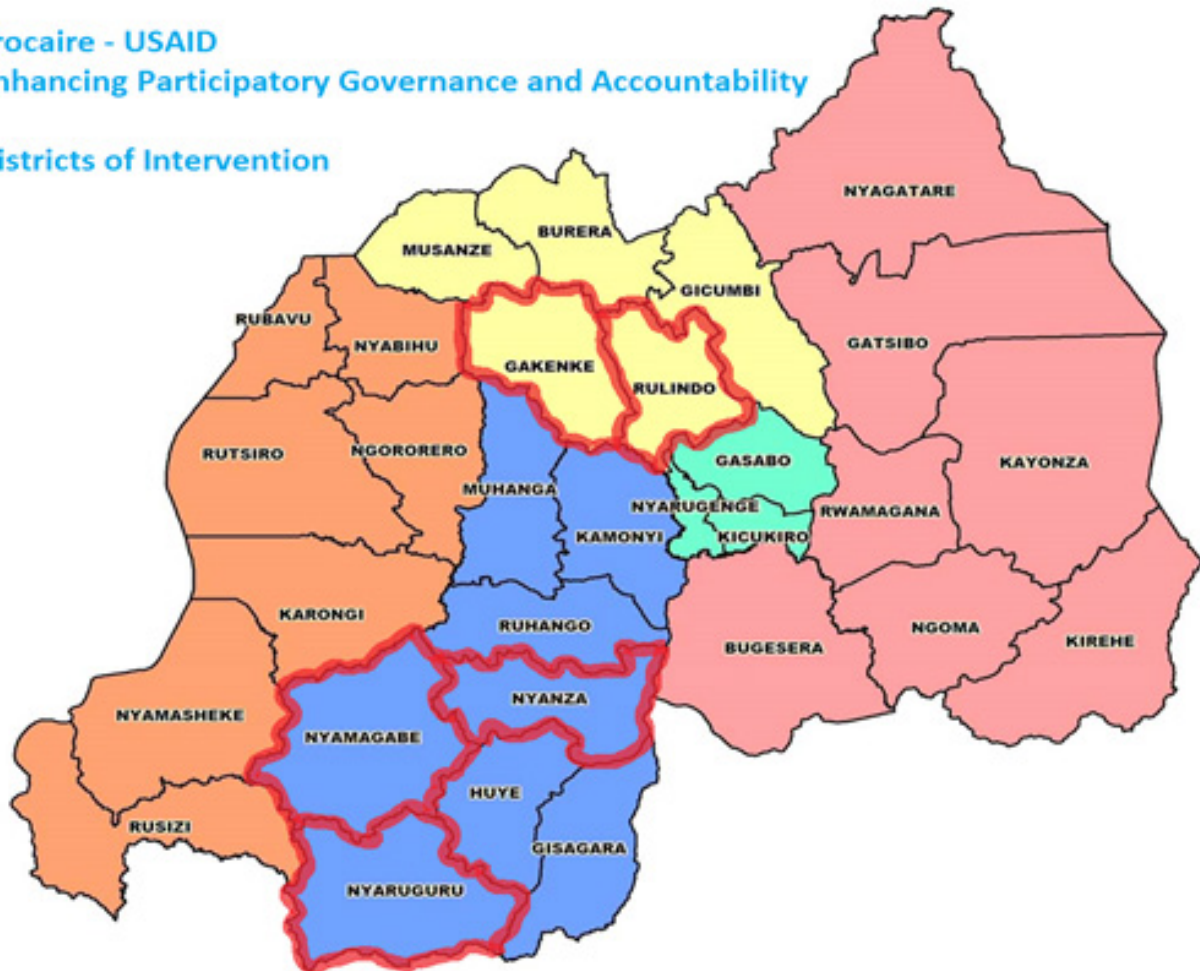


Figure 1: Districts where research took place

1.4. Definition of Key Terms

Citizen	<p>: Citizen is the status of a person recognised under the custom or law as being a legal member of a sovereign state or belonging to a nation.</p> <p>The idea of citizenship has been defined as the capacity of individuals to defend their rights in front of the governmental authority (Caves 2004). In this study citizen refers to farmers as 96% of the respondents identified as such, and for this reason the words citizen and farmer are used interchangeably in this study.</p>
Local Governance	<p>: There is no precise and universal definition about what local governance is, but it can be determined as the organisation, functions, duties and responsibilities of public authorities of all kinds who take part in the administration, relations between them and citizens or between them and non-governmental bodies.</p> <p>It defines legal methods for controlling public administration as well as the rights and duties of officials (Ndreu 2016)</p>
Agricultural policy	<p>: Agricultural policy describes a set of laws relating to domestic agriculture and imports of foreign agricultural products. Governments usually implement agricultural policies with the goal of achieving a specific outcome in the domestic agricultural product markets.</p> <p>In relation to the foregoing, Akarowhe (2017) proposed that agricultural policies are pathways of improving the activities involved in cropping, livestock, forestry, processing and marketing of agricultural product. Agricultural policies are predetermined goals, objectives and pathway set by an individual or government for the purpose of achieving a specified outcome, for the benefit of the individual(s), society and the nations' economy at large.</p>
Budget Monitoring	<p>: A budget has been defined as a financial plan embodying an estimate of proposed expenditure for a given period and the proposed means of funding them (Gasana 2017) Budgeting means the processes, procedures and mechanisms by which the budget is prepared, implemented and monitored.</p> <p>Budget monitoring can be measured by assessing the outputs, outcomes and impacts. There are different tools, methods and approaches for budget monitoring and can involve both government and non-state actors.</p>

2. Background to the Study

Citizen Participation, Decentralisation and Policy Formulation in the Agricultural Sector in Rwanda

The following sections draw on the broader literature and other related research to provide context and an overall framework to this study. The chapter starts with a brief discussion on the status of agriculture in Rwanda, followed by a review of literature on participation, its typologies and levels, the latter to provide an understanding of the concept of participation and to propose a framework for it, for this study. Finally, the chapter reviews the literature on Rwanda's Decentralisation policy, and the mechanisms used in Rwanda to encourage citizen participation.

2.1. Current agriculture status in Rwanda

Agriculture is the biggest contributor to Rwanda's economy and is tasked with leading the country to become a middle-income economy by 2050 (Vision 2050). The agricultural sector is predominately administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), whose role is to develop and increase the potential and productivity of the sector to reduce poverty and ensure food security.

At the technical and operational level, Rwanda Agriculture and Animal Resources Development Board (RAB), is charged with developing the agriculture sector into a knowledge-based, technology driven and market-oriented industry, using modern methods in crop, animal, fisheries, forestry, soil and water (RAB 2017).

At local government level, the implementation of agricultural policies is carried out by both District and Sector authorities. Service charters have been established to provide services, such as agronomists and veterinarians to farmers, and they outline the type of services provided at the different levels, those eligible for such services, the title of staff providing services, the service requirements, the cost, the time taken, as well as the days on which the services are provided.

The Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry, through Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA) is in charge of all co-operative related activities (registration, etc.).

Land issues are the responsibility of The Ministry of Environment, through Rwanda Land Management and Use Authority (RLMUA) and Rwanda Water and Forestry Authority (RWFA) and include land administration, use and land management, mapping, integrated water resources, as well as forestry.

Agriculture accounts for just under half of export goods (PSTA 4¹⁴, 2018), and provides employment for over two thirds of the working population. In 2017-2018, agricultural production increased by 8 % and contributed 2.2% points to the overall GDP growth rate (NISR¹⁵, 2017). Food crops increased by 8 % and export crops increased by 14 %. (MINECOFIN¹⁶, 2017).

Food security is a key priority in (NST¹⁷ 1) and is to be achieved by focusing on: increasing agriculture productivity, professionalising the livestock industry, and spurring rural transformation through innovation, skills and technology.

Despite remarkable improvements over recent years, the agricultural sector in Rwanda still faces many challenges, which are of great concern due to the to the strong link between agriculture and poverty, and because challenges in the agriculture sector are also drivers of rural poverty.

14. Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation 2018-2024

15. National Institution Statistics Rwanda

16. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning

17. National Strategy for Transformation

The FAO¹⁸ (2019:1) outlined five particular challenges:

1. **Land degradation and soil erosion.** Around 90% of Rwandan territory lies on slopes causing issues of soil erosion, loss and decreasing fertility, with an estimate loss of 120 million tonnes of soil (World Bank 2019).
2. **Land use and distribution.** Land categorised as rural is nearly 98% of the total land area, with around 49% classified as arable. A Land Law passed in 2005 established a private market for land titles and eliminated the customary land tenure systems. Under the law, landowners are obliged to register their land holdings, and land titles are equally available for women and men. In some cases, however, informally married women have insecure land rights and women in general face difficulties in claiming inheritance.
3. Rwandan agriculture is still **strongly dependent on rainfall and thus is vulnerable to climate shocks.** The low-level use of water resources for irrigation makes agricultural production unpredictable from one season to another.
4. **Low productivity levels for both crops and livestock due to low input use, poor production techniques and inefficient farming practices.** The use of chemical fertilisers in Rwanda saw a steady rise in 2007 when the Government of Rwanda started the Crop Intensification Program (CIP). Under this programme, subsidized fertilisers were provided to farmers for the cultivation of six priority crops, but, despite this, farmers' use of fertilisers remains quite low when compared to other countries in the region.
5. **Weak processing capacity and higher**

18. Food and Agriculture Organisation

value-added products placed on the market and poor access to loans. Only 34% of food produced reaches markets. The reasons for unexploited processing capacity lies in the lack of appropriate technologies, expertise, financing incentives and rural infrastructure. Lack of access to an adequate supply, and at times energy supply, makes it difficult for processing businesses to function with the potential loss of high value produce. There is also very little access to loans as unlike many other sub-Saharan African countries, there is no national agricultural development bank to provide significant sectoral investment.

The Strategic Plan for Agricultural Transformation (PSTA 4), that covers the period 2018-2024 aims to modernise and increase the production of agriculture and livestock, in line with the African Union's Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP). The Government of Rwanda reiterates their commitment to continue to sustain the CAADP momentum and achieve the Malabo Declaration¹⁹ goals and targets which seek to achieve prosperity for all, and tackle hunger.

The target is to achieve an average of 10% agricultural growth over the next six years, compared to 6 % growth, on average, over the last six years. The priorities are for agricultural diversification, value chain investment from the private sector, rural infrastructural development and overall increased agricultural productivity.

The key guiding principles are: participatory

19. The 2014 Malabo Declaration is a re-commitment to the CAADP principles adopted by AU Heads of State and Government to provide effective leadership for the attainment of specific goals by the year 2025, including ending hunger, tripling intra-African trade in agricultural goods and services, enhancing resilience of livelihoods and production systems, and ensuring that agriculture contributes significantly to poverty reduction (African Union 2018)

extension, multi-approach and multimethod, demand-driven and market-oriented, process and result oriented, multi-actor extension, and building on already existing initiatives (FAO 2019). To fulfil Rwanda’s strategic agricultural goals, the policy also prioritises development of farmer organisations (MINAGRI, 2009), including agricultural co-operatives and the Twigire Muhinzi extension model²⁰.

In summary, the Government of Rwanda is promoting intensification as a strategy to increase production and farmers’ incomes. According to the PSTA²¹ 3, ‘in the long term, the goal is to move Rwandan agriculture from a largely subsistence sector to a more knowledge-intensive, market-oriented sector, sustaining growth and adding value to products’.

The government regards farmers’ participation as an essential factor for sustainable agricultural development as a lack of participation in the decision to implement an agricultural policy can lead to failure in agricultural development.

2.2. Discursive Approaches to Citizen Participation

While there appears to be universal agreement that the participation of citizens in the decision-making process of government is a good idea, there is little agreement on the best way to achieve meaningful participation. There are many ways to consult with the public and get a sense of what they see as problems and opportunities; it is quite another thing to actively engage citizens in the decision-making process.

Indeed, discussion and debate on the many meanings of ‘participation’, in a range of different contexts, has been ongoing for many decades (Chirenje 2012, Fitzgerald 2016, Ank Michels 2010). The thinking on the conceptual and empirical interest in understanding participation and development, is illustrated by some recent studies that attempt to summarise large bodies of evidence about the effects of participation. Gaventa and Barrett (2012: 2399) state that:

Understanding what difference citizen participation and engagement make to development and to more accountable and responsive governance has become a key preoccupation in the development field. It has been over a decade since participation moved toward the mainstream in development debates and a strategy for achieving good governance and human rights. Despite this, a large gap still exists between normative positions promoting citizen engagement and the empirical evidence and understanding of what difference citizen engagement makes (or not) to achieving the stated goals.

A number of useful typologies or ladders of participation have been produced by, among others, Arnstein (1969), IIED (1994), Pretty (1995), and White (1996) all of whom have highlighted multiple contested meanings and drawn attention to the consequent range of outcomes possible. For example, Arnstein’s famous ladder of participation outlines nine forms of participation ranging from, at one end of the spectrum, simple manipulation of citizens to, at the other end, transformative, emancipatory outcomes where citizens deliberate and decide on policy outcomes themselves.

20. This model utilises farmer field schools (FFS) and farmer promoters (FP) to spur on agricultural innovations and productivity, and will be explained in more detail later in the report.

21. Strategic Plan for Agricultural Transformation 3

Arnstein’s Ladder of Public Participation



Figure 2: Arnstein’s ladder of participation

According to this typology, each rung corresponds to the extent of citizen's power in determining the end product. The first and second rungs are manipulation (1) and therapy (2). They actually correspond to the absence of participation and their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programmes, rather it is to enable power holders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Rung three is informing and rung four is consultation.

These two are different degrees of tokenism. The positive thing for these levels is that citizens are heard but they still lack real power to ensure that their view will be heeded by the powerful. Level five is called placation and is described as a higher level of tokenism since the power holders still retain the right to decide.

In the remaining levels, citizens enjoy increased decision-making powers. At level six (partnership), citizens can negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders and at levels seven (delegated power) and eight (citizen control), citizens obtain the majority of decision-making and managerial power (Arnstein, 2011).

These typologies can be useful to benchmark the levels of participation reported in this study, however, there have been criticisms that the typologies lack space to contextualise discussions or debate and neglects citizen's own reasons for engaging in decision making processes (Collins and Ison 2006). Cornwall (2000), believes that central to the notion of participation should be the idea of equal sharing of power and opening up interactive spaces for dialogue, to nurture local voices and ultimately lead to empowerment.

Genuine participation should, therefore, engage participants in all stages of a given activity and should ideally be implemented from the initial stages of project identification to decision-making, during implementation and ultimately in monitoring and evaluation (World Bank 2015). Fung (2006) presents another classification of participation based on three key useful questions for farmer participation in agricultural decision making:

1. Who is allowed to participate, and are they representative of the population?
2. What is the method of communication or decision-making?, and
3. How much influence or authority is granted to the participation?

The lesson from these contributions is that citizen participation, in and of itself, is not necessarily a good thing. Cornwall (2008:269) noted that it is vital to pay closer attention to who is participating, in what and for whose benefit.

Vagueness about what participation means may have helped the promise of public involvement gain purchase, but it may be time for more 'clarity through specificity' if the call for participation is to realise its democratising promise to strengthening communities' confidence and abilities to take decisions, to hold their political leaders to account and ultimately to control their own destinies (Gaynor 2015).

Norad (2013), after an exhaustive literature review, designed an evaluative approach to suit the needs of development programmes to measure citizen participation.

This approach²² is very useful as it analyses participation across project, programme and policy cycles and asks:

- Who participates (gender, education, socio-economic factors etc.)?
- What are the participant’s motives (expectations/obligations etc.)?
- What factors determine the effectiveness of participation (availability of information, pre-conditions etc.)?
- What are the results of participation (increased delivery of services, accountability, and empowerment)?

This approach is relevant and applicable to the focus of this study as NPA (2019) asserts that: *Rwanda’s policy framework allows citizens and civil society participation in the development, monitoring and implementation of developmental plans and policies.*

22. For each form of participation, the following are identified (Norad 2013:8)

1. Who participates – for instance the extent to which gender, age, economic or social factors influence the profile of participation (whether this is individual or collective). Who participates may also depend on the category of participation or the forms it takes. Men may be more present in formal local structures and committees and woman may be more involved in volunteering and providing support through committee meetings.
2. Their motives for participation – which may include the expectation of direct or indirect benefits, or motives that are more altruistic, or are based on commitment to particular values or ideals. Participants may be driven by material benefits (e.g. training, allowances, etc.) or the prospect of future jobs. But they may also engage out of goodwill, religious conviction or moral belief. Others may participate out of obligation towards, and expectation of, the community and its local leaders.
3. The extent to which the preconditions for each form of participation to be effective in exerting influence or changing outcomes are in place – such as the availability of accurate information, and a decision-making process that is not dominated by other interests to such an extent that local participation cannot exert any influence. The preconditions for effective participation are likely to vary across categories and forms of participation. Participation in design, planning and budgetary processes are likely to be effective if meaningful decisions are made at the local level or if adequate, information and sufficient resources are available (effective decentralisation). The effectiveness of participation in monitoring and evaluation will depend on the skills and motivation of those involved but also on the responsiveness of the service providers and their commitment to being held accountable.
4. The results of participation – which may in some appropriate cases be ranked on a scale of empowerment (like the Arnstein Ladder), but which may also take other forms, including increased coverage of services delivered, better alignment with local needs and priorities, improvements in the quality and accountability for service provision, or broader social learning in addressing complex challenges.

For this to happen, civil society organisations and citizens need to access information on their rights, have skills in generating and analysing data, and better skills in presenting evidence and articulating their demands.

This research used a combined approach drawing from Norad’s approach and Arnstein’s ladder in the analysis of citizen participation in decision-making in the agricultural sector in Rwanda. The framework underscores participation as a process and allows for the examination of whether citizen’s participation in Rwanda is effective in meeting the needs of citizens, especially women. It also allows for the consideration of moments of disagreement, convergence and divergence.

2.3. Citizen Participation in Rwanda

The International Peace Building Advisory Team (2015) noted that citizen participation in Rwanda showed people’s deep unease about too great a concentration of power in the office of the local administrative authority, leading to some of these powers subsequently being separated and decentralisation enhanced down to the lower levels of community.

This was evidenced by consultative efforts that showed 70% of the people demanded more participation in public affairs (MINOLOC 2004). A Decentralisation Policy was introduced in May 2000 and revised in 2012 with the aim of deepening and sustaining grassroots democratic governance and promoting equitable local development by enhancing citizen participation and strengthening the local government system, whilst also maintaining effective functional and mutually accountable links with and between Central and Local Governments entities (Ndagijimana 2019).

Local governance systems were further regulated by a number of legal and regulatory frameworks, including the Constitution of Rwanda as revised in 2015, the law governing decentralised administrative entities and several other frameworks.

All these regulatory and strategic documents put great emphasis on the role of local populations and local groups in fostering local development and in creating platforms for empowering citizens, allowing them to get involved in local decision-making and development processes.

The desire for citizen participation in Rwanda is expressed in Vision 2020 and Vision 2050 as:

Participation at grassroots level will continue to be promoted through the decentralisation process, whereby local communities are empowered through their involvement in the decision-making process, enabling them to address the issues that considerably affect them.

This is stressed further in the mid-term strategy, i.e the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS II):

Citizen Participation in decentralisation includes consulting and listening to local people and being open to local innovation. It is also about letting citizens participate directly in decision-making at their local level.... Citizen participation in decentralization enables citizens to have a say in problem-solving, priority-setting, planning, and budgeting, and in asking for accountability from their leaders (MINALOC 2013: 12).

District Development Strategies (2018-2024) also laud the importance of citizen participation at the local level:

Citizen participation can stimulate public policy and decision-making process through setting priorities, open debate about the need for and shape of a public policy (i.e. options, design, decision), the implementation of a public policy decided upon and the review and evaluation of a public policy. Citizens are more aware of their right to participate, knowledgeable about legal and institutional references, if they are really engaged²³.

Addressing agriculture specifically, MINALOC (2013) states that:

The agricultural farmers and other stakeholders in the community must be able to participate in all aspects of the policy engagement, especially for agriculture and indirectly through elected representatives at the Sector and District level...Fast-tracking and sustaining equitable local economic development as a basis for enhancing local fiscal autonomy can only be achieved once citizens participate in the design, implementation and monitoring of programs and policies.

District authorities, and their lower administrative levels (Sectors, Cells and Villages), are answerable to locally elected councils²⁴ at various administrative levels. Collaborative spaces that bring together technical and administrative service providers exist and function, for example, forums like the Joint Action Development Forum, (JADF) and local committees etc. Local government authorities are required to conform to participatory processes in planning and budgeting, as well as other processes in their areas of jurisdiction.

They are also required to prepare five-year development plans using a ‘bottom-up’ approach starting from the Village plans that feed into Cell and Sector level plans (National Decentralization Policy of 2013). In practice, however, and as long as Districts remain in strong alignment with the Government’s national plans and its development and political agendas, District authorities are able to function relatively autonomously from the centre.

Districts have control over their budgets (how funds are raised, allocated and spent), District Development Plans and the processes by which citizen participation is facilitated (CARE, 2019).

At the district level, the elected Mayor and the appointed Executive Secretary (who reports to the President) are occasionally on opposite sides of decisions causing conflicts of authority where, for instance, an elected Mayor can decide one thing but an appointed, central government official can block it (Ndereba, 2017). This may be because Vice-Mayor and Mayor positions constitute ‘strategic political appointments’ (Gaynor, 2013).

In addition, the Community Development Policy, first formulated in 2001 and revised in 2008, emphasised a cost-sharing concept of participation, highlighting the discourse of self-reliance and self-development as key drivers of community engagement. Home-grown solutions were established in a bid to encourage implementation of these policies in order that citizens can theoretically hold their local leaders and service providers to account for the services they deliver.

23. LODA, District Development Strategies participatory planning approach , a Citizen’s Guide for DDS 2018-2024

24. Local councils are the most legitimised participatory structures composed by elected representatives and regulated by the low governing the functioning of decentralized entities. Through the councils, local citizens participate indirectly in the local decision making processes.

The various mechanisms that exist in Rwanda include those described here:

1. **Cell committee meetings** – these are used for the communication of directives from the upper levels that are then implemented through mobilisation at the Village level
2. **Umuganda**²⁵ – this is a monthly, mandatory community service and/or meeting
3. **Ubudehe**²⁶ – this is the active involvement of communities in solving problems at Cell level, supported by the work of Ubudehe facilitators, who visits Cells and support people in discussing the characteristics of poverty and their role in poverty reduction and the classification of households into poverty categories
4. **Citizen Assemblies** – also known as ‘Inteko z’ Abaturage’, are attended by residents in Cells and a range of leaders from various structures come to provide them with advice and share ideas
5. **Imihigo**²⁷ – these are mandatory performance-contracts in which development partners engage in delivery of specific objectives
6. **Abunzi** – this is where local priorities are signed with the President and where community mediators resolve disputes at community level.
7. **Umugoroba w’ababyeyi, or parents’ evening** forums where through mandatory participation, aims at improving family relationships and living conditions toward sustainable development (NWC 2013)

25. *Umuganda: The concept of “Umuganda” dates back to the Rwandan tradition of solidarity that consisted in working together to help one of the members of the community. This has inspired the government in the establishment of the Public work framework whereby the members of the neighbourhood come together ever last Saturday of the month to accomplish a specific task for a common interest or needy neighbours.*

26. *The Ubudehe scheme is another participation framework that was also a practice in the Rwandan culture of working together for a common interest.*

27. *Imihigo (performance contracts): A home-grown solution consisting in pledging to accomplish a certain number of tasks for which someone is held accountable. It is a participatory framework that ensures that citizen priorities are identified by themselves from the household level and that they are taken into account in the District annual list of priorities.*

8. **Inama Njyanama, or elected local councils**, are an indirect citizen participation mechanism. They exist at Cell, Sector, and district levels and play an oversight role over the executive committees at these levels and are designed to represent citizens’ interests.

In addition to these, there are the **National Youth Council (NYC)**, **National Women’s Council (NWC)**, **National Council for Persons with Disabilities (NCPD)**, various **media organizations**, and **civil society organizations (CSOs)**, which exist at the different layers of local government (Village, Cell, Sector, and District) (Never Again Rwanda 2018).

For farmers, there are further opportunities for participation at the local level through the **Twigire Muhinzi extension model** and **agricultural co-operatives**. The Twigire Muhinzi extension model utilizes farmer field schools (FFS) and farmer promoters (FP) to spur on agricultural innovations and productivity. Agricultural co-operatives are member-controlled association for producing goods and services in which the participating members, individual farmers or households, share the risks and profits of a jointly established and owned economic enterprise.

In this context, co-operative members are both owners and investors in a co-operative. In Rwanda, there are 9,597 co-operatives with shared capital of more than Rwf45 billion, and over five million members (comprising over 2.69 million men, and over 2.14 million women) (Newtimes 2019).

Other innovations include the **Rwanda Governance Scorecard**, **Citizen Report Card** and **Survey CTO**. These are all forms of public accountability mechanisms that allow for citizens to rate, and provide feedback on their needs, participation etc. further enhancing citizen participation and demand for accountability. Rwanda has also operationalised a decentralised civil registration system and reformed its judicial system to enhance access to quality justice. At National level, there are regular meetings with high-level leaders and a yearly high-level consultative meeting (**Umushyikirano**) whereby citizens can raise issues concerning their lives.

All of the above should allow leaders to be informed about citizen preferences and complaints, and/or allow citizens to participate directly in planning and implementation of local programmes that increase their ownership and control (RGB 2018).

In particular, the annual national dialogue (**Umushyikirano**) is an example of a high-level accountability mechanism that attempts to bridge the gap between local and national governance and provides a forum through which citizens can openly challenge the effectiveness of their District authorities in a national arena.

Overall, and to date, there have been an impressive number of benefits derived from these policies and a boost in citizen participation in various government-led programmes (Never Again 2018). Bangwanubusa (2017) compared two terms of office of local councils, one in the period 2011-2015 and one from March 2016 to date.

This work has revealed an increase in the level of satisfaction of both local councillors (58.9% up to 77.2%) and constituents (29.3% up to 42%) in defining priorities and preferences. According to the study, the improvement is due to the use of a number of existing participation platforms (Bangwanubusa 2017). Results from the RGB Citizen Report Card (2018) also was very positive, with citizen satisfaction with participation at 75% and citizen satisfaction in local administration at 71.9%. Although a lot lower for citizen satisfaction with participation in the agricultural sector (49%).

Despite the best efforts of the Government of Rwanda's with the different laws, strategies, policies, programmes and channels that have been put in place in order to ensure that citizens enjoy their rights in participating in decision-making at all levels, effective participation is still problematic.

This may be because although this array of mechanisms, or 'spaces for engagement' exist, 'they have been fostered and implemented in a framework of top-down, centrally driven policies and within an arena whose boundaries are defined by the state (Chambers and Golooba Mutebi, 2012)'.

CARE (2019) noted that community members often expressed the view that their local leaders and service providers were more accountable to the central level than to them. They also noted that communities' willingness and capacity to challenge their local leaders and service providers is constrained.

The Rwanda Governance Board (2018) stated 'participation level in local government is still weak despite a non-negligible number of participation frameworks'.

The NPA (2018) study found that citizen participation was high within mandatory 'spaces', such as Umuganda, but low and ineffective in others, such as Imihigos where citizens feel there is insufficient consultation and that their views are not fully considered in the development of final plans and performance contracts.

Gaynor (2013) found that increased pressure to produce results through the Imihigo targets set at higher levels, consolidated upward accountability thereby reducing the opportunity for top-down accountability and public participation. In addition, Gaynor (ibid) found that the assumption that feedback will happen in a timely manner, from National to District level, was overly optimistic and, in order for this to occur, required constant reinforcement.

Never Again Rwanda's 2018 study on the Imihigo process found that 'decentralised dialogue mechanisms have existed for some years (for instance: Joint Action Development Forum, Village and Cell assemblies, Imihigo) but have rarely been used effectively by citizens apart from through the community scorecard'.

The criticisms of decentralisation are not unique to Rwanda though, as neighbouring countries have also had issues, e.g. Kakumba (2010) in a study of decentralisation processes in Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya mainly attributed poor decentralisation to a combination of central governments' reluctance to relinquish authority in these key areas and the complexity of organisational redesign to support decentralisation.

Specifically, in relation to agriculture, Higgins (2017) study on co-operatives in the agricultural sector outlined issues of power and mistrust and a study by Transparency International (2018) revealed that performance contracts are hard to implement because individual farmers and farmers' co-operatives are not involved in the original formulation process.

According to Transparency International's (ibid) findings on planning of the Imihigo phase, 84% of farmers were not invited to attend any meetings with the Districts in Imihigo preparation, whilst 76% said they didn't join the District in the formulation of Imihigos. The survey further showed that 78% do not express priorities in the Sector.

In response, the Head of planning at Rwanda Agriculture Board (RAB) stated:

'It looks like farmers are forced to implement programmes because if participation is at 15% but the implementation is up to 68%, we need to put in more efforts to engage farmers in the entire process' (New Times 2018)

In summary, it can be seen that citizen participation is now procedural through electing local leaders, communal platforms and labour sharing.

The Government of Rwanda appears to be committed to the highest level of participation 'empowerment' and has shown strong commitment to including citizens at all levels, from planning to evaluation. Research has, however, shown that full and effective citizen participation has been difficult to achieve.

As outlined in the National Decentralization Policy 2013, the government needs to integrate central government strategic planning with citizen prioritisation to ensure that the scarce resources are put to the best use.

Chapter four will assess the extent to which this is happening in five Districts in Rwanda with regard to local governance, policy and budget monitoring in agriculture, first the study's approach and methodology is briefly outlined.

3. Approach and methodology

As stated in the Introduction, the overall objective of the study was to identify the level of participation of citizens, particularly women in local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring. This chapter describes the general approach, description of instruments of data collection, study design and methods, population of the study, sample frame, and ethical considerations for undertaking this research study.

3.1. Study Design and Methods

3.1.1. Study design

The study adopted a mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative methods in order to get both farmers' perceptions of and experiences with participatory processes for agricultural decision-making.

The approach adopted, allowed for a more comprehensive analysis, where qualitative findings were used to complement the quantitative information. The research was conducted from February to April 2019 but finalised between November and December 2019.

The quantitative data collection included a standardised questionnaire administered to farmers from five Districts in Rwanda. The qualitative data collection included key informant interviews (KIIs) at District and National level and focus group discussions (FGDs) with farmers.

This allowed for further insights to be gleaned to understand the reasons behind some issues as well as motivations that were not captured with the survey data.

3.1.2. Sample Frame and Size

The total number of program beneficiaries was 3,675 citizens across the five Districts where 70 % were women²⁸. The research study employed a cluster sampling technique where one Sector from each of Gakenke, Rulindo, Nyanza, Nyamagabe and Nyaruguru was sampled.

Assuming 95 % Confidence Interval (CI), prevalence of 0.5, a representative sample of 348 respondents²⁹ was attained using sample calculation formula in Raosoft and multiplied by two to capture the discrepancies within the sample based on cluster sampling, reaching a final sample size of 696 respondents.

The primary sampling unit (PSU) for the research study was the Sector. The number of Sectors in each District that were randomly selected constituted primary sampling units that provided a sample size based on the applied formula. A sample of 138 farmers were selected at second stage from each of Nyaruguru and Nyamagabe Districts, and the Districts of Nyanza, Gakenke and Rulindo had sample size of 140 farmers. After cleaning the data, the sample size was reduced to 629, due to a high level of missing data. The table below summaries the number of survey participants for each activity at District level.

²⁸. Trocaire field report

²⁹. The terms respondents, farmers, citizens are used interchangeably in the study (see chapter 1)

Table 1: Sampling of Farmers

Survey area/Survey tools						
Target Areas	Gakenke	Rulindo	Nyanza	Nyamagabe	Nyaruguru	Total
Focus group discussion with citizens	12	15	15	15	15	72
Quantitative Questionnaires	140	140	140	138	138	696
Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)	5	5	5	5	5	25
Round table discussion with District based CSO members	5	5	6	6	5	27

Source: Field research

3.2. Description of Instruments and Techniques of Data Collection

The study used four techniques in data collection namely; desk review of available literature, questionnaires, focus group discussion and key informant interviews.

3.2.1. Desk Review

Desk research was used to collect extant literature related to agriculture, citizen participation and decentralisation in Rwanda. This involved a review of a number of governance and participation assessment frameworks, both national and international (e.g. UNDP, RDB, World Bank, USAID, Rwanda Governance Board, and IRDP). It also examined the legal, policy and institutional frameworks for citizen participation in Rwanda (such as Vision 2050, Vision 2020, EDPRS, National Decentralisation Policy, and Decentralisation Implementation Plan 2011-2015) and agricultural related policies (MINAGRI 2009, PSTA3, PSTA4). To enrich the depth of analysis and discussion, a review of existing literature on, accountability, leadership budget monitoring and gender approaches was carried out, as well various organisational reports from Trocaire and other NGOs that were pertinent to the subject.

3.2.2. Questionnaire

A detailed questionnaire, predominately multiple choice but with some open ended questions was developed and administered in order to gather data, in line with the objectives of the study which included highlighting the level, issues and challenges of citizens' involvement in local governance, policy formulation, and budget monitoring for the agriculture Sector. The questionnaire was developed in English but was administered by Kinyarwanda speaking enumerators after it was translated.

3.2.3. Key Informants' Interviews

Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with selected decision-makers, representatives of NGOs and CSOs, members of Local Councils and District Mayors. Discussions covered issues raised by respondents, especially issues raised in FGDs.

These interviews were carried out in Kigali and various Districts and included the Director of Planning and Director of MINAGRI at District level, a Sector Executive Secretary, Social Affairs Officer and Agriculture Officer at Sector level in each District. Technical staff (2) from MINAGRI, Civil Society (2) and private sector (2) and implementing partners (3) were also interviewed.

3.2.4. Focus Group Discussions

In addition to the literature review and KIIs, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted. Kitzinger (2005) observes that 'the idea behind focus group methodology is that group processes can help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one to one interview'.

In each Sector, two FGDs were conducted in order to assess their views regarding citizens' involvement in local governance and budget monitoring in the agriculture sector in Rwanda. The FGDs were carried out separately for men and women categories of farmers. Each focus group discussion had a minimum of 12 and maximum of 15 participants.

3.2.5. Data Processing and Analysis

Statistical software, STATA was used for the quantitative analysis and N-VIVO was employed for qualitative information. Data editing was continuously performed during and after the data entry phase in order to detect out-of-range and/or inconsistent data values.

The questionnaires were edited before entry to make necessary corrections and ensure accuracy of the information. This was followed by the translation and coding of open-ended questions in the instrument to assist data entry as well as analysis.

In many cases follow up contacts with the farmers were made in order to verify previously reported survey data especially in interviews conducted with officials in the Districts.

Upon producing the clean data file, statistical tabulations were generated to inform the analysis. In addition to the interviews, notes were taken, especially in the FGDs as well as individual interviews.

3.2.6. Ethical Consideration and Data Protection

The research team sought and was granted research clearance from the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) and the Rwanda National Ethics Committee (RNEC).

These two institutions validated the instruments that were used in data collection and approved the presented research protocol. Informed consent to take part in this study was always sought, after explaining to the participants the study objectives and how the findings were to be used.

3.3. Limitations of the Study

Three main limitations need to be highlighted:



Figure 3: A group of participants in an accountability meeting in Nyaruguru district on December 31st, 2018

1. As most respondents in this study were involved to some extent with the Trocaire project ‘Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability (EPGA) in the agricultural sector in Rwanda’ and thereby, in receipt of project inputs either directly or indirectly, some caution is needed when making inferences outside the project population.
2. Respondents are used to being surveyed and take part in regular surveys such as the Citizen Score Card, Governance Scorecard and Survey CTO. Other research has noted that due to the high level of questionnaires, respondents have learned to give the ‘correct’ answer to familiar questions (Gaynor 2015).
3. For example, it was noted by enumerators in this study that farmers tended to use the ‘no response’ box when their intention was often ‘no’; a factor that can be seen in much of the data presented here (example Figure 4.2.2).
4. When a ‘no response’ box was not available, there was often a large amount of ‘missing data’. As a result, missing data is reported in all cases where it was >10%. Where it was <10%, the mean average³⁰ was used to substitute the missing data.

³⁰ For missing data on multi-item questionnaires, mean imputation were applied at the item level. The missing item scores were imputed with the item mean for each item. In that case the average of the respondents with observed scores for each item was computed and that average value was imputed for respondents with a missing score. As this can lead to bias, it was only used for missing data <10% in this study.

4. Findings and Discussion

This chapter presents and discusses the principal findings of the research and is structured in accordance with the research objective and sub-objectives. It encompasses both the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of farmers in the study as well as the level, types and development stages of farmer participation in local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring. The analysis of the results is compared with other similar studies³¹. The opportunities and challenges faced by farmers are then discussed and in particular, the opportunities and challenges for women's participation are considered. The importance of leadership and accountability, as well as the mechanisms by which these can be improved for more effective citizen participation in future, are also examined.

31. *It is important to recognise that although there are many studies on citizen participation in Rwanda and in agriculture in particular, the understanding of participation ranges from service delivery to empowerment.*

4.1. Socio-Demographic Results

The background characteristics of citizens are useful in helping to understand the effectiveness of citizen participation in local government service delivery processes. In this regard, data such as age, gender, household size, highest level of education attained and income from agriculture, was collected from across the Districts. The purpose was to explore whether these background factors have an influence on citizen participation in decision-making processes. The background characteristics collected are presented under the following sub-sections.

4.1.1. Description of the location of farmers and their gender

Table 2: Farmers by place and gender

Province	District	Sector	No. of Cells	No. of Villages	Place of residence		Farmers by gender		
					Rural	Semi-urban	Female	Male	Total
North	Gakenke	Janja	7	11	6	5	94	33	127
	Rulindo	Base	5	7	4	3	95	34	129
South	Nyamagabe	Kitabi	10	14	11	3	108	16	124
	Nyanza	Rwabicuma	6	11	7	4	87	36	124
	Nyaruguru	Mata	10	13	7	6	106	19	125
Total	5	5	38	56	35	21	490	138	629

The findings of this research report were disaggregated by District, Sector, Cell and Village. As stated in Chapter three, the sampling process was based on the beneficiaries of the Trocaire/USAID EPGA project in each of five target Districts, two in the Northern Province and three in the Southern Province. From these, five Districts, five Sectors, 38 Cells, and 56 Villages (35 rural and 21 Semi-Urban) were sampled.

96% of respondents were farmers, with the remaining 4% involved in agricultural markets but not producers themselves. The ratio of women to men sampled, namely 60% Women, 20% Youth (both boys and girls) and 20% Men, was based on the actual population benefitting from the EPGA project.

4.1.2. Farmers' educational level by gender

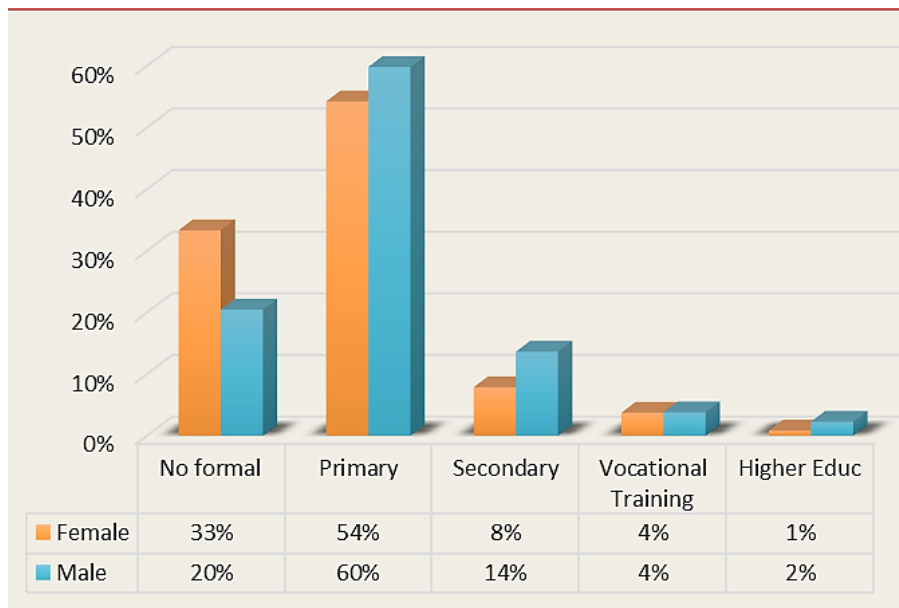


Figure 4: Farmers' educational level by gender

Figure 4 above indicates that 33% of women (26.5% Mean for men and women) have no formal education at all, whereas 54% have only primary education, 8% secondary and 5% vocational or higher education, with a greater proportion of men at each educational level above 'no formal'.

Although the results differed from the Trócaire (2019) study (which found that 2% of farmers had no education, 73% primary and 18% secondary) the findings are very similar to those from the Agricultural Household Survey (2017), which recorded that from a population of 5.4 million agricultural households, 55.5 % had achieved primary school education level, 17.2 % secondary, 1.9 % tertiary and that 25.4 % had received no formal education at all.

With AHA (2017) similarly finding that among the agricultural population, 21.1 % of male and 28.9 % of female have no formal education.

The findings of FGDs revealed discriminatory attitudes towards farmers based on their level of education, with one of the farmers stating:

What mainly hinders people's participation in this community; some of our people have low levels of education, so they struggle when programmes are brought here when you need to have some level of education...so we need to use leaders to tell them what to do (Rulindo KII)

A number of research studies in Rwanda have also noted that, when it comes to citizen participation, educated persons tend to be favoured over those who lack education (ISER 2018; Gaynor 2015).

These findings call for responsiveness and sensitivity to differences in abilities (reading, writing etc) when designing participation campaigns and materials on agriculture at local government level.

4.1.3. Distribution of farmers' age by gender and marital status

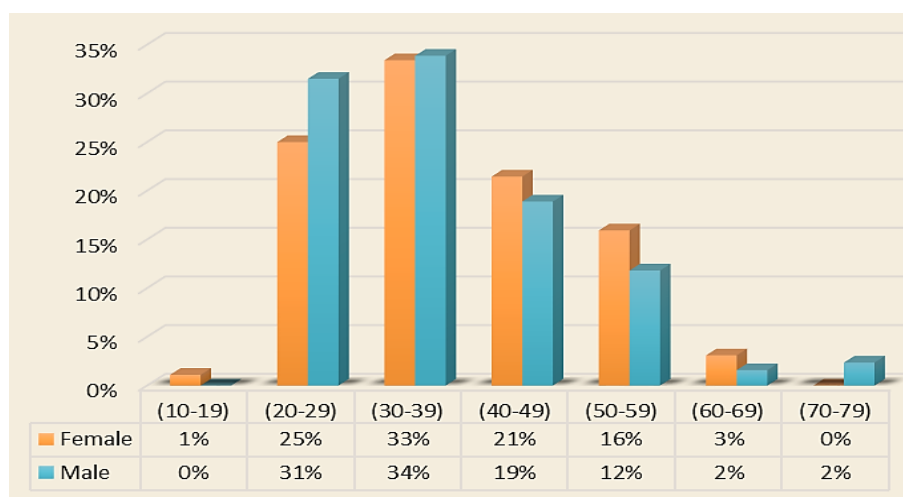


Figure 5: Distribution of farmers' age by gender

Age distribution plays an important role in defining development efforts and resource distribution, especially in agriculture where activities often require strength and resilience. Figure 5 above shows that the majority of farmers were aged between 30 and 39 years, i.e. the age at which farmers are most active in agricultural practices. These findings are in consonance with those of the Trócaire (2019) and AHS (2017) reports that found the Mean age of farmers in Rwanda falls within the same age category. It is through effective citizen participation that local governments can ensure inclusion across all the ages in agricultural decision-making processes. Age distribution was similar for male and female respondents.

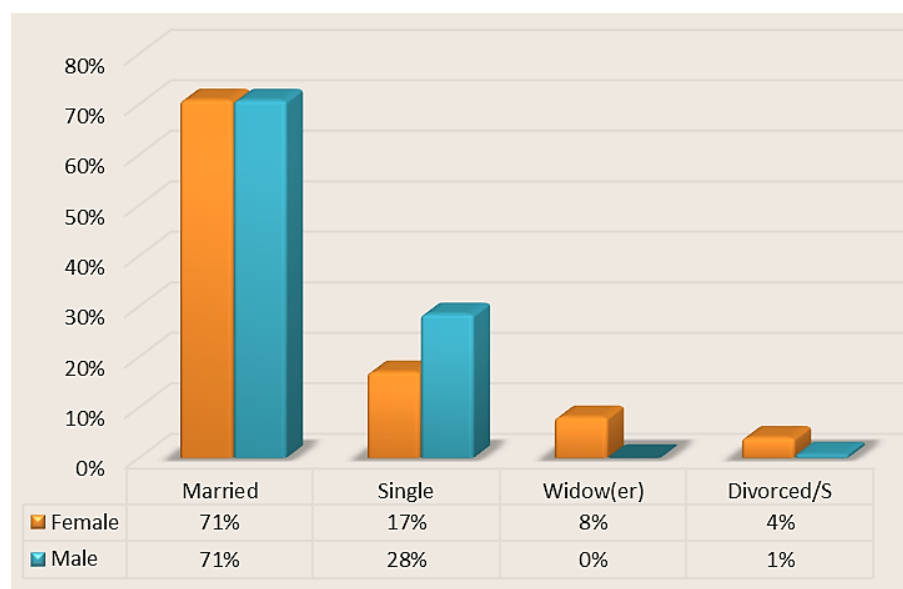


Figure 6: Distribution of farmers' marital status by gender

Pertaining to marital status, the majority (71%) of farmers were married with only 19% unmarried. Divorced and widowed persons constituted 6% and 3% of farmers respectively. Again, these findings are similar to findings from the AHS (2017) study. From a gender perspective, both male and female respondents were equally likely to be married although more men were single (28%) than women (17%).

4.1.4. Farmers' household size by District

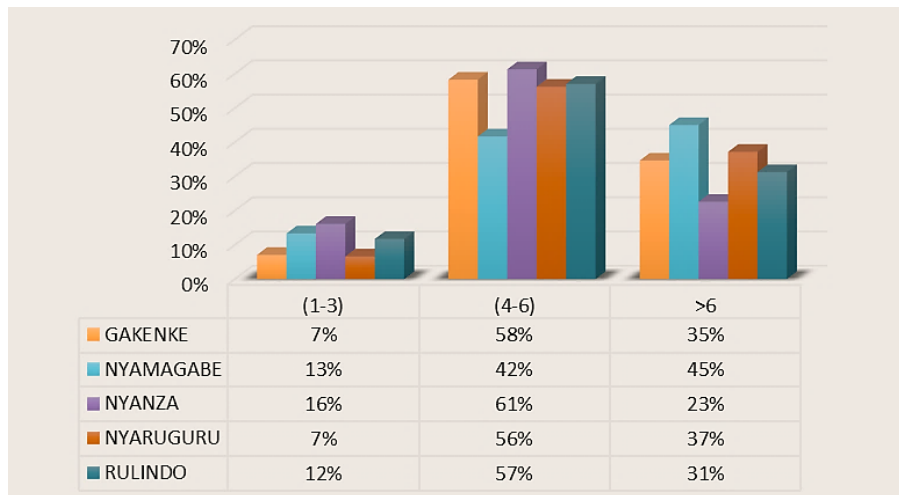


Figure 7: Distribution of farmers' household size by District

Many studies have shown a strong link between household size and vulnerability with most researchers agreeing that people living in larger households are typically poorer than those living in small households (Shinns & Lyne, 2004; Virola, et al, 2007). The most common household size recorded in this study was between 4-6 persons (55%) across all District, followed by household size of >6 (34%) and household size of 1-3 (11%). The greatest proportion of small households (1-3 people) were in Nyanza District (16%) and the largest proportion of large households (>6 people) was in Nyamagabe (45%). Similar results were also recorded by AHS (2017) and Trócaire (2019) where an average household size, at the national level, was found to be 4.5.

According to this study, the number of households with a disabled person was 18%, which appears to be a lot higher than national statistics of 5% (NISR 2012). However, WHO (2011)³² believes that given Rwanda's history of genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 and the poor economy, a more realistic prevalence of disability may be closer to the worldwide estimation of 15%. Although disability is not a focus for this study, it is important to note the high prevalence among rural farmer families. Further research and planning are needed to understand the issues and challenges disability presents.

32. Underestimating the number of PWDs is likely, due to the stigma attached to disability in the Rwandan society, where some households may not declare members as having a disability (Thomas, 2005 quoted in Urimubenshi et al 2015:12).

4.1.5. Distribution of farmers per government assigned Ubudehe Category in comparison with farmers' self-defined Ubudehe Categorisation

Although the concept of Ubudehe has been in Rwanda since 2000, the Ubudehe categories themselves have only been in place since July 2016. The Ubudehe approach is a community-based methodology designed to target eligible beneficiaries, with the method allocating each household to one of four income and poverty-related categories³³ differentiated by qualitative criteria.

In each category³⁴, Village-level communities identify the poorest households that are most in need of income support from a range of social programmes, including educational stipends and subsidies for health insurance. A range of social sector programmes, including agricultural programmes, then use Ubudehe data as an input to determine beneficiary eligibility.

33. The first category is composed of people with no means to own or rent homes of their own and can hardly put food on the table. The second category is for people who have part time small jobs and either own cheap houses or are able to pay rent. The third category included farmers, professionals, and business owners and consequently do not need help from the Government for survival. The fourth category is made up of people deemed to be rich such as government officials from the level of director upwards, and large business owners.

34. No respondents identified as either government assigned or self-defined Category 4 in this study

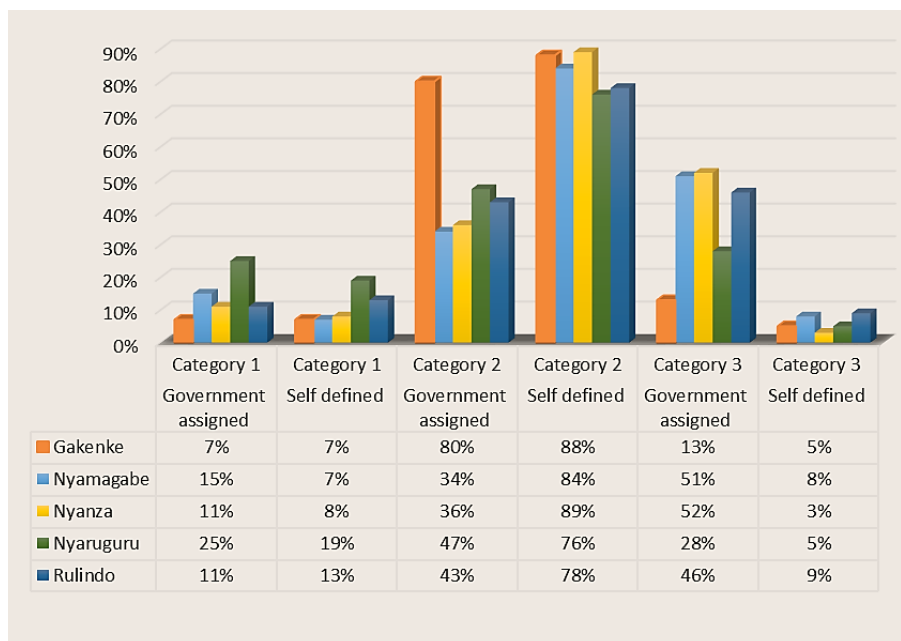


Figure 8: Distribution of farmers' Ubudehe Categorisation

Figure 8 above shows that the majority of farmers believe that their government Ubudehe category is not the category they should have been assigned to. For example, the total for government assigned Category 1 was 9%, whereas for farmer defined the figure was 14%.

The most controversial category was Category 2 where the government assigned figure was 48%, compared to the farmer defined figure of 84%. Finally, for Category 3, the government assigned figure was 38%, whereas the farmer defined figure was 7%. When analysed by District, Gakenke was most closely aligned with the government assigned categorisation, whereas those in Nyamagabe and Nyanza were more likely to feel they had been incorrectly categorised.

FGD and KIIs also highlighted issues with Ubudehe categorisation, as did various reports in the media and other research studies, such as Gaynor (2015) and RCSP (2019). For example, a report by Timothy Semana, Nyanza District stated:

Some people have been put into the third category while they don't have anything. They are not able to pay for Mutuelle de Santé or even afford the basic needs which they would get with the help of the Government if they would have been categorised rightly (New Times, 2019),

In response to these criticism, Laetitia Nkunda, Director General of The Local Administrative Entities Development Agency (LODA)³⁵, made clear that the Government was aware of the issue and for the 2019 re-categorisation stated:

We want to consult citizens and respond to their complaints. We want to put in more effort compared to the previous process....We want them (citizens) to be frank with us and tell us the real problems they face with these Ubudehe categories so that we search for durable solutions. We want them to feel more concerned and understand their contribution to improve this categorisation system (New Times 2019).

35. The Local Administrative Entities Development Agency (LODA) is a Government Fund under the supervision of MINALOC. LODA focuses on Local Economic & Community Development, Social Protection, capacity building of local administrative entities within the scope of its mission. Moreover, LODA does monitoring and evaluation on the implementation process of development programs in Local Governments with the view of contributing to the capacity building of population and decentralized entities as well as reducing extreme poverty in the country.

4.1.6. Distribution of farmers' economic status

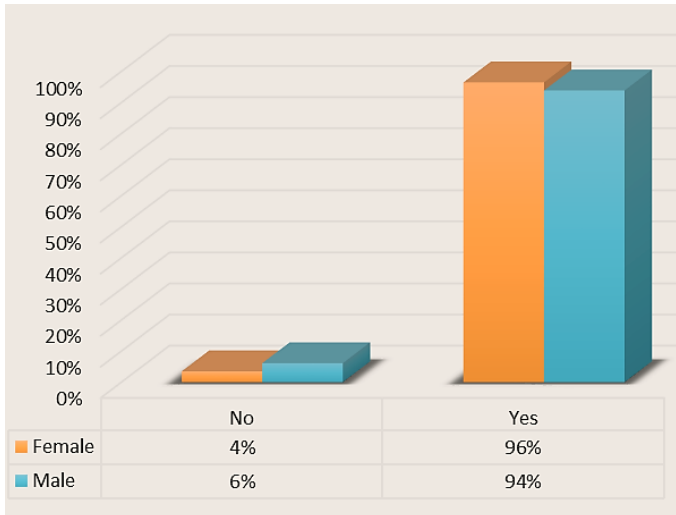


Figure 9: Distribution of farmers whose source of income comes from agriculture by gender

The working population in agriculture is an engine to contribute to the productivity of the national economy. Although, Rwanda has effectively implemented the decentralisation policy in the delivery of services at local government level, there is still widespread economic marginalisation in rural areas.

Little attention has been paid to analysing the relationship between socio-economic marginalisation and citizen participation, in particular by women, in local government service delivery processes. Sources of income indicate a person's average earning over time and survey farmers were asked to state their average income over the previous 12 months³⁶. The findings on economic status are presented in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9 above shows that the vast majority of farmers rely on agriculture as their main source of livelihood (Mean 95%), however, Figure 10 reveals that, for most households, the annual income derived from this is less than RWF 50,000 and that very few farmers have annual incomes of greater than RWF 200,000.

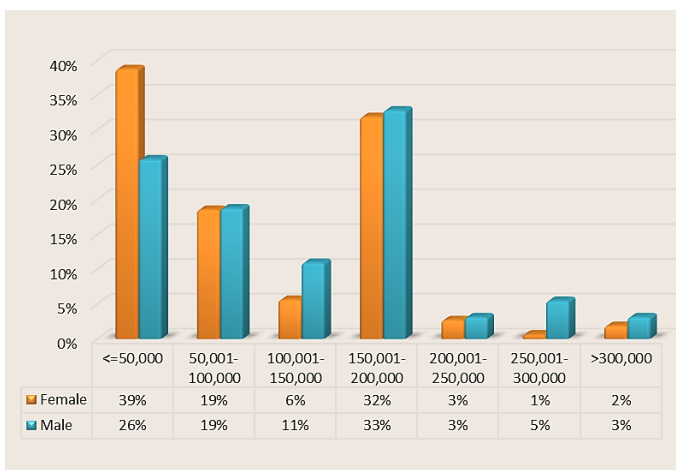


Figure 10: Distribution of farmers' annual income and gender

Figure 10 further establishes that more women than men fall into the lowest income bracket, with the majority of men earning between RWF 100,000 and 200,000.

One of the reasons put forward in the AHS (2017) report for a similar finding was that men were more involved in market-oriented agriculture (60.8 % and 58.9 % in season A and B respectively), compared to household headed by females (51.2 % and 51.5 % in season A and B respectively).

36. Sources of income did not take into account any assets the household may have including livestock, machinery or land.

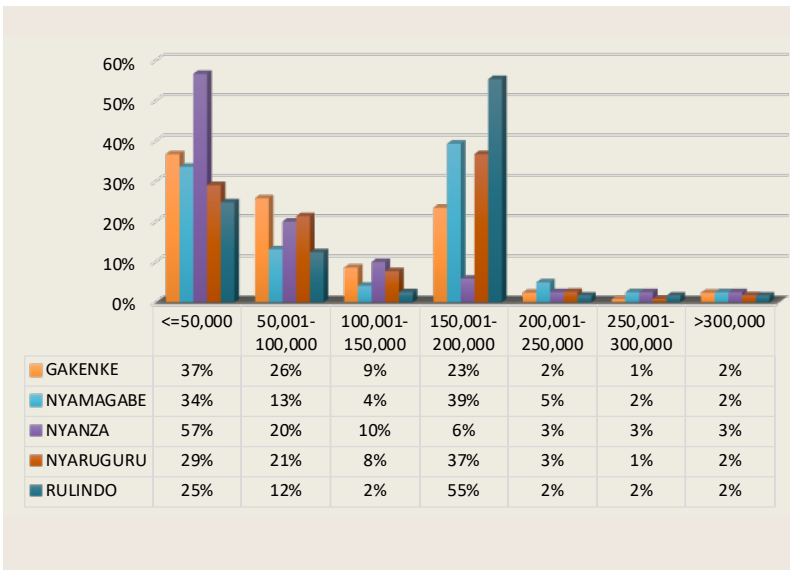


Figure 11: Annual income from agriculture by District

Figure 11 above presents the annual income from agriculture by District. Nyanza (57%) and Gakenke (37%) had the highest percentage of farmers in the less than RWF 50,000 income range. Across all Districts, very few households earned above RWF 200,000, with Nyamagabe scoring highest but still at only 5%.

It should be noted that the average income recorded among farmers in this study falls far short of the Vision 2020 aspiration for annual per capita income by 2020 of US\$ 1240 (RWF 1,165,500).



Figure 12 Josephine in her vegetable garden.

Section 4.2 and 4.3 will further illuminate the relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of farmers and their participation in local agricultural governance, policy, budget monitoring decision making processes. The results suggest that as the quality of these variables (increased education and income; reduction in household size) improves, citizen participation also increases and has greater breadth and depth.

4.2. The Levels, Types and Development stages of Citizen Participation in Local Agricultural Governance, Policy Engagement and Budget Monitoring

Strengthening participation of citizens in local governance in agriculture is of paramount importance as agriculture programmes are likely to be well implemented only when citizens themselves fully participate. As discussed in Chapter 2, the participation of the citizens is elaborated, as the engagement and ability to influence decisions from the initial planning process, implementation and all through to the monitoring and evaluation of different programs.

4.2.1. The percentage of farmers that had previously participated in local governance, policy and budget monitoring in agriculture by District

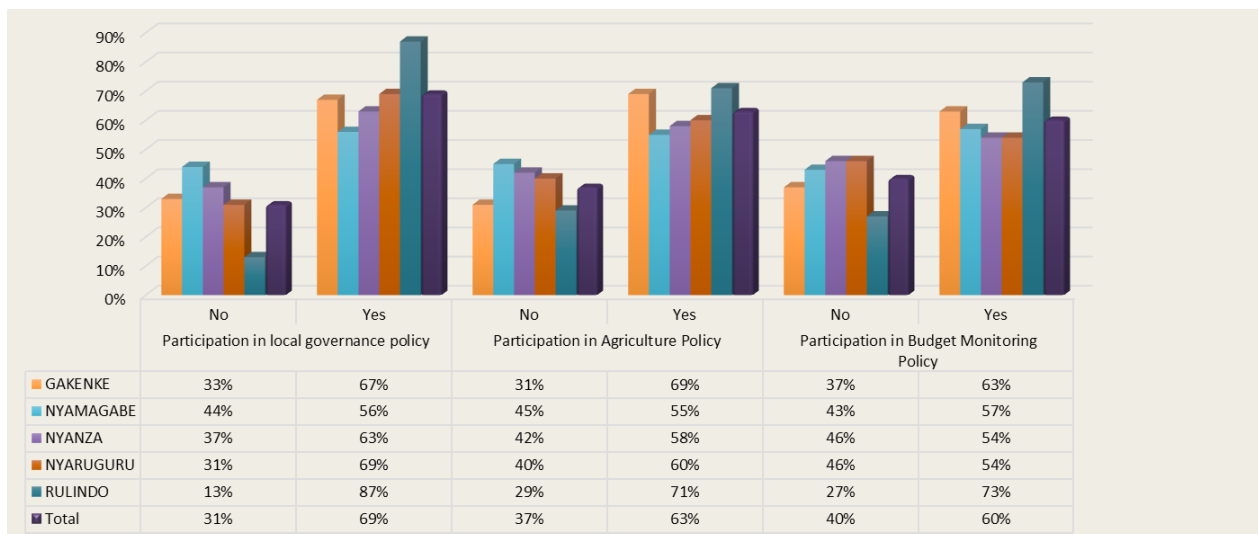


Figure 13: Proportion of farmers who participated

Figure 13 above shows that the percentages for participation in local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring were 69%, 63% and 60% respectively. Rulindo scored highest for actual participation in all three subjects, while Nyamagabe had the lowest participation rates across the Districts and subjects. The figures from this study compare well with other Trócaire (2017) research also carried out in these Districts, with Mean figures of 62% for the level of satisfaction with the role they played in implementing agriculture projects, and with figures in the Rwanda Governance Scorecard (2019), where 63.9% of citizens were satisfied with their participation in decision-making, but only 53% with regard to their participation in the elaboration of the District budgets and plans. The Trócaire 2019³⁷ report, showed much higher levels of satisfaction, with a figure of 83.5%³⁸ (Mean), however, this report was a specific evaluation on project inputs.

When compared with socio-economic factors, some interesting data emerges. Those in the income category of <RWF 100,000 per annum were less likely to participate (Mean 48%) than those earning >RWF 200,000 (Mean 61%). When analysed against gender, there is also a gap with actual participation by men across all three subject areas at a Mean of 69%, compared with females at Mean 60%. The gender results were, however, different between the five Districts, with participation higher among men in Nyanza, Rulindo and Gakenke and higher among women in Nyaruguru and Nyamagabe Districts. One reason for these differences might be related to the density of households in the two Provinces, as Southern Province has the second highest percentage of female-headed households (23 %), while the northern province has 16 % of female-headed households (NISR, EICV5 2018).

37. The report attributed the elevations in the satisfaction levels to the fact that the EPGA directly delivered on this specific indicator on the target beneficiary population for this MTE.

38. It is worth noting that data for this report was collected prior to the data for the Trócaire 2019 report.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR PARTICIPATION

It was clear from FGDs that citizens aspire to participate and argue that they have also been sensitised to take part in government programmes to improve development (especially through the Trócaire EGPA programme).

For example, one female participant stated:

If you don't participate, then you are left behind without knowing what is in pipelines for development.

International Alert (2018:19) identified spaces available for farmer participation at Village level including through community-based organisations such as farmer co-operatives, associations and farmer groups known as 'Twigire Muhinzi' (an agricultural extension model that is a combination of two extension approaches: the farmer field school (FFS) approach and the farmer promoter (FP) approach).

For the Imihigo process, farmers in groups/organisations are given forms in which they provide information that reflects their Imihigo targets, both in terms of priority crops and area to be cultivated, as well as the quantity of fertilisers and seed needed through the Smart Nkunganire³⁹ programme. At Village level, those forms are gathered by farmer promoters and leaders, while FFS facilitators and Socio Economic Development Officers (SEDO) gather them at Cell level before they are channelled to Sector level.

Results of FGDs and KIIs revealed that the platforms for participation most preferred by farmers in this study were **agricultural co-operatives** and the farmer groups **Twigire Muhinzi**. The specific goals of Twigire Muhinzi are to maintain national food security, improve productivity, increase income and improve livelihoods.

The Rwandan Government's extension strategy is to apply and use the home-grown Twigire Muhinzi model to reach all of Rwanda's farmers with the mission of providing them with access to agricultural advisory services (RAB, 2015).

39. The Smart Nkunganire System (SNS) is a supply chain management system built by BK TechHouse Ltd in collaboration with Rwanda Agriculture and Animal Resources Development Board (RAB) to digitalise the end to end value chain of the Agro-Input Subsidy program.

The theory is that FFS facilitators and FPs are empowered to make decisions within this model to provide training to farmers, and ultimately farmers become empowered to make their own decisions to improve their agricultural production. Twigire Muhinzi is a demand-driven system because individuals can provide feedback and because the model promotes technology transfer and information exchange between producers, farmer organisations and other partners.

Although according to FGDs, KIIs and other research (Trócaire 2019), the reality is that the Twigire Muhinzi are still not operating in many villages with issues including: FFS and demonstration plots not functional, committees not functional, lack of FFS facilitators in some Cells, some facilitators trained in crops that are not grown in their locality and no official monitoring and evaluation system that citizens can be part of, farmers are still very positive as they have no joining fees, and so allow poorer farmers an avenue for participation.

FGDs and KIIs identified farmer co-operatives as one of the most effective ways farmers can participate in agricultural decision-making. Co-operatives enable farmers to own and control, on a democratic basis, business enterprises for procuring their supplies and services (inputs) and marketing their products (outputs). They voluntarily organise to help themselves rather than rely on the Government. They can determine objectives, financing, operating policies, and methods of sharing the benefits.

There are numerous **farmer associations and co-operatives** within Rwanda and typically, they focus on a particular crop or enterprise whilst some provide advisory services. Farmers' voices and their empowerment are enhanced by co-operative structures, but feedback in the FGDs and Trócaire (2019) found that in some cases, there was mismanagement and poor leadership within the co-operatives, and it was difficult for women to hold leadership positions.

Huggins (2017) has also outlined some concerns with co-operatives in Rwanda and most especially with the ability of engage poorer farmers:

Formalization and expansion of farmers' organisations [co-operatives] often seem to involve increases in membership contributions.

It is likely that most co-operatives exclude the poorest farmers... Women, in particular, may find it difficult to afford the minimum monetary contribution for co-operative membership (GeoSAS 2012 in Huggins 2017).

Ndagijimana (2019) research on co-operatives in Rwanda also revealed that 16 out of 20 organisations confirmed that, most of the failure of agriculture co-operatives were due to conflicts or to misuse of funds. The research further revealed that women's participation in leadership was found insignificant.

One of the key mechanisms of coherence and connection within the agricultural sector, as within other sectors, is the **Imihigo performance contract system**, which ensures that specific development targets are shared through a hierarchical structure of obligations from the level of the District, through the Sectors, the Cells, Umudugudu, co-operatives and other local organizations, the household, and ultimately the Rwandan individual.

Farmers mentioned that the Imihigo process had brought positive benefits to their communities and as such was a motivating factor for participation, as their Districts were in 'intense' competition due to the annual ranking of Districts according to their performance through the Imihigo process.

FGD and KII further illuminated that their preferred method for receipt of agricultural information was through **the radio**, although FGDs revealed that women also liked to obtain information through community meetings/local communication networks. In this regard, attracting the participation of women calls for information dissemination interventions that target convening places for women among other local communication networks.

4.2.2. The level at which farmers were most likely to participate in local governance, policy and budget monitoring in agriculture

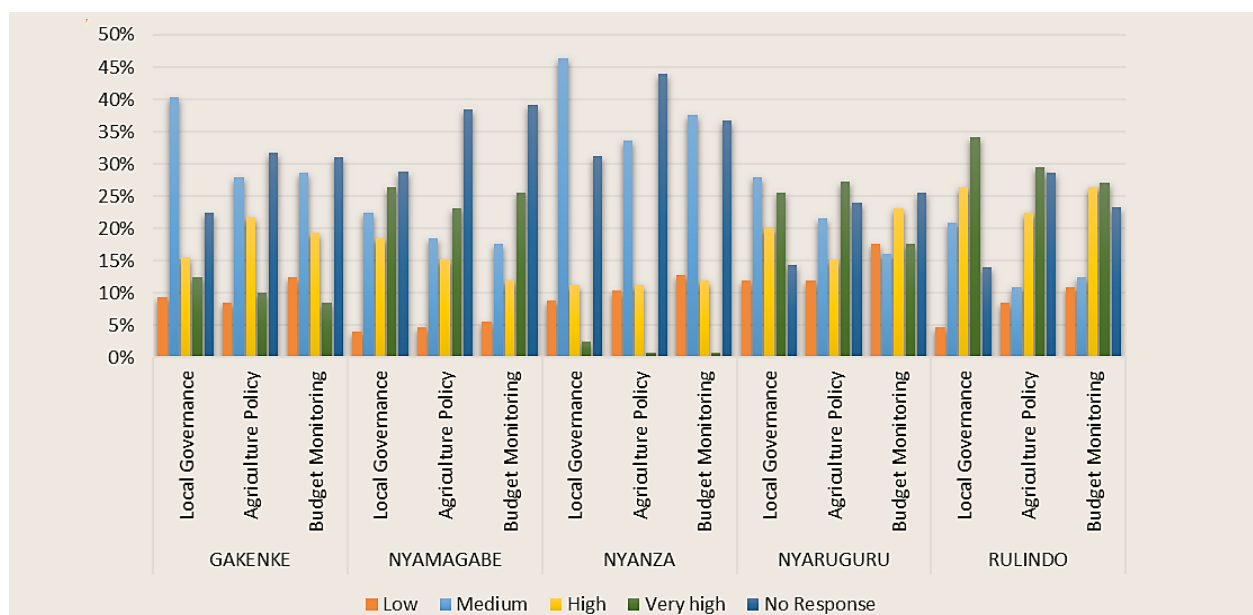


Figure 14: Level of participation by District

Figure 14 above shows that, using a rating scale with four levels (Low, Medium, High and Very High)⁴⁰, most farmers reported their participation as ‘Medium’ (Mean 38%), with High or Very High having a Mean of 25% and Low a Mean of 12%. Rulindo District reported the highest level of participation (30% Mean for ‘very high’) and Nyanza the lowest (1.5% Mean for ‘very high’).

FGDs and KIs provided more meaning to this ranking system. It was revealed that participation of citizens in the agricultural sector was strongest at the beginning of each season but that this was, frequently, limited simply to being consulted on certain aspects regarding agriculture, including: seed availability, access to fertilisers, use and cost of fertilisers, the use of Smart Nkunganire⁴¹, types of crops that should be grown, terracing mechanisms, harvesting mechanisms, and channels of obtaining such agriculture inputs.

40. The scale is unbalanced as there should have been a ‘very low’ scale. This may have slightly skewed the results

41. The Smart Nkunganire System (SNS) is a supply chain management system built by BK TechHouse Ltd in collaboration with Rwanda Agriculture and Animal Resources Development Board (RAB) to digitalize the end to end value chain of the Agro-Input Subsidy program.

The issues discussed are then presented to higher levels, i.e. the Cell to the Sector, up to the District for probable consideration. Farmers complained that there were no procedures in place to ensure meaningful participation during meetings. Citizens go to meetings when called, and often end up contributing to the agricultural priorities of others (specific examples were for the system Smart Nkunganire or the compulsory purchase of fertilisers).

The facilitation and design of meetings does not incorporate mechanisms to challenge or offer alternatives to what is being presented. Thus, citizen participation remains tokenistic (Arnstein’s ladder) or as defined in the figure above as ‘Medium’.

4.2.3. The level at which farmers most frequently engage in decision-making

As already referred to in Section 4.2.2, many farmers claim that decisions are, for the most part, already formulated at Sector and District level before they have a say, and that they are predominately only invited for ‘information sharing’ about how such decisions will be implemented.

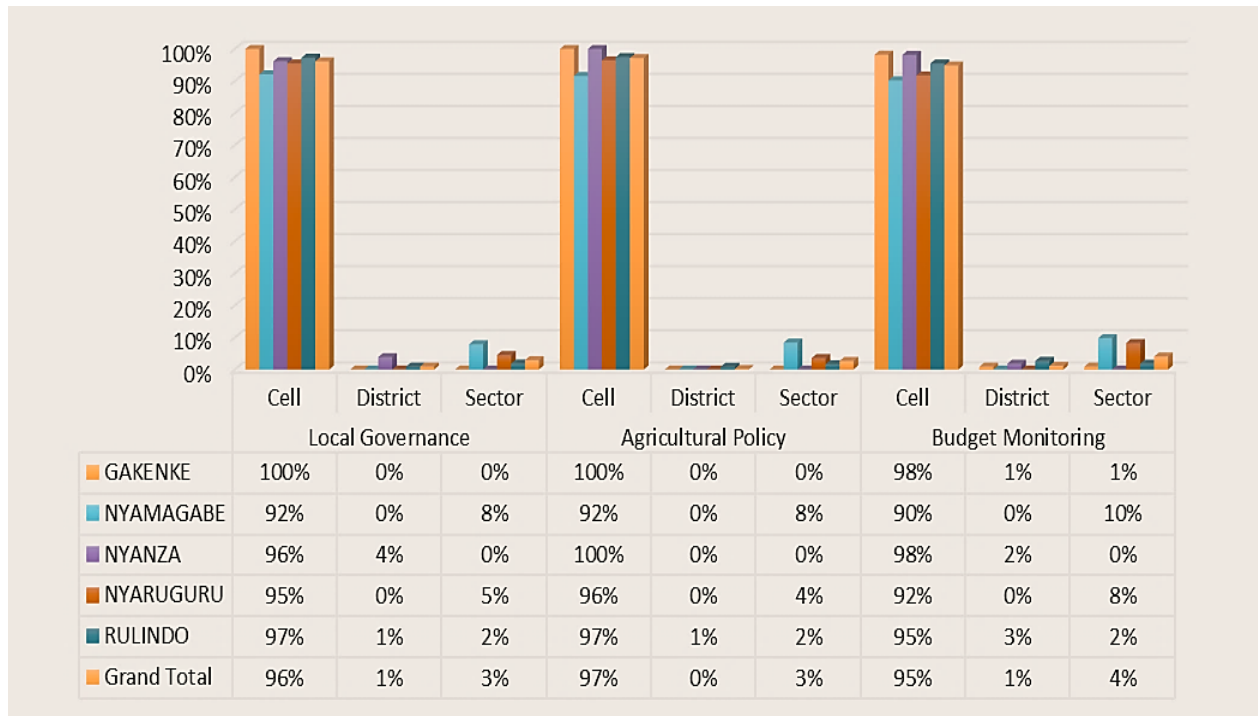


Figure 15: Socio-political levels at which farmers most frequently engage in decision-making

The most frequent socio-political level at which citizen participation takes place is the Cell⁴² (Mean 96%⁴³). According to this study, farmers hardly ever used Sector or District levels to engage in local agricultural decision-making. Gakenke was the District where most farmers reported engaging at Cell level, with Nyaruguru the least. For Sectors, farmers in Nyamagabe District reported the highest involvement rate (Mean 7%) and across all Districts, farmers reported hardly any engagement at District level (Mean <1%).

42. Article 202 states 'that the Cell is an entity that provides basic services which are in charge of data collection and sensitize the population to contribute to and participate in sustainable development activities. In the same law, article 185, the Sector is an administrative entity responsible for the implementation of development programme, service delivery and promotion of good governance and social welfare. The law stipulates that the District implements government policies adopted and provides services that are not delivered at other administrative entities. This justifies that the direct citizen participation at District level is very low compared to the Cell due to the limited interaction between citizen and the District. Citizens are engaged and consulted by Cell executive secretary, SEDO or Village leaders with list of various activities regarding agriculture, but they do not take decisions, which means that their participation is about information sharing on the planned activities and provide very narrow space for gathering some ideas which may or may not be considered by officials. The final decision making of planned activities is done at Sector and District levels.

43. These figures incorporate a no response rate of 12%

FGDs revealed that citizens were aware that, under decentralisation structures, their engagement was expected to be at Sector and District level through elected representatives; however, they complained that these representatives often do not provide feedback.

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

Further understanding of the 'spaces' (number and nature) for citizen participation at the local level came from FDGs. For example, farmers claimed that the monthly **Umuganda** was the main forum for information giving and discussion. After the community work, which always forms part of the Umuganda, citizens are brought together to be involved in identifying, for example, some key priorities in agriculture. They also reported, however, that in such instances, their experience is that Sector and District officials have often already identified such things ahead of time and that they are thus informed about, rather than consulted on, them. The mechanism seems to be more that citizens rather provide ideas in this forum and that the ideas are then collated by representatives and then presented to Sector and District staff for decision-making. Farmers further claimed that sometimes when their views are not considered, it can lead to them becoming frustrated and not attending subsequent, non-mandatory meetings.

Citizens engaged in agriculture activities in some villages have also formed **agricultural associations** that facilitate them in resolving some of the agricultural challenges they face. Such associations hold monthly, or bi-monthly, meetings to discuss farming issues and progress. Farmers stressed that, with the support of Trocaire's EPGA programme, these meetings had become more organised, allowing them to better participate in governance decisions, for example through discussions on issues including strategies for new agricultural seasons, how to effectively access seeds, e.g. through seed loans, and fertilisers, as well as how to access markets and financing.

Under the EPGA programme, association leaders, often met with administrative officials to discuss their challenges, e.g. in agricultural practices, and to discuss and agree on a way forward. Responses from the FGDs and KIIs, therefore, indicated that communities see such associations, and the work of their members and leaders, as real channels for increasing the involvement, of both men and women, in local governance.

FGDs and KIIs recorded low participation of women in these associations, one reason put forward for non-attendance is that women have competing priorities and are, for example, engaged in other household activities when such meetings take place. One respondent stated: Sometimes we stay at home to carry on with household (the unpaid-care work) and men attend the meetings and share with us the resolutions (FGD Rulindo).

Another criticisms of the multiple platforms that are available for participation that emerged from the FGDs is that the platforms **lack co-ordination**, and that depending on the issue, policy etc., they may be abruptly called and consulted on at any time, for example.

'If it is about a pest that has hit our crops, the Community, Cell and Sector leaders may convene a meeting to share the information and provide guidelines on how to handle the situation. However, such guidelines are already set without prior knowledge of citizens (FGD).'

In addition, unplanned involvement has often adversely affected the routine activities of farming and other household chores, as described below:

"We are sometimes called in abruptly to consult us on a certain policy which may be important, but then it affects our schedules, and our daily activities."

FGDs also noted the positive role of **Sector Economic Development Officers/Agronomists**. Farmers mentioned the enabling role of the SEDOs, who are always in the field informing farmers about the activities and programmes, as well as monitoring implementation of the agriculture activities. Farmers noted that feedback from the officers is often the only feedback they receive and is valuable to them.

4.2.4. The development stages farmers participated in by District

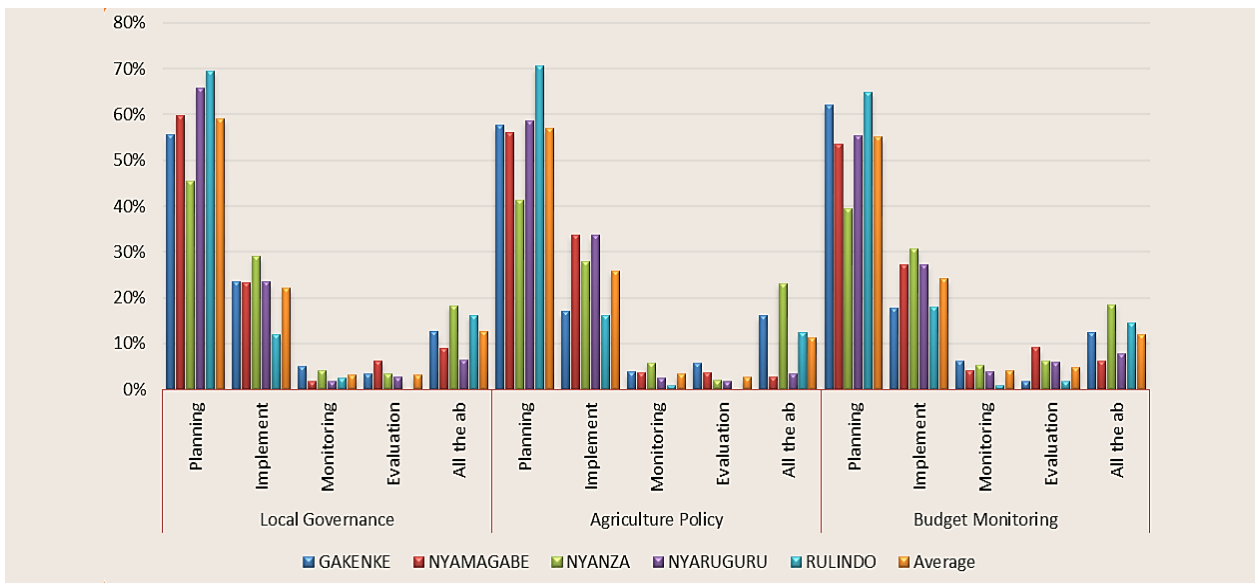


Figure 16: The planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages at which citizens became involved

The four key stages of the local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring cycle are: Planning, Implementation⁴⁴; Monitoring, and Evaluation.

Figure 16 shows that farmers are involved mostly at the planning stage for all three subject areas; local governance, agriculture policy and budget monitoring. Involvement at the Implementation stage was the next highest. Again, Rulindo district was highest at the planning stage and Nyanza the lowest.

This finding differs from that of Never Again Rwanda (2018) where they found that involvement was often higher at the implementation phase than at the planning phase. Similarly, the Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2010) found that citizen involvement usually applied at the stage of policy implementation.

The apparent contradiction found in this study may be due to the nature of agricultural work where farmers are required to be active in the initial planning stages (seed purchase etc.) whereas the implementation phase of approved programmes is taken to be a routine activity, i.e. is rather seen simply as 'day-to-day farming'.

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

In FGDs farmers stressed that their participation at the planning stage mainly consisted of information sharing with citizens. For example, farmers indicated that: ideas are planned somewhere at higher levels (Sector and District), then brought down to the citizens for consultation. Farmers further stated that although they are represented by councils (Njyanama) at Sector and District levels, the members of these **councils are sometimes not even involved in agriculture** and thus perceived such councils as not knowing the 'on-the-ground' realities of their agriculture activities.

Farmers also stated that District Council leaders were driven primarily by the need for them to achieve their Imihigo (performance contract), e.g. where they are expected to show that citizens were consulted and that they have approved planning etc., but the reality of the process is often rather a paper exercise rather than one of 'real' participation (FGD discussions Nyanza, Rulindo and Nyamagabe).

44. It needs to be clearly understood in this study, that 'implementation' here means being engaged / consulted on decisions regarding implementation frameworks of agriculture policy and programmes and not putting into practice already approved programmes

In the *International Alert (2018) study on farmer participation in agriculture programmes*, it was reported that ‘The planning of agricultural Imihigo targets is limited to the planning of crop coverage (cultivated area, types of priority crops, seeds and fertilisers) through the NKUNGANIRE⁴⁵ programme, and they [citizens] have limited participation in other areas of agriculture, such as erosion control, irrigation, mechanisation and agroforestry’.

The study further asserted that while Imihigo targets are supposed to be set at household level, based on what each household wants to achieve, the study revealed that household Imihigo targets are mainly set for home planning purposes, and they are not directly connected to Village, Sector or District Imihigo targets.

It was further revealed that household Imihigo are generally set after Imihigo targets have been set at District level, whereas some District targets should ideally derive from/be based on household Imihigo targets and not vice versa (International Alert 2018).

RGB (2018) study also identified **very low citizen involvement at the M&E stage** and across all Districts with Gakenke, Nyamagabe and Nyanza showing participation of only 8%, while Nyaruguru and Rulindo show that participation at 5% and 3% respectively.

It is important to note that low rates of involvement at the M&E stage adversely affects the implementation of programmes, as it is not possible to know whether they have been effectively implemented or not. M&E helps to shape a direction for other and future programmes, whether new or continuous, and to ascertain their relevance to citizens.

45. The Smart Nkunganire System (SNS) is a supply chain management system built by BK TechHouse Ltd in collaboration with Rwanda Agriculture and Animal Resources Development Board (RAB) to digitalize the end to end value chain of the Agro-Input Subsidy program.

Low participation at the M&E stage is not restricted to farmers, only 46% of JADF⁴⁶ members felt they could participate effectively in the implementation of projects, the majority of members also claimed they were not engaged at the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) stage, despite Open Days organised for such activity. Indeed, members affirmed that Open Days were only useful for information sharing despite the majority of them having been university educated RGB (2018).

FDGs and KIIS discussions disclosed that citizens are ‘**not aware of the monitoring and evaluation process** and when they take place’. This is in consonance with the findings of the Never Again Rwanda (2018) study on the Imihigo process which found that citizen involvement at the M&E stage was minimal. The (2010) IRDP study was more positive, with 33% of the farmers reporting involvement in M&E and the Trócaire (2019) study very positive with a reported mean of 83.5% but lower for Trócaire (2017) of the same Districts at 44%.

46. Established by The Ministerial Instructions No. 04/07 of 15/07/2007 defined JADF as the Joint Action Development Forum (JADF) is a multi-stakeholder platform that was put in place to facilitate and promote full participation of citizens in the decentralized and participatory governance and improve service provision processes with representatives from the public sector, private sector and civil society.

1. JADF members come from institutions and organisations operating at District level including public, private, local and international NGOs, Faith-based organisations and other development partners.
2. JADF serves as a non-hierarchical discussion platform in which every member has equal role to play: representing their constituency, provide open, complete and transparent information about their development activities and results, discuss progress made in the District towards sustainable and inclusive local development, to learn and eventually improve. Thus, JADF meetings are a key platform facilitating the implementation of effective decentralization by providing a forum for service provision and development planning accountability.
3. JADF builds on the traditional values of solidarity and mutual support towards a common agenda of ensuring the social welfare of people. JADF applies the traditional practice that any activity or pressing duty that could not have been handled without the help of the community could be assisted upon.
4. Traditional practices used to engage people individually in the past, they are replicated at institution level today by JADF after combining them with modern participatory concepts, such as: creating a space for inclusive dialogue, synergy and accountability, establishing a shared agenda of development in the District and determining outcomes to be monitored and peer-reviewed (RGB2018)

4.2.5. The types of local governance decisions and engagement mechanisms in which farmers have participated⁴⁷

Citizen involvement ideally implies the ability of community members to make meaningful inputs into decisions relating to agriculture at local government level, i.e. that their views are taken on board and incorporated, at least to some extent, in the final outcome. Use of open-ended questions, FDGs and KII's, however, consistently disclosed that the types of decisions in which farmers were actually involved were generally very narrow and restricted, both in terms of the issues advanced and the mechanisms proposed to facilitate their involvement. During this research, farmers were asked to report on the types of local governance decisions they had been involved in, in their respective communities.

Table 3: The types of decisions farmers had participated in.

Types of Local Governance decisions farmers have participated in:	Types of Agricultural Policy decisions farmers have participated in:	Types of Budget Monitoring decisions farmers have participated in:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparing for/participating in Umuganda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming professionally (Improving productivity-crop selection) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge on quantity/type/donation of fertiliser
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requesting/preparing/cultivating seeds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produce your own fertiliser/different types 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge on selecting and sowing of seeds/feedback on usage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requesting/preparing/giving fertiliser 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ordering/planting/improving seed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultivating veg/maize professionally
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land consolidation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joining co-operatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Umuganda
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultivation of crops 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern/professional agriculture
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attending meetings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land consolidation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Irrigation knowledge and equipment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approving beneficiaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sale of produce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Storage of crops

Table 3 above examines the types of decisions farmers had participated in, ranked in order of importance.⁴⁸ The results demonstrated that citizen participation was concerned with the day-to-day requirements of farming. Issues were identified at Central and District level and participation was in information giving/training in farming practices, such as the types of crops to grow (such as the emphasis on maize), requesting, preparing and purchasing of seeds and fertiliser, the land consolidation policy, land terracing, collective sale of produce, how to improve agriculture productivity in maize and Irish potatoes (e.g. using fertilisers that are paid for), seed multiplication programmes, and others.

The International Alert study (2018) had similar findings:

Both local leaders and sample farmers acknowledge limited participation of farmers in selection of priority crops, which is carried out at central level based on their role in food security and enhancement of national economy and nutrition. Farmers' participation is limited to the selection of agricultural sites where priority crops are grown with some guidance by Sector agronomists or farmer promoters and FFS facilitators.

47. One of the reasons for this could be that respondents in the study were recipients of the EPGA project support to beneficiaries and may well have focused their responses in line with the inputs they received. The key support to the beneficiaries were mainly based on raising their awareness and engaging in advocacy strategies on existing agricultural policies and practices. This included; Inputs use (Seeds and Fertilizer); where the project provided Training on policy provisions about use of inputs and saving actions to buy farm inputs; Land use consolidation focusing on mono-cropping system and rotational cropping; Livestock management such as Girinka program where cows were given to some poor families for start-up; & Nkunganire program focusing on farmers' subsidised agricultural inputs and irrigation kits and training on use of irrigation tools as well (Trocaire 2019)

48. This list is not exhaustive. Listed in the table were the top seven most frequently mentioned decision types that respondents participated in

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

Farmers saw their role within a limited remit, for example ‘implement government programmes’, ‘follow instructions’, ‘use leaders to tell us what to do’, ‘to follow rules, regulations and programmes’ were dominant responses at FGDs. They claimed that they were only involved in such processes by being given information and instructions and further that it was often difficult to implement such policies, especially where payment was involved.

The artificial fertilisers provided are not good, and they destroy our land. Once you use the artificial fertiliser, you have to use it all the time. These fertilisers are costly, and we are obliged to use them. This requires us to pay, which is sometimes difficult as we lack income in the household (FGD Nyanza).

FGDs also illuminated some possible reasons for limited participation, including; government having a negative view of farmers, along with low incomes (poverty); low literacy rates among some individuals (and thus a lack of understanding of their rights);

lack of feedback from leaders and not knowing what their District Development Plan was about.

Farmers revealed that it was at the Cell and Village level where coordination, mobilisation, and sensitisation of citizens took place, led by local leaders. Beyond the Cell and Village, farmers did not represent themselves, but were rather represented by elected individuals who then participated in various local governance decision-making forums at the Sector and District level.

Although such representatives were then supposed to provide feedback to the citizens at the Cell and Village level about what was eventually approved and will be implemented, this did not always happen. Similar findings were posited in the Never Again Rwanda (2018) report, which confirmed that activities were planned at the District level and sent down to the Village level.



Figure 17: Community committee members during a refresher training on Policy, Budget monitoring and Advocacy (Gatare sector, Nyamagabe district) on December 28 th , 2018.

4.3. A Focus on Budget Monitoring

The ability of citizens to monitor agriculture budgets provides an impetus for their effective implementation of agricultural programmes. Effective local governance, through budget monitoring, involves planning (including the setting of priorities), and developing annual work plans and budgets (allocation of resource to activities).

It also includes progressive reporting, and M&E in close collaboration with budget agencies at lower administrative levels, namely Sectors and Districts.

Budget data that is open and easy-to-read also allows people to know how and where government is spending their money, and can be used by citizens,

civil society, academia, parliamentarians and the media to participate in government decision-making around budgets to help make them more responsive to peoples' needs and also more accountable (World Bank 2014).

Research from the Rwanda Civil Society Platform (RCSP) in 2018, however, showed that "ordinary people are not consulted during the budget making process....decision-makers do not involve farmers to give their views on what they want the budget to prioritise in the agriculture sector." Research from the Rwandan Governance Scorecard, was more positive, showing satisfaction by citizens with their level of involvement in the elaboration of District budgets and plans at 53%.

Rwandan Budget Process

The Organic Budget and Finance Law of Rwanda stipulates that citizens should be engaged in planning and budgeting processes, although the process is a complex one. The process begins in January of each year, where the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) reviews the macroeconomic framework and the expenditures and performance of the past period up to April. MINECOFIN prepares and issues the first planning and budget call circular in October every year with the purpose being a request for information from all Ministries, Provinces, Districts & budget agencies (MDAs) to facilitate proper planning and prioritisation for the fiscal year. It is at this stage that Districts are supposed to consult citizens about their priorities and ideas to be planned for in the District annual budget.

A second planning and budget call circular is developed by MINECOFIN in December of every year and circulated to Ministries, Provinces, Districts and other government agencies. The second planning and budget circular provides detailed guidelines and instructions to facilitate budget agencies to prepare and submit detailed budget estimates for the next medium-term expenditure framework. The second circular further gives the total indicative resource envelope and ceiling respecting the limit on the deficit set by the Cabinet in line with NST1 pillars and priorities. In April-May MINECOFIN then requests strategic issues papers from the Ministries, and once they are submitted, implications are analysed.

The focus is on the linkage between the strategic issues paper with NST1 priorities. After the second planning and budget call circular, ministerial consultations on the next year's budget are organised. MINECOFIN then draws up a list of contingency expenditures, which is sent to the Cabinet for decision. MINECOFIN follows with the Budget Framework Paper [BFP] and the aggregated macro framework for the next three years [MTEF] and submits same to the Cabinet for decision. Issues raised by Cabinet are dealt with and a final ceiling is produced for final approval by the Cabinet. The budget is finalised at the ministerial level, after which MINECOFIN coordinates all the inputs and produces the final consolidated budget. The final budget is sent to the Cabinet for discussions and deliberations before the parliament debates and finally approves the document (MINECOFIN 2018).

According to MINECOFIN (2018) the process of citizen participation within budget monitoring is as follows:

The budget process begins with the identification of the priorities by the citizens at Village level. Citizens come together at the Village level to discuss their short, medium- and long-term priorities to be advanced for consideration during budget formulation. The agreed list of priorities is discussed by the councillors at the Sector and District level to determine the consolidated priorities that will form the District Development Plans (DDPs).

The District priorities outlined in the District Development Plans are linked to Sector priorities at national level. The implementation of most government programmes and projects is largely done at the District level and financial means are earmarked to Districts for this effect.

*The District Council approves priorities and then District Executive, together with the technical personnel, follow up with the implementation. For the entire process to be effective and yield the expected results, **it needs full participation of leaders and citizens.***

IPAR (2015) affirms that citizens’ involvement in budget monitoring play a very important role in agricultural development and sets the pace for local leaders to be accountable on agriculture funding. With financial institutions reluctant to finance agriculture especially in rural areas, the government budget in agriculture needs to reduce the gap by supporting farmers in various agricultural programmes.

The Budget needs to be monitored at the planning stage by requesting from farmers, their priorities, as required by law, and further engage farmers in the implementation process. Effective farmer participation in budget monitoring in agriculture would likely improve household food security, reduce rural poverty and increase incomes, since agriculture is the backbone of livelihoods for the majority of citizens (FAO 2019). Budget monitoring priorities are identified through group gatherings, known as Ibimina, which are community associations that, through their regular meetings, participate in budget monitoring.

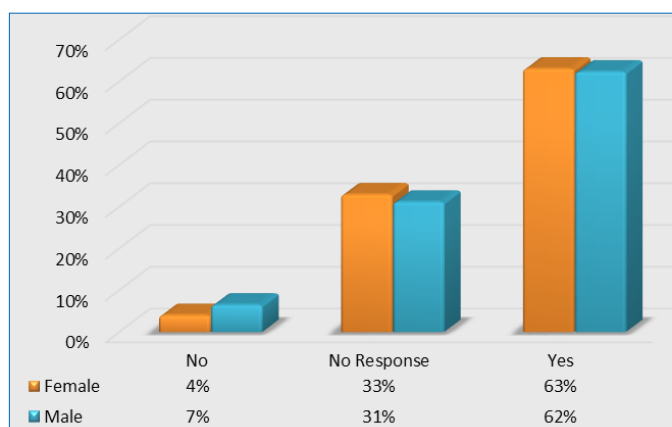


Figure 18: Farmers’ ability to be involved with budget decisions

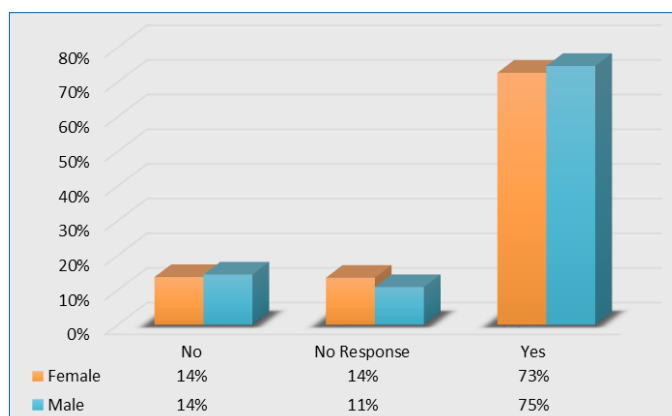


Figure 19: Farmers ability to be involved in budget monitoring at local Agric. Assoc.

4.3.1. Farmers’ ability to be involved, and views considered in budget monitoring decisions in local associations and agriculture policy

Figures 18 and 19 above show that farmers were generally positive about their ability to participate in budget monitoring (63%), and most especially within their own local agricultural associations (Mean 74%).

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

FGDs affirmed the value of three specific platforms for budget monitoring participation;

1. **Agricultural co-operatives**, where farmers are informed and can share information on budget monitoring
2. **Parents’ evening programme**, where farmers stated that parents’ evening provide a channel for, and help them to understand their rights on budget monitoring.
3. **Umuganda**, which is a broader channel (not just agriculture) of information giving on budget monitoring.

Farmers stated that all the above spaces are prone to just sharing information with citizens about their rights but not appropriating spaces for understanding the specifics of budget monitoring or indeed a forum for participatory exchanges.

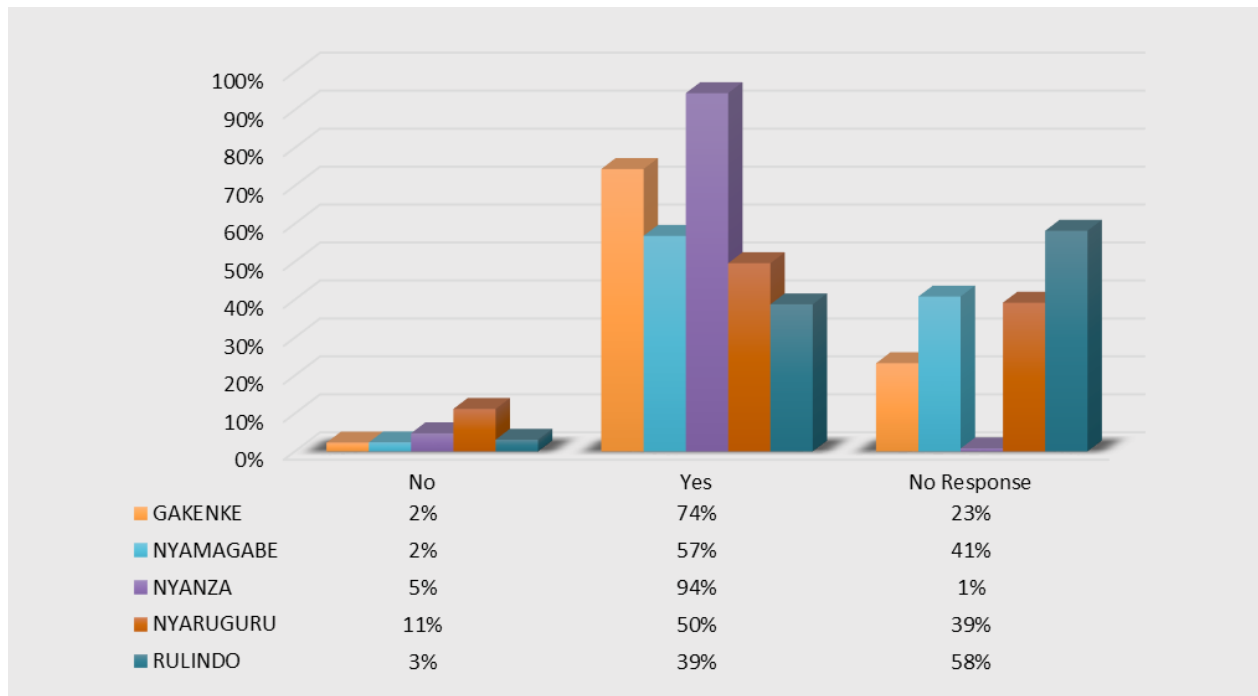


Figure 20: Are views considered with making agricultural budgeting decisions?

Farmers were further asked did they feel their views were considered when participating in budget monitoring decision making and 62% felt they were. This varied a lot across Districts with farmers from Nyanza overwhelmingly feeling positive at 94% and Rulindo feeling more negative at 39%.

Other research has also highlighted the same issues with budget monitoring, Trócaire (2019) reported:

The budget allocated for agriculture was centralised at District level and even the Sector agronomists were not clear on budget allocated to the agriculture sector in their areas of jurisdiction...The respondent beneficiaries reiterated that they participated at low levels in the follow up of the budgets as they had very little knowledge of budgeting and specifically did not understand prioritisation in budget making processes.

Further opened ended question asked what types of views the farmers had proposed that were subsequently taken into consideration and the list is shown below:

4.3.2. Farmers views that were proposed and subsequently taken into consideration for budget monitoring

Table 4: Farmers opinions and requests

Types of opinions/requests that were proposed and subsequently taken into consideration for budget monitoring
Requesting/cultivating/selecting seeds
Requesting/ordering/giving/utilising fertiliser
Developing skills in modern/productive farming
Store crops
Join co-operatives

Table 4 above shows the nature of opinion and requests farmers proposed that were subsequently taken into consideration for budget monitoring. Their opinions/requests with regard to seed and fertilisers, whether purchasing, cultivating, ordering or utilising, were those that were most considered. These were followed by requests on other farming methods, such as developing modern farming techniques, crop storage or joining co-operatives.

From the FGDs, participants claimed that ‘in planning of budgets, there is more power of government other than local people’, meaning that the budget was already developed, with planned activities and only presented to the citizens. The presentation of priorities were again day-to-day concerns of farmers and there was little expectation by farmers that participation should go beyond this. Farmers further claimed, their ideas ‘on priorities are often not considered as it is reflected in the implementation (FGD)’.

There are still gaps and contradiction between officials and farmer understanding of participation especially with regard to budget monitoring. Whereas officials claim that farmers do participate in budget monitoring, and there is space for their priorities, farmers do not agree with this. Rather, farmers claim that very few of their priorities, such as need for better seeds and terracing, were considered. Farmers felt they were presented with key priorities that they had to implement:

Citizens are involved in the agriculture budget as they are the ones who choose mostly where budgets should be allocated, activities to be financed are identified at Cell level, Sector level, up to District level. For example, we provide them with fertilisers and seeds as they suggest them as priorities. In the implementation process, they use the smart Nkunganire, where they register and indicate the fertilisers and seeds they want.

Other agriculture activities that are in the budget monitoring include the irrigation, where government subsidizes 50 %. Implementation of agriculture budget is also carried out and they follow up on budget allocation for example, terracing in Gakenke. (KII with District Agriculture Officer, Gakenke District).

Some participants in the FGDs claimed not knowing the purpose of District Development Strategy (DDS). They argued that the DDS was developed at the District level and citizens were not aware of its purpose. One FGD participant stated:

We are given the priorities set at District and Sector level. It true that some of the priorities that we seek to have are included like seeds, and fertilisers, but most of the priorities are already developed.

We are then asked if we can add any priority. Usually, this consultation takes a day or less which is not enough for people to discuss and have priorities. Yes, we participate in hearing what the priorities are, but we do not decide on which priorities will be implemented. About budget, apart from informing us on products that are included in smart Nkunganire, there is no information on the overall budget allocated to the agricultural Sector availed.

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

Although negative about the quality of their participation, farmers in the FGDs highlighted some positive mechanisms for participation.

Smart Nkunganire: The System is a supply chain management system built by BK TecHouse Ltd in collaboration with Rwanda Agriculture and Animal Resources Development Board (RAB) to digitalize the end to end value chain of the Agro-Input Subsidy program. The Smart Nkunganire System is a tool that links stakeholders involved in the Subsidy Program for fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides, mechanization and Small-Scale Irrigation Technology (SSIT) as well as other items.

The system enables farmers to also receive advisory messages from experts on best practice, as well as warnings or general notification from different stakeholders. The platform is accessible to farmers and other stakeholders via a Mobile App, Unstructured Supplementary Standard Data (USSD) Short Code, and Web-Based App. Although the system is still quite new (launched in July 2018) farmers were positive about its usefulness, although partner organisations have noted some glitches in getting the system working and in getting the wholesalers to follow the system.

Farmers noted the **positive role of NGOs and CSOs** in assisting them participate using the platforms available. In particular, the work of Trócaire was mentioned, in raising awareness and encouraging citizens to participate during identified meetings, with a specific focus on the participation and representation of vulnerable women.

Trócaire’s partners⁴⁹ have also been seen to have engaged in discussions at District level to advocate for the allocation of sufficient budget for the protection and service delivery of farmers’ needs, especially vulnerable women. KIs with partners noted that links have been set up with other organisations that are engaged in **alternative or participatory budgeting**⁵⁰.

This process allows citizens to voice their priorities and concerns regarding the national budget to the government, by presenting their proposed alternative to the government’s budget. The role of CSOs has been fundamental as they have engaged in supporting the implementation of agricultural activities, designed programmes and built capacity for citizens.

For instance, one of Trócaire’s official partners, the civil society organisation CEJP stated:

Civil society has engaged various farmer groups in different agriculture programs aimed at enhancing their capacity to have a higher output. We have trained them in formation of associations and how to manage their finances. These trainings provide them with capacity to run their associations in relation to the agriculture policy and programs. Most of the agriculture programs we are involved in, are more closely related to those that the government initiates. We have facilitated farmers with mechanisms of increasing their own fertilisers and seeds.

49.

50. Rwanda civil society prepares an annual alternative Citizens’ Budget, which is a memorandum containing proposals from the civil society for consideration by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and possible inclusion in the national budget

And a FGD participant stated:

CSOs are so much important in our agriculture activities especially financially. They have provided us with trainings on how to use appropriate seeds, how to the locally made fertilisers, and how to store our harvests for sustainability. In addition, they have trained us how to form farmer groups, where we have managed to have consolidated savings, which we use in agriculture through borrowings

It was however, highlighted that feedback to communities from the NGOs/CSOs is still not as effective as it should be.

4.3.3. Farmers concerns for their household in regard to budget monitoring

Farmers were asked what concerns they had for their households with regard to budget monitoring. Table 5 documents these concerns.

Table 5: Farmers opinions and requests

Concerns for household agricultural budget monitoring
Poverty (especially food security and the lack of money to buy green manure / seeds / fertilisers)
Cultivation concerns including delays, co-operatives versus standalone / consolidation of lands / suitable for the region / single seeds
Fertiliser concerns including requesting / delays / insufficient amount available / delivering and effectiveness
Lack of punctual information
Incorrect categorisation in the Ubudehe
Family conflicts

Most farmers in Rwanda are smallholder or subsistence farmers who grow crops and rear animals just to feed themselves and their families, it is therefore unsurprising that most farmers reported that their number one concern was poverty. Malnutrition is a hallmark of poverty in Rwanda, with 38% children suffering from stunted growth, especially for female headed households (UNICEF 2019).

For farmers, the critical inputs required to alleviate poverty include subsidies for fertilisers and seeds, limiting delays in provision of manure, and timely receipt of seeds and fertilisers. Any delays in either information sharing or in the purchase or delivery of seeds has serious consequences on the farmer. It is therefore imperative that farmers have mechanisms in place that allow their concerns to be raised and feedback to be given.

4.3.4. Mechanisms that enable participation in budget monitoring

Farmers were further asked what mechanisms they felt would enable them to participate more effectively in budget monitoring.

Table 6: Mechanisms that enable farmer participation in budget monitoring

Mechanisms to enable citizens to actively participate in budget monitoring for agriculture policy
Training on understanding and implementation of budget
Explain the concept budget monitoring
Explain the role of the farmers in budget monitoring
Willingness

Although Table 6 above sets out the recorded mechanism, the response rate to this question was less than 20%, thereby illuminating how farmers struggle to understand what the concept means and their role within it is.

Data from the KIIs and FGDs also showed that most farmers struggled with understanding the concepts and process. Recommendations included using **Umugoroba w’ababyeyi (parents’ evening program)** and **Ibibina (savings group)** to help farmers understand their rights with regard to budget monitoring and also to facilitate their budget planning at the Village, Cell, and Sector level.

UNDP (2016) and World Bank (2017) both emphasise critical factors that influence citizen participation at all stages of the project cycle, from planning to evaluation, include: political support for the principles of budget monitoring from government at both National and District level; adequate capacity of those groups to implement; and the power to actually control budgets, particularly at the local level. Institutionalisation, through laws and guidelines, is critical to the long-term implementation of budget monitoring, whilst support from NGOs and CSOs is crucial to implementation, institutionalisation, and effectiveness of budget management.

Advocacy groups often, however, operate at national level and engage in national budget processes but, at the local level, can be spread too thin. Technical capacity and targeted missions are, therefore, particularly important here. Availability and quality of disaggregated data based on axes of exclusion, is vital for budget analysis and monitoring.

4.4. Leadership and Accountability

RGB's governance review (2018) defines accountability within local and national governance structures as referring to answerability, blameworthiness, liability, and the expectation of account-giving in political, administrative and fiscal domains, taking into consideration enabling factors such as the quality of institutional relations.

Good leadership at all levels is vital for open and transparent accountability. Leadership is about what you are, how you act, what you do and how you work with others (Poulin et al 2007).

If citizen participation ensures that there is an equal sharing of power and that interactive spaces are opened up for dialogue, then these can create direct routes of accountability with Local and District authorities, thereby improving service delivery and producing better policies in the agricultural sector.

To this end, citizen participation refers to the process of, and means by which, citizens influence policy/programme formulation, implementation and evaluation, as well as the way they hold them accountable. Ndagijimana (2019) suggested three ways for citizens to hold leaders accountable: through consultations and feedback; transparency in decision-making; and access to information.

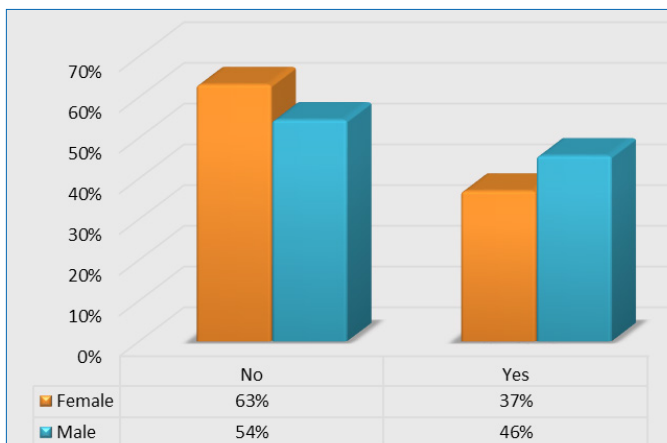


Figure 21: The percentage of farmers who held leadership positions in their local agricultural associations

4.4.1. The number and nature of leadership positions held by farmers

Figure 21 above shows that the majority of farmers did not hold leadership positions and Figure 22 that, of those that do, only 25% hold a President or Vice-President position and a mere 4.5% a Treasury position.

Figure 21 also shows that men (46%) hold leadership positions more than women (37%) and Figure 22 that men are more likely to be a President (23%) than women (15%).

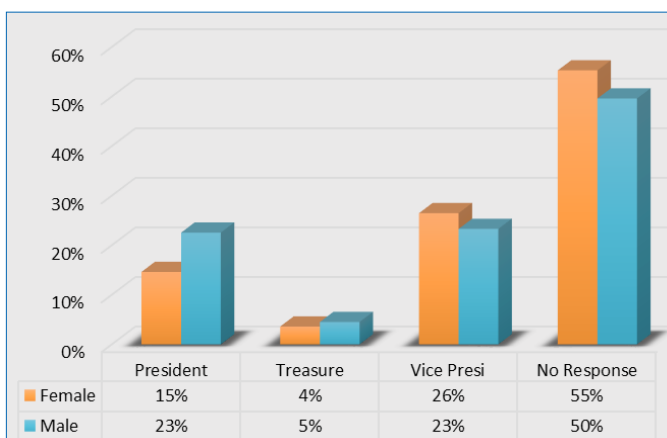


Figure 22: The nature and percentage of the leadership positions held

4.4.2. Leadership positions held compared to level of income and education



Figure 23: The level of education of those in leadership positions

Figure 23 above assesses the likelihood of holding a leadership position compared to level of education received by a respondent. Very few farmers had higher levels of education so it was difficult to ascertain if within these categories more had leadership positions. It was for this reason that results were calculated by education category. For example, out of the 100% who had no formal education, how many had leadership positions etc. Results showed that the higher the level of education, the more likely farmers were to hold a leadership position.

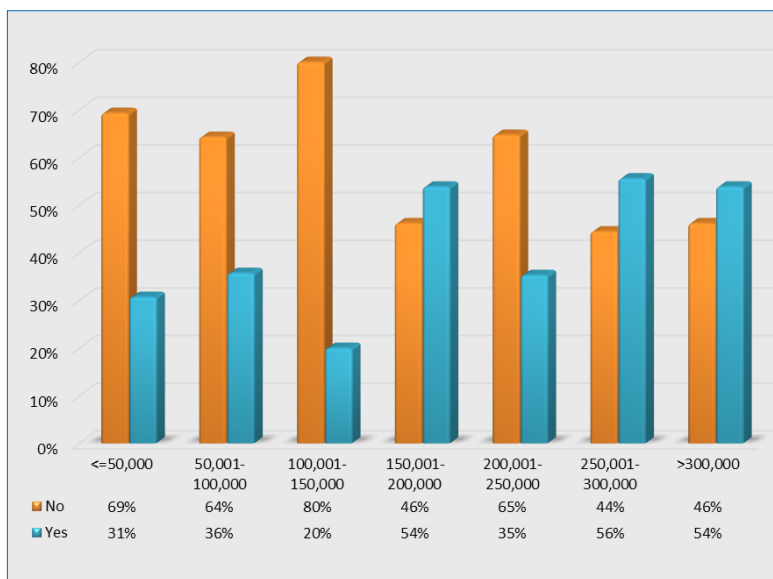


Figure 24: Income of those in leadership positions

The same calculations for Figure 24 were made as for Figure 23, with results affirming that the higher the income the more likely a respondent was to participate, with the exception of the RWF200,000-250,000 bracket. It can be seen that there is a strong correlation between an individual's level of income and education whether or not they hold a leadership position. Those with no formal education (31%), and in the lowest income bracket (<RWF 150,000 annually, 31%) were least likely to hold leadership posts.

In summary from Figures 21-24, it can be seen that while the majority of people do not hold leadership positions, those that do are most likely to be male, better educated and in a higher income bracket. It is important to question whether such persons are capable of representing the broader communities, such as women and the very poor. It is also important to question whether there are effective mechanisms in place to hold those leadership roles accountable.

4.4.3. Farmers' ability to hold people to account who mismanage resources in local agricultural co-operatives

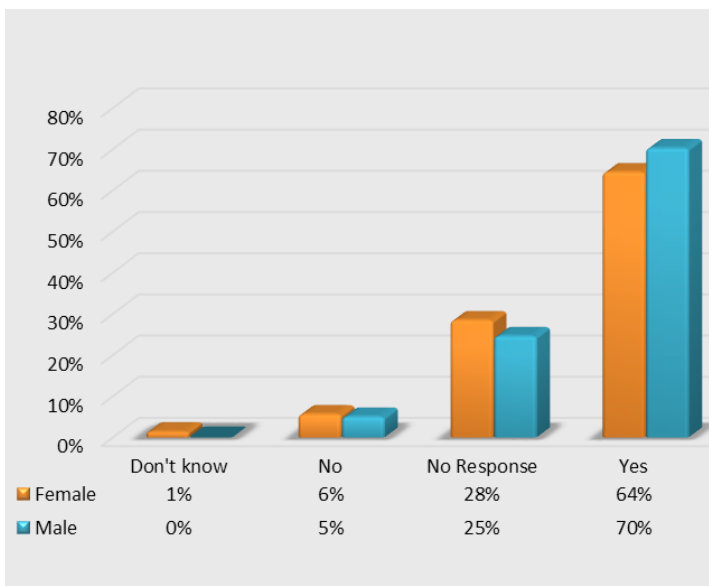


Figure 25: The perceived ability by gender of farmers to hold those who mismanage funds accountable in local agricultural co-operatives

Figure 25 above shows that the majority of farmers (64% female and 70% male) felt that they could hold to account anyone found to be mismanaging funds.

It is likely that the results in this study were very positive because the question posed was specific to their local agricultural co-operatives, rather than more broadly in other development levels, such as Sector and District. When assessing other forums, the Trócaire (2019) study maintained that:

Accountability to beneficiaries was not fully considered in terms of community involvement in planning, design, monitoring and implementation of the EPGA project. Sensitization on complaints and feedback mechanisms need to be emphasized for partners in consultation with the communities,

An RGB (2018) study also found that there was a need for local government to provide more capacity to local citizens for them to be able to hold their representatives accountable, but also to guide them in the selection of representatives who have the capacity to understand local dynamics.

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

FGDs highlighted that one of the most positive means of participation and holding duty bearers accountable were **Community Score Cards (CSCs)⁵¹ and Survey CTOs⁵²**. These can both be described as social accountability tools that brings citizens, service providers and local government officials together to deliberate on, and improve, the access of farmers to services. These mechanisms allow farmers to monitor and give feedback on the quality of services provided. Through the process, they are enabled to advocate with duty bearers (typically including service providers and local authorities) how to solve certain problems or which specific areas to prioritise in service delivery. At the same time, duty bearers have the opportunity to explain their decisions, and the challenges they face and thereby engage citizens on service provision.

Qualitative responses from key informants and FGDs indicate that citizens have commended the use of the CSCs, for example in Gakenke and Nyaruguru, as an appropriate channel that enables them to advance their priorities at Community and Cell levels in relation to agriculture policy and budgeting. It also provides a mechanism to then present them to officials at Sector and District levels.

Farmers emphasised it was through the process like the CSCs and Survey CTO that issues they raised at the local level were actually then actioned by the relevant authorities. In particular, concerns regarding delays in the delivery of fertiliser and seed were resolved, as well as those about joining co-operatives.

51. Administered by RGB and NAP

52. Administered by Trocaire

4.5. A focus on Women

“If women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20-30%. This could raise total overall agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5-4%, which could in turn reduce the number of hungry people in the world by 12-17%” (Food and Agricultural Organisation 2010:40).

Research, government documents and NGOs all agree that women’s equal participation in local agricultural governance, policy and budget monitoring is not just a right but also vital to sustainable and people-centred development (Quisumbing 2003; FAO 2011b; CSA and ICF International 2012).

Equitable participation by women is more than simply about counting the number of women represented; it is much more about ensuring that women have an adequate voice and influence within groups. It is about ensuring that women overcome gender specific constraints to improve their self-confidence, knowledge, leadership skills, income, access to agricultural inputs, social networks, and their involvement in value-chains.

When women are more economically and socially empowered, evidence shows that there are direct and positive impacts on household and community decision-making power, as well as on access to, and control over, productive assets. These changes lead to improved household nutrition, food and income security, broader development outcomes, and a more integrated production of both food and cash crops (CSA and ICF International 2012).

MINAGRI (2018) stated that in Rwanda, farming households are generally characterised by unequal power relations between men and women, with the latter having very limited decision-making powers. This adversely affects women’s control over agricultural assets, access to inputs, increased produce and capacity building opportunities, resulting in low agriculture productivity.

For example, due to their limited or reduced (compared to men) access to inputs, the plots belonging to female farmers were typically less productive than those operated by their male counterparts.

Additionally, female farmers were more vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and land degradation because, generally speaking, they had no other alternatives from which to earn a living if crops failed.

GMO (2017) and Okonya (2019) discussed how women remained poorly represented in formal financial mechanisms, such as banks, and thus were more likely to rely on credit and savings co-operatives, which limits their participation in agribusiness and compromises their earning potential compared to men.

Aware of these gender issues, the Government of Rwanda has taken several specific measures to significantly reduce gender inequalities and ensure that sustainable development is achieved over a relatively short period of time, expressing their commitment to the promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment through the adoption of a gender-sensitive constitution, gender mainstreaming in legal frameworks, ratification of relevant international instruments for gender equality and empowerment through initiatives such as UNSCR 1325⁵³, CEDAW, the BEIJING platform for action and the Kampala Declaration.

53. *UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security (UNSCR 1325), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), are critical tools for moving the gender equality agenda forward in conflict and post-conflict situations. While both sets of standards are important in their own right, there is also a synergy between them that can enhance their implementation and impact. UNSCR 1325 helps to broaden the scope of CEDAW’s application by clarifying its relevance to all parties in conflict and in peace. CEDAW, in turn, provides concrete strategic guidance for actions to be taken on the broad commitments outlined in UNSCR 1325. Drawing on these instruments together will enable advocates to maximize the impact of norms and standards for gender equality in all conflict and post-conflict interventions. The Beijing Platform for Action reaffirms the fundamental principle set forth in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights, that the human rights of women and of the girl child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights (UN WOMEN 2019).*

The GoR has also developed a range of programmes and strategies aimed at translating their commitments on gender equality into action. They have established the National Women’s Council, with its structures from national to village level, and over 122,059 committee members to mobilise and empower women to participate in all national development programmes.

Women’s representation in the Cabinet reached 50% in 2019, from 36.8% in 2014. Women parliamentarians stand at 61.3% in the lower chamber and 38% in the Senate. At decentralised levels, women’s share in leadership has improved during the period 2016-2018 from 16.7% to 26.7% among District Mayors, and 45.2% in District Councils.

According to the 2018 Labour Force Survey, the proportion of women in managerial positions represented 34%, with 33.5% of Chief Executives, senior officials and legislators, and 34.5% administrative and commercial managers (Rwanda Voluntary National Review 2 VNR 2019).

The Agriculture Gender Strategy developed by MINAGRI was designed to ensure gender equality and equity in the Agriculture sector which is vital as the strategy references the figure that over 80% of Rwanda’s population depends either directly or indirectly on agriculture (MINAGRI, 2010:1 and Pro-Femmes 2018).

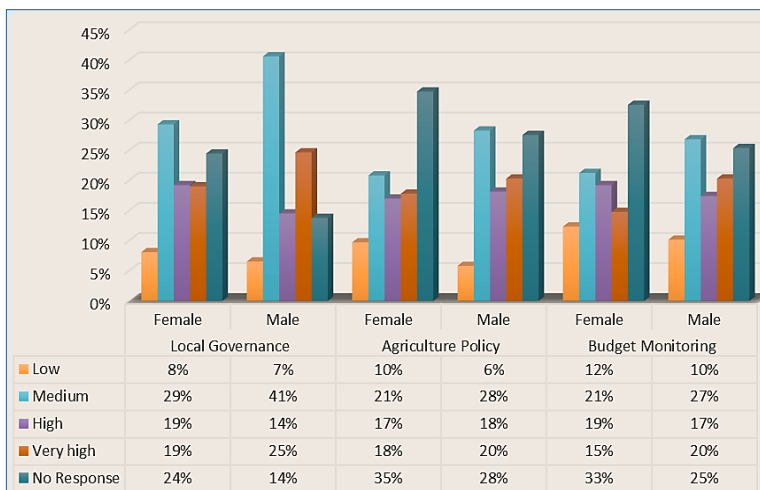


Figure 26 : The degree of participation by women in agriculture governance, policy and budget monitoring

4.5.1. The level and nature of participation by women

Figure 26 above indicates that men participated more in local governance than women did with 78.7 % of men participating in local governance structures and delivery of services to people compared to 64.8 % of women.

At the level of involvement by stage (either planning, implementation, monitoring or evaluation), women participated more than men in planning, but less so or equal to men in implementation, with no significant difference at monitoring or evaluation where the participation by both men and women was equally low.

In summary, Figures 3, 9, 26 and 27 show that the status of women is low because they:

1. Are generally poorer than men (because they earn less);
2. Are less well educated;
3. Have less decision-making power, and;
4. Have fewer leadership opportunities.

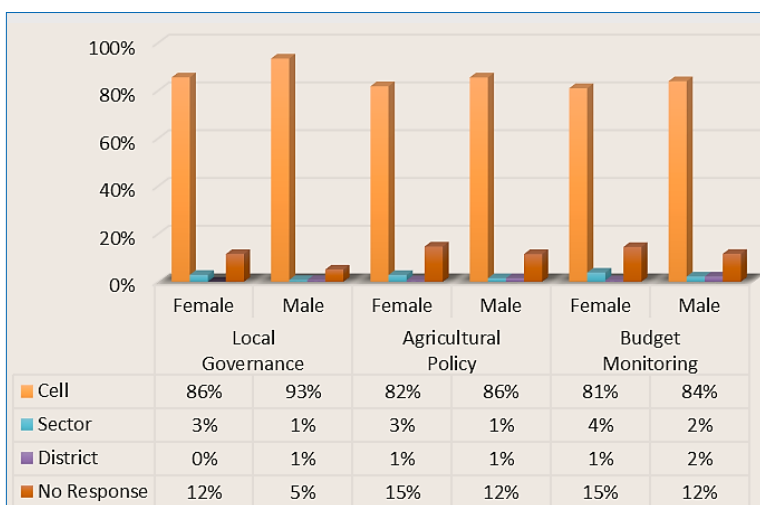


Figure 27 : The socio-political level at which men and women participate

4.5.2. Improvement needed for women’s active participation in agricultural activities

Farmers were asked to rank improvements that are needed for women to actively participate in agriculture. The options proposed were: to provide more training; provide more opportunities to engage in higher levels of education; eradicate gender biases and stereotypes; or to always encourage women to participate. Both male and female farmers agreed that providing more training was most important, followed by improved opportunities to higher levels of education. The study also provided farmers with open ended questions that further examined this issue.

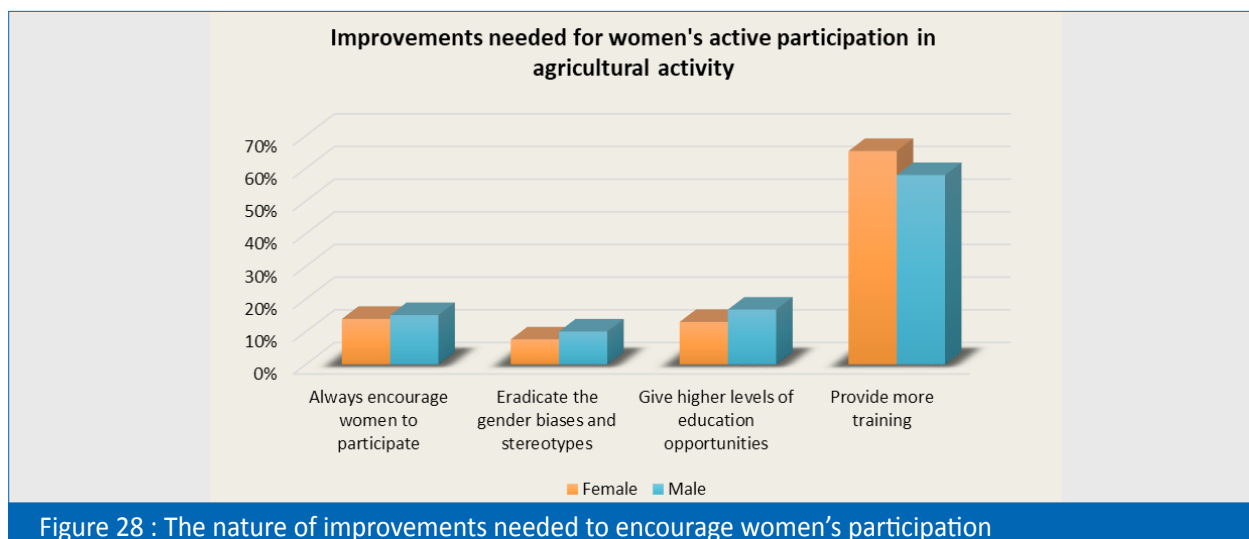


Figure 28 : The nature of improvements needed to encourage women’s participation

Table 7: Improvements needed to ensure women’s participation in agricultural decision-making.

Improvements needed to ensure equality between men and women in decision-making	Conditions needed to improve involvement of women in local government decision-making	What local leaders can do to achieve gender equality and promote the active participation by women in agriculture budgeting
Greater self-confidence	Equal access to training	Assist with the lack of/delay/inability to purchase fertiliser/seeds/land
More Training	Overcoming Fear	Training
Mobilisation	Advisory	Using people to check on how they are doing with their solidarity financial fund
Overcoming fear	Self Confidence	Advocacy/Approach people at higher levels to assist
Security / Peace in families, or creating mutual understanding between men and women	Advocacy	Mobilisation
Sensitisation and mobilisation on birth control	More Co-operatives for women	Encourage women to join co-operatives

Table 7 above illustrates that both men and women are very aware of the challenges women face, and have valuable contributions to make on changes that are needed to address those challenges. Other studies, such as Kassa (2015) and Care (2017), show that the issues facing women are not unique to Rwanda and are similar to other countries in the region, such as Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda with the GoR making far more efforts to engage women than their neighbours.



SELF CONFIDENCE	TRAINING	ADVOCACY
 Take action	 Rights	 Overcome Fear
 Mind-set change	 Participation	 Grow Professionallhy
 Organise ourselves	 Gender	 Legal knowledge
 Speak Up	 Decision Making	 Family planning
 Attend meetings and trainings	 Fear avoidance	 Confidence building
 Participate in public talks	 Self-Confidence	 Higher education levels

Figure 29: Conceptual breakdown of the meaning of Self Confidence, Training and Advocacy

The ‘training’, ‘advocacy’ and ‘self-confidence’ referred to in Table 4 was further broken down to assess what exactly women farmers meant by these terms. This was done through an analysis of the open-ended questions, as well as through FDGs. Figure 29 shows that:

1. **Self-confidence** required the ability and confidence to speak up, to participate in public meetings, to self-organise, take action and change mind-sets.
2. **Training** required training women farmers in: fear avoidance, decision-making, understanding gender, self-confidence, rights and women’s participation
3. **Advocacy** required improving higher education levels, building confidence, family planning, legal knowledge, how to grow professionally and overcoming fear

It is noteworthy that women farmers across all areas stated fear and lack of confidence as the main reasons they found participation difficult.

Additionally, policies of land consolidation and crop specialisation have a differential impact on men and women, as the latter are primarily concerned with feeding their family and the growing of commercial crops can have a negative impact on their ability to do so.

Opportunities and Challenges for Participation

FDGs and KIIs confirmed the platforms that assisted women to participate (to some degree) included:

1. **Women Network Rwanda empowers women and vulnerable groups to take up leadership roles and actively participate in governance and policy making through creating spaces for policy dialogue and leadership skills training.** Women farmers were particularly positive about the role of the Network, the training, companionship and support within the network.
2. **Women’s meetings and co-operatives:** Women FDGs also noted the positive impact of being a member of co-operatives; for farming and access to the Smart Nkunganire system for purchasing of seeds and fertiliser but also as a mechanism that builds capacity and empowers women, although there were some reservations on the limited leadership roles available to women within the co-operatives.
3. **Training such as Trócaire’s that target women.** Women farmers also commented on the positive contribution of the Training provide by the Trócaire project EGPA that provided them with skills and training in participation, leadership roles and holding local leaders to account.



Despite all of the positive steps taken by the GoR, women are still subordinate to men in rural areas, and still occupy a lower status in society. This research shows that the involvement of women in agricultural policy formulation and decision-making processes, especially budgeting, remains nominal, which has to be of concern. If more than half of Rwanda's population remains vulnerable to economic, political, legal and social marginalisation, then the hopes of advancing Rwanda's prosperity will continue to be seriously jeopardised.

CARE (2019) and FAO (2017), among many others, have outlined critical issues that need to be addressed if women are to actively engage in decision making in agriculture including; training on relevant policies and human rights (targeting both citizens, as well as power-holders and decision-makers), media campaigns, peer educators, messages or quizzes during social events (such as football matches and street theatre), distribution of booklets with summaries of relevant policies, etc. The strengthening of women's self-esteem and confidence is vital and has proven to not only have a positive impact on women's economic empowerment and social position, but also on that of their communities.

Figure 30 A farmer (Beatrice) entering data into the online reporting platform

5. Factors that contribute positively (enablers) and challenges (blockers) to Citizen Participation in Local Governance, Policy Engagement and Budget Monitoring

Summary profile of farmers

The majority of farmers in this research are female (70%), earn less than RWF 100,000 per annum, are aged between 30 and 40, are married and have either only primary or no formal education (83%).

They live in households of 4-6 people and most believe they have been wrongly categorised in the Ubudehe process.

Indeed, while farmer participation levels are generally high (69%, 63% and 60% for local governance, policy and budget monitoring respectively), it was concentrated at Cell level (96%), and at the planning stage with farmers rating their participation as 'medium'.

The types of agricultural decisions farmers had participated in were predominately to do with day-to-day farming including requesting, purchasing and utilising seeds and fertilisers.

While generally positive about their ability to participate in budget monitoring (63%) few understood, the concept or the processes involved.

Farmers were also positive about their ability to hold duty bearers to account but few had taken on leadership positions and those that had tended to be male, educated and in a higher income bracket. Most farmers feel they can hold someone accountable if funds were mismanaged at the local level (67%).

For women, participation was lower than men as they were generally poorer, less educated and were constrained by fear and lack of self-confidence. What worries farmers most is poverty and the lack of food. Their request to the government and NGOs/CSOs is for more training, advocacy and mobilisation.

From the quantitative and qualitative data, it is clear that the concept of citizen participation held a very different meaning for local farmers compared to that of government, CSOs, NGOs and International Agencies.

For example, while international discourse on citizen participation encompasses ‘capacity building’, and ‘empowerment’, local farmers translated these in a much more pragmatic and utilitarian ways in terms of day-to-day farming needs with regard to access to and use of fertilisers, seeds, irrigation schemes etc. In order for there to be effective participation, it needs to take place ‘higher up’ Arnstein’s ladder (Figure 2) and thus, be more than just provision of information (e.g. on agricultural inputs).

Effective participation also needs to result in sharing of decision-making at all stages (planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation) of the agricultural cycle. It is only by allowing communities to be truly active partners in all stages of decision-making that their share of control and power can become more equal and to ensure they participate. As Arnstein (1969:218) notes:

without a shift of power, nothing changes: Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows power holders to claim that all sides were considered but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo

If citizen participation does not provide the opportunity for real influence over the decision-making processes, then the notion of effectiveness and sustainability is questionable.

The Government of Rwanda has made tremendous progress in recognising citizen participation as one of the main components of ensuring good governance.

Within the agricultural sector specifically, MINALOC (2013) confirmed that,

participation of citizens in local governance and policy monitoring in agriculture enables them to give their [farmer] own ideas in problem solving, priority setting, planning, and budgeting. They also state that it is through the delivery of the programmes that local government becomes accountable to those citizens that participate in orienting the shape of their communities. It is their belief that if citizen participation is low, it is an indication that they are not partners with their local governments.

Results of the study as well as other research show that the level of citizen satisfaction with the decision-making process in Rwanda is generally quite high, e.g. 75% for participation in the decision-making processes, 71% for local administration but only 47.7% satisfaction with participation in the elaboration of District budgets and plans (RGB CRC, 2018). Vibrancy of Civil Society Organisations in policy formulation increased from 59.7% in 2014 to 67.33% in 2018 (RGS, 2018) and 64% of citizens were satisfied with CSO addressing societal needs effectively (Rwanda Governance Scorecard 2019).

Even though structures exist, and evidence suggests increased citizen participation, the involvement of citizens in terms of public policy monitoring and implementation, especially those related to agriculture, is limited, with citizen capacity to influence public decisions also limited as there is still a culture of ‘top-down’ decision-making.

5.1. OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCCESSFUL CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, POLICY ENGAGEMENT AND BUDGET MONITORING

Despite the above, this research did, however, identify several factors that can be considered as drivers of successful citizen participation in local governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring, including:

1. An effective legal and institutional framework.

The government has made tremendous efforts to improve citizen involvement in local governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring decisions, especially by putting in place several laws and ensuring that the Local Government Act is fully enacted.

These laws provide citizens with the fundamental right to engage in agriculture policy formulations from community to national level. As noted by the farmers in this study, however, although citizens are aware of their rights, they still need to fully exercise them.

Even though the Law clearly sets out the procedures that enable, and indeed often require, citizens to engage in policy formulations, their effective and active involvement in the process is still below the required level.

2. Availability of meeting platforms.

Chapter 2 highlights the myriad of platforms and opportunities available to farmers especially at local level. **For example, the monthly community work and meetings (Umuganda) were** created with the objective of improving community development by engaging citizens and providing them with a platform to discuss their concerns, government development projects etc.

This study has indicated that Umuganda is just one of a myriad of fora that exist to facilitate engagement. These fora provide a platform for citizens to voice the challenges they face and to present them to their local leaders. Results from this study indicate that citizens use community meetings and gatherings (like women gatherings) for purposes of engaging in a range of development programmes, including ones in agriculture.

In particular, for budget monitoring; parents' evenings, co-operative meetings and Umuganda were seen as platforms that worked well for information sharing and participation

in the development and implementation of budgets. For women, Women's Network Rwanda was mentioned for its empowering role in women's lives.

3. The role of co-operatives.

In Rwanda most agricultural commodities are produced and marketed through co-operatives. A large number of studies show a positive impact of co-operative membership- from farm income to the creation of markets. Research has also pointed out that co-operatives are top-down, can undermine land tenure and are often mis-managed.

For the farmers in this study, they were a way to share information, ideas and to be heard. There was some criticism that those responsible for management do not have the required skills, but farmers in this study found them to be effective way for farmers 'voices' to be heard at higher levels as Co-operatives have a seat at the table at decision making forums such as JADF.

4. The mission of Twigire Muhinzi

is to provide all farmers with access to agricultural advisory services (RAB, 2015). The theory is that Farmer Field School (FFS) facilitators and Farmer Promoters (FP) are empowered to make decisions to provide training to farmers, and, ultimately, that farmers become empowered to make their own decisions to improve their agricultural production.

Twigire Muhinzi is a demand-driven system because individuals can provide feedback, and because it promotes technology transfer and information exchange between producers, farmer organisations and other partners. According to FGDs, KIIs and other research (Trócaire 2019), the reality is that the **Twigire Muhinzi** is still not operating in many villages, and that FFS and FPs have either not been identified or that they lack training. Where they are working, however, farmers find them a very positive forum for dialogue.

5. Imihigo process. Although the focus of this study was not on the Imihigo process *per se*, rather on all means and mechanisms open to farmers for participation, it has to be acknowledged that the Imihigo process is central to the lives of farmers.

Although a Transparency International survey, (2017) revealed that performance contracts are hard to implement, because individual farmers and farmer co-operatives are not involved in the formulation process, farmers in this study found them beneficial as they provide competition in the Districts that allowed for their District to advance.

6. Agronomists: Farmers perceived agronomists as having good knowledge, delivered in a face-to-face manner, making the most of participatory demonstrations and providing helpful feedback to them.

They were also seen to listen. Use of people such as agronomists, and mechanisms such as FFS etc, was seen as the best way of getting information to farmers but also for getting information back from them. It was, however, acknowledged that most agronomists have too high a workload and struggle to cover their geographic regions.

7. Community Scorecard (CSC) and Survey CTO are instruments that facilitate dialogue between rights-holders and duty-bearers. They allow citizens to monitor and give feedback on the quality of certain services.

CSCs and Survey CTOs allow farmers to advocate with the duty-bearers (typically including service providers and local authorities) to solve certain problems or prioritise specific areas of service delivery. Duty-bearers then also have an opportunity to explain their decisions and challenges and engage citizens in discussions around service provision.

The CSCs aims to improve citizen participation in decision-making, transparency and accountability, while at the same time improving the quality of the service delivered to the citizens. These mechanism were seen by farmers in this study as some of the most effective mechanisms for keeping duty bearers accountable.

8. Civil society organizations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have affirmed to play important roles in advocating for citizen participation beyond the planning level. They have facilitated citizens to form community-based organisations that have acted as channels for participation, as well as in planning, implementation and monitoring of agricultural related programmes.

Many CSOs and NGOs are also involved in service delivery and, as such, support famers with activities such as; training on savings, access to finance, marketing produce, and capacity building in, e.g. new and improved agricultural techniques, as well as providing tools and inputs.

The need for training, skills development and funding of agriculture activities at community level is largely tackled by CSOs. The training they provide focuses largely on providing advocacy for citizens to participate in various agriculture programmes and activities. Farmers in this study credited CSOs with transforming them into better farmers. For example, CSOs trained members of farmer associations in a range of agricultural techniques, including effective fertiliser use, seed multiplication and sound financial management, whilst other CSOs and NGOs also provided training in capacity building and citizen empowerment, especially for women.

9. The role of NGOs/CSOs was mentioned particularly in relation to budget monitoring, holding duty bearers to account and gender issues. **NGOs/CSOs advocate** for the voice of the poorest and most vulnerable to be heard and provide training in the areas of budgeting, leadership and confidence building.

10. Aiming for increased agriculture productivity.

Within the legal and institutional frameworks available, farmers (especially women) participate in local governance decision-making, policy engagement and budget monitoring primarily with the aim of realising increased agricultural productivity. Participating in agricultural budgeting and monitoring enables citizens to access agricultural inputs, such as seeds and fertilisers, as well as to gain more knowledge and information about the agricultural markets into which they can sell their produce. Farmer participation in these processes, though limited, allows them to have basic knowledge on some tools that facilitate increased productivity and income from agriculture.

5.2. FACTORS THAT HINDER (BLOCK) CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE, POLICY ENGAGEMENT AND BUDGET MONITORING

This study also identified a number of factors hindering (blocking) citizen participation in local agricultural governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring:

1. The research found significant evidence of a **lack of responsiveness to citizen participation from Local and District Officials** at Cell, Sector and District level. Although aware of community priorities issues and needs, officials are somewhat constrained in their capacity to address these. Due to pressures to meet ambitious targets, such as those set out in their Imihigos, and as these targets are often drawn from higher level plans and targets, rather than from lower level concerns and priorities, there is less evidence of representation or accountability at the District level. Plans and policies appear more heavily influenced by national prerogatives, especially the commercialisation of agriculture. There is, therefore, a discrepancy between the rhetoric of the decentralisation policy and the many strategies and acts to support it, and the reality on the ground.
2. **Low levels of capacity** and limited **levels of education, and the low income** of many farmers, leaders and local authorities in the knowledge and skills required for effective participation. From the results of the study, there is a negative correlation between the level of education/low income of a farmer and their level of participation in local governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring. This illustrates that low levels of education/low income may impede the participation of citizens especially the poorest and most vulnerable, especially in monitoring and evaluation where rates of participation are particularly low.
3. Citizens further assert that even though they engage in agriculture policy, budget monitoring and local governance, **most of their ideas are not considered**. Citizens argue that local leaders tend rather to bring ideas to them, especially in the planning process, and that they are then required to embrace these, rather than them providing leaders with their priorities and ideas. This kind of ‘top-down’, only ‘information giving’ approach to agriculture policies limits citizen participation and adversely impacts implementation phases.
4. Many farmers didn’t participate effectively due to **delays in service deliveries by local leaders**. For instance, farmers mentioned that delays in provision of fertiliser during previous farming seasons, combined with a low level of inputs by the extension services, sometimes reduced their willingness to participate in the next season. Further, they argued that the timing of their requested participation was not always reasonable or realistic, with leaders inviting participation without any notice. This meant that those who did participate, did so without any sufficient forethought or planning, thereby limiting the nature and level of contribution.
5. Linked to the above is **slow information flow**, especially on long-term projects, between local leaders and local citizens. Mechanisms of information dissemination are poor, especially on agricultural project implementation plans by the governments. Some information is provided when the season for cultivating has already begun, which adversely impacted on implementation of the other programmes and activities, such as purchase of seeds
6. The introduction and operation of technologies, such as the **Smart Nkunganire and Survey CTO**, although positive, also presented difficulties for some farmers who lack relevant knowledge on their use. Farmers argued that such technology requires citizens to be connected to the communication network in order to be able to order fertiliser and seed, or to provide feedback. Citizens also complained that such technology is often introduced without their prior knowledge or approval.
7. There are also some instances where **multiple programmes** in agriculture are **brought towards citizens simultaneously** by different (civil society) organisations. This creates a challenge for the effective participation of citizens as different programmes often target the same populations. This becomes even more of a challenge when citizens need to make adjustments to farming/household practices for such programs.

8. KIIs outlined that **farmers’ representatives are often silent or ill prepared** at JADF and district meetings. Representatives need to come prepared with evidence and recommendations. Further capacity building and training for representatives is required to build confidence and skills.
9. Many **female farmers lack confidence**, which prevents their effective (or any) participation in community gatherings and prevents them from voicing suggestions in public. They worry their ideas will not be considered and so prefer to keep quiet or stay home and do chores.

Many studies have shown that the practice of participatory development becomes complicated and compromised when marginalised groups, such as women, are encouraged to take part in such processes without addressing structural factors (fear, lack of confidence) that contribute to their continued disempowerment. Regular gender monitoring is needed to address these issues.

In addition, there is a policy implementation gap as too few officials are trained in gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive budgeting. The budgeting process in agriculture is not gender-sensitive and the majority of agricultural extension workers are men.

10. **Linked to confidence, is the critical factor of communication and leadership** in participatory development. Farmers who are illiterate or poorly educated may shun public participation for fear of being exposed as being unable to comprehend the issues, especially in budget monitoring.

It is important that communication is sensitive to these farmers and mechanism are put in place to foster their participation. Leadership positions tend to be held by educated men in higher income groups. It is important to question whether such persons are capable of representing the broader communities, such as women and the very poor. It is also important to question whether there are effective mechanisms in place to hold those leadership roles accountable.

6. CONCLUSIONS

'We have to deliver citizen-centred services. Citizens' priorities are ignored; we have to reflect on how we can join efforts together with media, government and civil society to ensure that the voice of farmers is heard' (Appolinaire Mupiganyi, the Executive Secretary of Transparency Rwanda, New Times 2018)

Participation takes time, additional resources, and additional skills at all levels, from community to national level. The Government of Rwanda has made substantial efforts to foster citizen participation.

Identifying and using local knowledge and skills is increasingly recognised as vital first steps to ensuring that successful participatory development empowers communities to draw on tangible and social community assets needed to manage their own development.

Participation focuses on an appreciation and utilisation of pre-existing community strengths, assets and communication systems as the primary resources for development, together with reliance on community leadership, social networks and advocacy to bring about substantial change.

The research findings over the five Districts showed that the nature of their participation is essentially limited to receiving information, guidelines and instructions. Communities are not given the choice, or the opportunity, to really influence decision-making as the priorities they have, and suggestions that they make, tend not to be addressed.

The results of this study further show that where there is participation, men participate more than women and primarily in the planning processes. The findings also indicate that the participation of citizens in different programmes, whether at planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation phases, is largely carried out at Village and Cell levels, i.e. at the lowest and second lowest administrative entities respectively.

Farmers need to be fully understood and recognised as full participants in decision-making processes, rather than purely as beneficiaries of government programmes. This is easily said but more difficult to achieve.

Real inclusion in society also requires that those involved need to feel included and this cannot happen in the absence of real participation in decision-making. Strategic actors, such as donors, NGOs and CBOs, should provide assistance to local authorities in developing a deeper and richer array of participatory relationship with all their constituents.

7. Recommendations

In view of these opportunities and challenges, a number of recommendations are proposed, the adoption of which will empower farmers to participate more effectively in decision-making processes in the agricultural sector in the future, if adopted:

7.1. General

1. Having farmers and farmer organisations fulfil their ascribed role, i.e. to influence agricultural policies, is an enormous challenge. For such individuals and organisations to be effective at this, it will require considerable investment in terms of capacity building in group dynamics, leadership, financial resource management, education and training. It will help farmers and farmer organisations to analyse and articulate policies with the view of influencing, as well as simply participating in, the implementation process.
2. Ensuring that the participation of farmers is effective requires a multi-sector approach where alliances are formed between different state and non-state actors, across all ministries and branches of government (legislative, executive and judiciary) and involving associations, citizen movements, CSOs, media, academia etc. A multisector approach can eventually shift the balance of power to a point where, farmers can see some successes and thereby be encouraged, leading to more meaningful participation.
3. Participation is currently more procedural, e.g. through electing local leaders, communal labour sharing and local taxation. The Government of Rwanda needs to strengthen the attainments already made in engaging citizens in community development by the progressive incorporation of local perspectives, values and needs in National, District, and Local indicators entrenching these into National policy guidelines and in the Law and then ensuring that the policies and laws are implemented.
4. There is need for further research aimed at understanding the context and features of farmer participation, identifying strategies to replace the practice of informing and sensitising citizens and instead adopt strategies to encourage open and contradictory debate on issues of national interest.
5. Consider establishing and operationalising an independent oversight mechanism to monitor, report, evaluate and provide independent feedback on the rights and practice of citizens' participation.

7.2. Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA)

1. Prove the value and ease of adoption. If farmers do not perceive that there is value in adopting a new behaviour, then they are likely to stick with the status quo. The Government of Rwanda needs to ensure that they find ways to prove the value of adopting all of the tools, policies, and practices that they provide and that are recommended in the move from subsistence to commercial farming. Active demonstration, such as through Farmer Field Schools, could be one way to do this, as well as collating evidence that shows benefits to a farmer's bottom line, or other aspects of their farm business.
2. Management of co-operatives. There is a need to better support and build the capacity of farming co-operatives to strengthen government engagement and active farmer participation and to exploit existing mechanisms, such as JADF. Co-operative members need to be adequately forewarned of upcoming decision-making events and consulted to collect their needs and concerns for advocacy purposes. Representatives require further capacity building and training to ensure confidence and ability to advocate for farmers. Systems need to be established to increase membership of poorer farmers and women who currently find it difficult to meet the financial obligations of co-operatives.
3. There needs to be renewed and concerted efforts to improve women's participation as co-operative members and leaders. Women could be encouraged to start with smaller self-help groups to build their capacity to lead, manage and have greater financial literacy and assets and then to support them to join more formal co-operatives. Co-operatives with male and female membership should provide training to small sub-groups of women to build confidence and leadership skills. The use of 'targets' for women's representation at leadership level should be continued.

7.3. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC)

1. It is clear from the research that local authorities need to communicate more effectively with the farming community and explain their decisions to them. Local councils and their partners must keep citizens informed about their actions and decisions, enhancing participation and accountability.
2. Local and District authorities need a long term and genuine commitment to engage in processes of intensive dialogue regarding the development of policies, programmes and measures, with farmers given sufficient time and opportunity to participate and provide feedback. Processes need to be inclusive, impartial and transparent.
3. Efforts should be made to empower community structures and enhance citizen access to information in order to address existing gaps in access to information on citizen participation and more generally on agriculture policies. This requires revisiting some of the modalities, channels, packaging, branding, language and platforms currently used to disseminate civic information on participation.
4. Support linkages and dialogue between key stakeholders (local citizens, leaders and civil society) as a core driver of transparency, involvement and accountability in agricultural budgeting decisions. The involvement of farmers/citizens in budgeting, local governance and policy engagement should go beyond Cell level. A clear structure of how priorities should be set needs to be identified with a bottom-up approach preferred, as this will better capture farmers valued ideas, whilst also demonstrating that that is happening. This would increase the overall participation rate of the farmers in programmes and activities, and give farmers greater ownership of, and belief in, their participation.

7.4. Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)

1. An integrated approach is needed, that not only increases the participation of women in decision-making, but also integrates women into market decisions etc.
2. There is a need to locally institutionalise participatory process of women in local governance and leadership through regular training at Village levels. This will initiate and encourage women to become active voices in local governance decisions, especially agricultural budgeting and monitoring, and will create greater effectiveness and efficiency in agriculture, hence increasing ownership and sustainability of local governance decisions.
3. Promote the reduction of women's workload and engage men in domestic tasks to promote equitable division of labor in the household. This can be done through including messages in all agriculture training activities, through highlighting positive deviants in all farmer field schools and other farmer training programs. This will allow women more time for participation at community meetings etc.
4. Focus on implementation and practice. Even the best-developed principles must be accompanied by capacity-development activities to enable compliance.

7.5. Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI), Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINCOFIN), Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF)

1. There is a need to invest in adult literacy programmes to enable, especially women, to engage more effectively in democratic processes and positions, such as leadership and elections. This would also increase their awareness of, and ability to access, rights over land ownership etc.
2. There is need to develop an appropriate mechanism to encourage local citizens, especially women, to become more confident thereby enabling them to participate actively in regular local meetings and give their perceptions on the ways forward. Applying participatory visual materials/virtual reality (VR) tools/Radio, such as score cards and VR tools, can improve the level and nature of citizen participation in policy processes. The ultimate target would be to increase the number of women that participate in all levels of governance, budget and monitoring of programs.
3. There is need to have beneficiaries more meaningfully involved in the budget making processes, this from identification of priorities, through the allocation of resources to the implementation processes. This could involve working directly to foster better participation in decision-making. Low education levels results in an inability to interpret budget related information thereby limiting the ability of beneficiaries to meaningfully participate in planning and monitoring of agricultural related budgets. There should be planned workshops/ Training in order to equip farmers with tangible budgeting knowledge.

7.6. Civil Society, Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)/ Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

1. The continued support from the CSOs and NGOs towards citizens should be further encouraged, especially the advocacy aspect. CSOs, NGOs and other partners at District level, have played an important role in the engagement of farmers in agriculture policies at the community level, this through provision of support to different agriculture associations/co-operatives and programmes aimed at agriculture growth. This support needs to be continued and expanded towards farmers who are not, as yet, part of associations/co-operatives.
2. Conduct advocacy /confidence building Training and workshops for women to increase women's participation.
3. Provide training and capacity building for farmers on budget monitoring and provide mentorship/coaching services.

7.7. Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC), Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (MINAGRI) and Rwanda Co-operative Agency (RCA)

1. MINALOC, MINAGRI, and RCA should ensure that farmers have real power to influence decision-making in the 'spaces' available to them. There is a need to review the design of all existing citizen participation channels in order to emphasise citizen-centred planning and budgeting for local decision-making processes. There is a need to promote open dialogue at all community meetings and to expand the suggestion box idea to allow for confidential feedback and thereby empowers the most vulnerable, and least confident/powerful in the community to have a voice. There is a need to provide training on participatory approaches to facilitate genuine citizen participation in government decisions in any capacity-building intervention intended for government officials (including agronomists, FFS etc.), stakeholders, and farmers and there is a need to prioritize inclusive and gender-transformative outcomes in agricultural development strategies.

8. References

- Agbodike F. C., Igbokwe-Ibeto C. J., and Nkah B. C. (2014). Local government administration and the challenges of sustainable development in Nigeria. *Review of Public Administration and Management*, 400(3615), 1-11.
- Akarowhe K. (2018). Retooling Agricultural Policies and Programmes for Sustainable Development in Nigeria Current Investigations in Agriculture and Current Research 2(1):165-168 doi: 10.32474/CIACR.2018.02.000129 <https://lupinepublishers.com/agriculture-journal/pdf/CIACR.MS.ID.000129.pdf>
- Michels, A. (2011) Innovations in democratic governance: how does citizen participation contribute to a better democracy? *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 77:2, pages 275-293.
- Ansoms, An. (2011). Rwanda's Post-Genocide Economic Reconstruction: The Mismatch between Elite Ambitions and,
- Arnstein (2011). 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute*. April.
- Bangwanubusa, T. (2017). State of Elected Local Councillors and Constituency Interactions in Rwanda: Implications for Accountable Local Governance. Kigali: Rwandan Association of Local Government
- Brown, L. R., & Haddad, L. J. (1994). Agricultural growth as a key to poverty alleviation (No. 567-2016-38978).
- Booth D and Golooba, F (2012). —Developmental patrimonialism? The case of Rwanda||, *African Affairs*, 111(444), pp. 379-403.
- Care (2015). Care's experience with community score cards: What works and why?
- Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (1994). Qualitative research in work contexts. *Qualitative methods in organizational research*, 1-13.
- Cave, R (2014). Responding to the Information Needs of Citizens in an Open Society: The Role of Smart Communities
- Chambers V. and Golooba F (2012). Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda Kigali Rwanda
- Cohen, J., & Uphoff, N. (1980). Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity. *World Development*, 8, 213–235.
- Collins K. and Ison, R. (2006). Dare we jump off Arnstein's ladder? Social learning as a new policy paradigm. In: *Proceedings of PATH (Participatory Approaches in Science & Technology) Conference*, 4-7 Jun 2006, Edinburgh
- Cooke B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *The tyranny of participation*. London: Zed Books.
- Cornwall A. (2002). Making spaces, changing places: situating participation in development. *IDS Working Paper* no. 170. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Cornwall, A. (2008). Whose voices, whose choices? Reflections on gender and participatory development. *World Development* Vol 31. No. 8 pp1325-1342
- Gasana N. (2014). *The Budget System in Rwanda The Role of Public Financial Management in Achieving Fiscal Objective*, Kenya.
- Gaynor N. (2013) *Local Governance, Conflict and Peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*,
- Gaynor (2016). *Decentralisation, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Rwanda*, DCU, Ireland
- Gaventa, J. (2002). Introduction: exploring citizenship, participation and accountability. *IDS Bulletin*, 33, 1– 11.
- Gaventa, J. and Valderrama, C. (2001). *Participation, citizenship and local governance in enhancing ownership and sustainability: a resource book on participation*. IFAD, ANGOC and IIRR
- Geissel, B. & Newton, K. (Eds.). (2012). *Evaluating democratic innovations: Curing the democratic malaise?* New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fung, A. (2006). 'Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance' *Public Administration Review-Washington* 66: 66–75

- Huggins, C. (2017). *Agricultural Reform in Rwanda: Authoritarianism, Markets and Zones of Governance* Zed Books. Kindle Edition.
- Ingabire C, Mshenga PM, Amacker M, Langat JK, Bigler C, Birachi EA. (2018). *Agricultural Transformation in Rwanda: Can Gendered Market Participation Explain the Persistence of Subsistence Farming?* *Gender and Women's Studies*. 2(1):4.
- International Peace Building Advisory Team (2015). *Rwanda Report*
- Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2010). *Citizen Participation and Democracy in Rwanda*. Kigali Rwanda
- International Alert (2018). *Towards sustainable agriculture: An analysis of farmers' participation in agriculture programmes in Rwanda*, Kigali Rwanda
- Kitzinger, J. (2005). *Focus Group Research: Using Group Dynamics to Explore Perceptions, Experiences and Understandings*. In: Holloway, I., Ed., *Qualitative Research in Health Care*, Open University Press, Maidenhead, 56-70.
- Kothari C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Age International.
- Lister R. (1998). *Citizens in action: Citizenship in action and community development in Northern Ireland*.
- Ministry of Agriculture (2016). *Rwanda Crop Competitiveness Assessment report*. Kigali, Rwanda
- Ministry of Agriculture (2018). *Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation 2018-24*. Kigali, Rwanda
- Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) (2017). *Rwanda Annual Economic Report Fiscal Year 2016/2017*.
- Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) (2018). *National Strategy for Transformation, A development strategy for 2018-24*. Kigali, Rwanda
- Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) (2013). *Law determining the organization and functioning of decentralized administrative entities*. Kigali, Rwanda
- MINALOC (2013a). *Local democracy and local governance: Benchmarking Rwanda against the Aberdeen principles*, Kigali: Ministry of Local Government; Rwanda Association of Local Government Authorities and Commonwealth Local Government Forum.
- MINALOC (2013b). *Revised Decentralisation Policy*, Kigali: Ministry of Local Government.
- MINALOC (2012). *Decentralisation Strategic Plan 2013/14-2017/2018*; Kigali: Ministry of Local Government.
- MINALOC (2010). *Decentralisation Implementation Plan 2011-2015*, Kigali: Ministry of Local Government.
- MINALOC (2007). *Rwanda Decentralisation Strategic Framework*, Kigali: Ministry of Local Government.
- Morgan, G., & Smircich, L. (1980). *The case for qualitative research*. *Academy of management review*, 5(4), 491-500.
- National Institute of Statistics for Rwanda (2018). *Gross Domestic Product 2017–18 annual report*, Kigali.
- National Institute of Statistics for Rwanda (2014). *Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey 4 (EICV 4)*, Kigali.
- National Institute of Statistics for Rwanda (2017). *Agriculture Household Survey*, Kigali.
- National Institute of Statistics for Rwanda (2017). *Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey 5 (EICV 5)*, Kigali.
- Newbury (2018). *High Modernism at the Ground Level: The Imidugudu Policy in Rwanda*, in *Remaking Rwanda: Statebuilding and Human Rights after Mass Violence*, Eds. Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf, Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 223-239.
- Ndagijimana (2019). *Rural Resilience: The role of co-operatives in achieving sustainable rural development*.
- Ndreu, A (2016). *The definition and importance of local governance*. *Social and Natural Sciences Journal* Vol 10/10
- Never Again Rwanda (2016). *Governing with and for Citizens: Lessons from a Post-Genocide Rwanda*, Kigali Rwanda
- Never Again Rwanda (2018). *Local Government Imihigo Process: Understanding the factors contributing to low*

citizen participation June 2018

New Times (2018). <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/228689>

New Times (2019). <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/182736>

NORAD (2013). A Framework for Analysing Participation in Development Report 1/2013 Evaluation Department, Norway.

Okonya, J.S.; Mudege, N.N.; Rietveld, A.M.; Nduwayezu, A.; Kantungeko, D.; Hakizimana, B.M.; Nyaga, J.N.; Blomme, G.; Legg, J.P.; Kroschel, J.(2019). The Role of Women in Production and Management of RTB Crops in Rwanda and Burundi: Do Men Decide, and Women Work? Sustainability 2019, 11, 4304.

Pretty J. (1995). Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture, World Development, 23(8), 1247-1263.

Rwanda Governance Board (2016). Good Governance and Decentralization in Rwanda. Rwanda Governance Review, Kigali Rwanda

Rwanda Governance Board (2017). Citizen Report Card Kigali Rwanda

Rwanda Governance Board (2018). Citizen Report Card Kigali. Rwanda

Rwanda Governance Review (2019). Rwanda Governance Scorecard, Kigali, Rwanda

Shiferaw B., Hellin, J. and Muricho, G. (2011). Improving market access and agricultural productivity growth in Africa: what role for producer organizations and collective action institutions? Food Security, 3(4), 475-489.

Straus S and Waldorf L Eds. (2011). Rural Realities, Remaking Rwanda: Statebuilding and Human Rights after Mass Violence Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 240-251.

Todaro, M. P. (1977). Economics for a developing world: An introduction to principles, problems and policies for development (No. 04; HC59. 7, T6.). Longman.

Trocaire (2019). Baseline Survey for enhancing participation and governance and accountability project

Trocaire (2019). Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability Project (EPGA) Agricultural issues paper to inform national policy dialogue

Trocaire (2019). Enhancing Participatory Governance and Accountability, Mid-Term Evaluation Report, Kigali.

UNICEF (2019). https://www.unicef.org/nutrition/files/Unicef_Nutrition_Strategy.pdf. Accessed 1/1/19.

WHO (2011). World Report on Disability. WHO Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

World Bank (1992). Government and Development annual report.

World Bank (1997). World Development Report: The state in a changing world. Oxford University Press.

World Bank (2002). External assessment of participation in poverty reduction strategy papers: a synthesis. Participation and Civic Engagement Group, Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (2015). World Development indicators.

World Bank (2016). Rwanda, achieving food security, reducing poverty, moving up the value chain. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/07/12/rwanda-achieving-food-security-reducing-poverty-moving-up-the-value-chain>

World Bank (2009). Participation and Engagement: Independent Budget Analysis.

Appendix 1: Research Tools

1.2. Research Tool 5a. Questionnaire

STUDY ON INVOLVEMENT OF CITIZENS PARTICULARLY WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE, POLICY AND BUDGET MONITORING IN AGRICULTURE IN RWANDA

Trócaire Rwanda is carrying out a research on the involvement of citizens particularly women in local governance, policy engagement and budget monitoring in agriculture. The study is aiming to find out whether the views of local citizens regarding local governance, women empowerment and their degree of involvement in budget monitoring for the agriculture Sector. It also identifies the potential factors associated with the perceived level of involvement in policy and budget monitoring and challenges that hinder participation in local governance, including agricultural budget monitoring. To meet this request, you are kindly requested to respond to this questionnaire precisely and honestly as the result will influence policy decisions. Responses to this questionnaire will be used as input in evaluating the level of involvement of citizens in local governance, policy engagement, and budget monitoring for agriculture in Rwanda. The information provided by you will be treated with high level of confidence and will inform policy decisions by Trócaire, Ministry of local governance, Districts leaders and other stakeholders. Your contributions and participation is acknowledged and highly appreciated.

Section 1: General Information

1.0. Enumerator's Information										
Names of the Enumerator										
Enumerator's Code						Number of List of Questions				
Interview Dates						Starting Time				
Signature						Ending Time				

1.1. Region				
Province	Code		1. District	
North	01		2. Sector	
			3. Cell	
South	02		4. Village	

1.2. Respondent's General Information						
1.2.1 Place of Residence	Semi-Urban	01		1.2.2 Sex	Male	01
	Rural	02			Female	02
1.2.3 Age						

1.3. Occupation		1.4. Education Level	
Agriculture	01	No formal education	01
Public	02	Primary	02
Private companies	03	Vocational training	03
Non-governmental organization	04	Secondary	04
Self-employed (Business)	05	Higher Education	05
Retired	06	1.5 Marital Status	
Others specify.....	07	Single	01
		Married	02
		Divorced/Separated	03
		Widow (er)	04

1.6 Category of UBUDEHE	1.6.1 Which category of UBUDEHE do you belong to?	1.6.2 Which category of UBUDEHE do you think you should be in?
		1. Category 1 2. Category 2 3. Category 3 4. Category 4

1.7 Household Composition		
1.7.1 Household size	01	1-3
	02	4-6
	03	>6
1.7.2 How many children in the Household?	01	No Kids
	02	1-3
	03	4-6
	04	7+
1.7.3 How many elderly people do you have in the household?		
1.7.4 Are there any members of the household living with disabilities?	01	Yes
	02	No
If yes, how many are they?		

Section 2: Economic Activity		
2.1 Do you only rely on agriculture as source of livelihood? (If yes, go on section 3)	Yes	No
2.2 If no, name the establishment you work for		

Section 3: Income Status		
2.5. Your income is received based on what period?		1. Weekly 2. Monthly 3. Daily 4. Quarterly
2.5.1 What is the Income received from the agriculture annually in RWF?	01	<= 50,000
	02	50,001-100,000
	03	100,001-150,000
	04	150,001-200,000
	05	200,001-250,000
	06	250,001-300,000
	07	>300,000
2.5.2 Are there taxes paid on your income?	01	Yes
	02	No
	03	Don't Know

1. PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY		
#	Questions	Answers
Q101	Are you aware that you have right to participate in local governance decisions?	1. Yes 2. No
Q102	If yes, have you ever participated in local governance decisions?	1. Yes 2. No
Q103	What is your level participation in local governance?	1. Very high 2. High 3. Medium 4. Low
Q104	What type of local governance decisions have you ever participated in ?	
Q105	Do you think direct citizen participation in the governance decisions is important?	1. Yes 2. No
Q106	Which level do you use most frequently to engage in local governance decisions?	1. Cell 2. Sector 3. District
Q107	Which of the following local governance stages do you directly participate in?	1. Planning 2. Implementation 3. Monitoring 4. Evaluation 5. All the above
Q108	Do you hold any leadership position in your local agricultural associations?	1. Yes 2. No
Q108.1	If yes, which one?	01 President 02 VC President 03 Secretary 04 Treasure 05 Any other.....
Q109	Are you able to hold accountable any person who mismanage your resources in your local association?	1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
Q110	Under what conditions would you propose to improve the involvement of women in local governance decisions making?	
Q111	What do you think should be done to stimulate women to equally involve in local governance decisions as their men counterpart?	

2. INVOLVEMENT IN BUDGET MONITORING		
#	Questions	Answers
Q201	Are you aware that you have right to participate budget monitoring?	1. Yes 2. No
Q202	If yes, have you ever participated in budget monitoring?	1. Yes 2. No
Q203	What is your level participation in budget monitoring?	1. Very high 2. High 3. Medium 4. Low
Q204	What type of budget monitoring have you ever participated in ?	
Q205	Do you think direct citizen participation in the budget monitoring is important?	1. Yes 2. No
Q206	Which level do you use most frequently to engage in budget monitoring?	1. Cell 2. Sector 3. District
Q207	Which of the following budget monitoring stages do you directly participate in?	1. Planning 2. Implementation 3. Monitoring 4. Evaluation 5. All the above
Q208	Do you involve in Budget planning and monitoring in your local agriculture associations?	01 Yes 02 No
Q209	If no, what do you think should be done to enable you actively participate in budget planning and monitoring in your local associations?	
Q210	Are you able to involve in the discussions with regard to agricultural budgeting?	01 Yes 02 No
Q210.1	If yes, are your views considered when making agricultural budgeting decisions?	01 Yes 02 No
Q210.2	If yes, types of views that you have proposed and subsequently been taken into considerations?	
Q211	What are the concerns for your household concerning the agricultural budget monitoring?	
Q1013	What can local leaders do to achieve gender equality and empower rural women in promoting active participation in agricultural budgeting?	1. 2. 3. 4.

3. AGRICULTURAL POLICY ENGAGEMENTS		
Q301	Are you aware that you have right to participate agricultural policy engagements?	1. Yes 2. No
Q302	If yes, have you ever participated in agricultural policy?	1. Yes 2. No
Q303	What is your level participation in agricultural policy?	1. Very high 2. High 3. Medium 4. Low
Q304	What type of agriculture policy have you ever participated in ?	
Q305	Do you think direct citizen participation in the agriculture policy is important?	1. Yes 2. No
Q306	Which level do you use most frequently to engage in agriculture policy?	1. Cell 2. Sector 3. District
Q307	Which of the following agriculture policy stages do you directly participate in?	1. Planning 2. Implementation 3. Monitoring 4. Evaluation 5. All the above
Q308	What do you think should be done to increase women active participation in decision making in agricultural activity?	1. More training 2. Give higher education opportunities 3. Eradicate the gender biases and stereotypes 4. Always encourage the women to 5. Any other
Q309	In your opinion, what do you suggest to the government in order to improve the level of involvement in agricultural policy engagement?	1. 2. 3. 4.

1.2. Research Tool 4b. Key informants interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION AND DISTRICT OFFICIALS

1. What do you think is role of citizen participation in local governance in the development process?
2. What do you think is role of citizen participation in agriculture budget engagement, monitoring and policy engagement?
3. What platforms, mechanisms, or channels do you think should be used frequently by citizens in local governance, budget monitoring and policy engagement?
4. Do you think direct participation by citizens in local governance, budget monitoring and policy engagement has made local leaders more accountable? If so, how?
5. In your view, is direct participation local governance, budget monitoring and policy engagement process always feasible? If not, why not? If yes, in which stage(s) of the process is it the most feasible?
6. What are the challenges affecting citizens' participation in local governance, budget monitoring and policy engagement?

1.3. Research tool 4c. Focus group discussion interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CONDUCTING FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

7. Please tell us what you know about local governance engagement and their role in the development of your local area?
8. Can you tell us how you are involved in the preparation, monitoring and evaluation of agriculture budget in your local area (Village, Cell, Sector, or District)?
9. Why do you think direct participation of women is important in the local governance process?

Printed and Designed by GRAPHIDES

Trócaire

Working for a just world.

Head office:

Maynooth, Co. Kildare,
Tel: +353 (0) 1 629 3333

Dublin:

12 Cathedral Street, Dublin 1,
Tel: +353 (0) 1 874 3875

Cork:

9 Cook Street, Cork,
Tel: +353 (0) 21 427 5622

Northern Ireland:

50 King Street, Belfast, BT1 6AD,
Tel: +44 (0) 28 9080 8030

Rwanda

Kacyiru, BHC Building,
260 Bvd de l'Umuganda, Kacyiru,
P.O.Box 2040, Kigali, Rwanda
Tel: (250) 0252 502663 (+250) 0252 502664

www.trocaire.org

Trócaire is the overseas development
agency of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

Charity No. CHY5883 (ROD / XR10431 (NI))